Contention and Construction in the Movement for a New Economy:

Case Studies of Economic Democracy and Climate Justice

By

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To Erik Olin Wright (1947 – 2019)

Who continues to teach me the arts

of puzzle hunting

and crafting a joyful and curious life.

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Introduction: Contention and Construction in the Movement for a New Economy

"The existential crisis we face is an ecological crisis," Gopal Dayaneni of the Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project told me in June 2018. "But the landscape of struggle is the economy. It's how we manage home that actually matters." This dissertation engages the environmental sociological imagination (Bell et al. 2020) to examine the relationship between resistance and building in movements for economic democracy and climate justice. My point of departure is Gopal's observation that organizing to make our economy more inclusive and rise to the challenge of the climate crisis are deeply intertwined. Although a rich sociological literature has explored how movements pursue social change via disruptive challenges to authority in the political arena (Snow et al. 2019b:5), I seek to expand the boundaries of what counts as collective action – particularly in activism that bridges the civic and economic spheres. The three papers that comprise this project take up outstanding questions at the intersection of social movements, economic sociology, and environmental sociology and weave together several common threads.

First, they share an empirical focus on building alternative economic institutions. The dissertation is not about Real Utopias per se but its intellectual roots are in Erik Olin Wright's (2010, 2019) deep commitment to linking diagnosis and critique with systematic study of pathways to viable alternatives. I draw on original quantitative and qualitative data about actually-existing institutions like worker cooperatives (Paper I), a non-extractive loan fund for climate resilience projects in frontline communities (Paper II), and a municipal utility that embraced renewable energy in the heart of Kentucky coal country (Paper III). These efforts challenge the authority of mainstream market actors and demonstrate that economic organizations indeed have the potential to promote socio-ecological flourishing. Normatively, the

project is inspired by Erik's ardent belief that "what is pragmatically possible is not fixed independently of our imaginations."[1]

The three papers in this dissertation also contribute to my larger research agenda on the constructive dimensions of social movements. Although a significant body of work has examined the dynamics of protests, strikes, and other repertoires of contention (Tarrow 2008, Tilly 1978, Tilly 1995), studies of constructive action that builds social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs remain fragmented and relatively overlooked. The interplay of resistance and building is especially striking in struggles to transform the workplace through economic democracy: these involve both contesting and constructing alternatives to the dominant market logic (Paper I). Historical cases of constructive collective action also help lay the groundwork for more comprehensive theorizing of the broad range of strategies and tactics movements employ to pursue their goals (Paper II). The configuration of resistance and building in a given movement is specific to the political, economic, and cultural context (Paper III), but I argue that both contention and construction are vital for social change.

A third key theme is an overarching interest in temporality. Expanding the parameters of collective action beyond protest (Enke 2007:12) requires in part rethinking what constitutes a movement cycle (McAdam and Sewell 2001, Tarrow 1995). Scholars typically associate a downturn in public mobilization and uptick in building less visible social-relational infrastructure with abeyance: a period of movement decline (Sawyers and Meyer 1999). Yet by tracing trajectories of engagement in the civic and economic arenas at the individual (Paper I), organizational (Paper III), and movement level (Paper II), I not only question the assumption that

[1] This quote is from an interview by Mark Kirby available at https://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/. Erik expressed a similar sentiment in the video shown at the 2019 UW-Madison Sociology celebration of his life when he said, "Our beliefs about what possibilities there might be affects what possibilities there are […] The actual limits about of what we can achieve depend upon our beliefs about those limits."

constructive collective action is evidence of a "holding pattern" (Taylor and Crossley 2013) but also ask if the boundary between these spheres is as clear as extant theory presumes (Alexander 2006). The studies in this dissertation thus have important implications for conceptualizing movement continuity and outcomes.

Each paper takes up a part of this larger set of questions.

Paper I, "Spillover, Selection, or Civic Enrichment? Workplace and Civic Participation in Democratic Firms" (coauthored with Kristinn Már), critically examines underlying assumptions of the *civic spillover hypothesis* that participation at work begets participation in civic life. We employ mixed methods and the most systematic dataset on worker cooperatives in the United States collected to date to explore social processes that could explain the positive relationship between volunteering and participation in workplace governance we find in these alternative economic institutions. Our analysis of workers' professional and civic engagement over the life course revisits longstanding questions about selection and substitution with original data. It also raises novel conceptual issues about the boundary between these spheres.

Paper II outlines my broader research agenda around "The Constructive Dimensions of Social Movements." I ask why constructive collective action to build social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs has been overlooked in dominant theories of social movements, then explore concepts and historical examples that help lay the groundwork for more systematic study of the broad range of constructive strategies and tactics movements employ to pursue their goals. A multi-sited ethnographic case study (Marcus 1995) of the campaign to divest from fossil fuels and reinvest in climate solutions illustrates the potential to usefully extend contentious politics theory by directing additional analytical attention to the constructive.

Paper III, "Kentucky's Bright Future: Strategic Reconfiguration in the Movement for Climate Justice," takes up questions about shifts in the relative weight of contentious versus constructive action over time. I use the tools of extended case method (Burawoy 1998) to trace the process of de-emphasizing overt resistance to the coal industry and foregrounding a framework to constructively build a new economy based on energy efficiency and renewables within a social movement organization called Kentuckians for the Commonwealth. I ask whether and to what extent strategic reconfiguration mapped onto changes in the political opportunity structure and explore implications of this process for sustaining and achieving the goals of activists in Kentucky's climate justice movement.

Taken together, these papers seek to illuminate the centrality of both contention and construction in struggles for a new economy.

Paper I: Spillover, Selection, or Civic Enrichment? Workplace and Civic Participation in Democratic Firms[2]

Coauthored with Kristinn Már

Few studies have critically examined underlying assumptions of the *civic spillover hypothesis* that participation at work begets participation in civic life. We complicate extant theory by employing mixed methods and the most systematic dataset collected to date on firms fully owned and democratically governed by workers in the United States. Our findings about motivation to join participatory workplaces, substitution of workplace for civic engagement, and permeability of the boundary between professional and civic spheres lay the groundwork for a new conceptual model of *civic enrichment* that illuminates the black box of this social process and sheds light on debates about the implications of workplace structure for democracy in America.

Sociologists have long theorized that experiences in the workplace spill over into the personal and public spheres. Much of the early discipline centered on the wide-ranging impacts of changing workplace structures on the moral order, civil society, and individual well-being (Wilson and Musick 1997:251). Marx, Durkheim, and Weber all recognized that the structure of workplace authority had large-scale ripple effects for other social relations. Later, observing the rise of the modern corporation in the 1970s, sociologists were again deeply concerned about the impact of workplace structure on civic life. In two separate books published in 1974, James Coleman and Peter Blau raised the alarm about these developments. Conglomerates had "more power than most entire nations" (Blau 1974:20) and followed their own interests with minimal "concern for persons," in Weber's terminology (Coleman 1974:35). As a result, Blau (1974:20) argued the modern corporation poses "a serious threat to democracy."

[2] This paper is based upon work generously supported by the Office of Research and Evaluation at AmeriCorps through the National Service and Civic Engagement grant competition under Grant No. 17RE197362 and the Democracy at Work Institute (DAWI). Opinions or points of view expressed in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position of, or a position that is endorsed by, AmeriCorps, the National Service and Civic Engagement Research Competition, or DAWI.

In the 1980s, complex interdependencies between "the politics of work and the politics of community" (Fine 2005:161) were evident in the emergence of new forms of labor organizing that sought to "bring civil society back in" (Milkman and Voss 2004). Social movement unionism, worker centers, and community unions pursued broad agendas ranging from wage theft to drug decriminalization (Alter 2013, Bronfenbrenner and Juravich 1998, Fine 2006). These strategies actively bridged the "work/home divide" (Fine 2005:161) and expanded contestation from the workplace to state and civil society (Rhomberg 2010). In some cases, transforming the structure of workplace authority was a powerful force for large-scale political change (Juravich 2018).

We bring a critical lens to the relationship between workplace structure and civic behavior in order to explore a number of outstanding issues in the civic spillover literature. Our starting point is the *civic spillover hypothesis* that higher levels of participation at work foster higher levels of civic participation off the clock. Theorists posit that ample opportunities for workers to cultivate civic skills, organize their own work, and determine collective goals increase their personal and political efficacy (Almond and Verba 1963, Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995, Pateman 1970). Yet empirical tests of the civic spillover hypothesis have yielded mixed results. While a number of studies over the past half century suggest that job autonomy and participation in workplace decision-making are positively associated with voting, volunteering, and other civic behaviors (for recent examples see Budd, Lamare, and Timming 2018; Coutinho 2016), others challenge these findings as artifacts of data limitations and modeling (e.g. Adman 2008). We concur that questions related to generalizability, measurement, and effect size remain but argue that these technical issues cannot be resolved without addressing more fundamental problems with the underlying conceptual framework.

Using mixed methods and novel data, we uncover new dimensions of civic spillover related to motivation, trajectories of engagement, and boundary crossing and lay the foundation for a new conceptual model of this social process. Motivation is closely related to self-selection. We recognize that workers are not randomly assigned to democratic firms but sorted into different types of workplace authority structures through individual and structural factors. Certain workers may have a "taste for participation" that shapes their behavior both on and off the clock (Brady et al. 1995:79). We define trajectories of engagement as ideal-type pathways that characterize the relationship between civic and workplace participation over the life course. Rather than assuming this relationship is positive and linear, we allow for the possibility it may be linear but stable or negative. Alternatively, civic and workplace participation may be substitutable whereby engagement in one realm displaces engagement in another. Roth's (2003, 2016) concept of "boundary crossing" highlights that participation can take place in many contexts and forms. Echoing critiques of a stark divide between public and private (Fraser 1985), boundary crossers build bridges between spheres and treat the border as a porous rather than definite divide. We argue that these concepts are essential for understanding the phenomenon of civic spillover.

Our empirical analysis triangulates data from an original survey of 1,147 workers in 82 democratic U.S. firms, fifteen life history interviews with survey respondents, and nationally representative data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) in order to examine civic spillover in the "critical case" (Miles and Huberman 1994) of worker cooperatives: firms fully owned and democratically controlled by workers according to the principle of "one member, one vote." We leverage the first national survey of these unique firms to examine variables that have been unobserved in previous studies, report novel findings about the civic behavior of workers in

cooperatives, and consider alternative explanations and possible threats to validity of the civic spillover hypothesis in a systematic way.

Our findings extend spillover theory and contribute to broader conversations about redesigning civic infrastructure for the flourishing of social power (Wright 2010). Reflecting some previous studies, our survey results indicate that workers in co-ops are much more civically engaged than workers with similar demographic characteristics in conventional firms. We also find that governance participation is positively associated with civic behaviors among cooperative workers overall. The relationship between workplace and civic participation is stronger, however, for *co-op enthusiasts* who actively self-select into democratic firms than for *co-op agnostics* who do not. We also find that the civic engagement of co-op enthusiasts *declines* with tenure. These results suggest a reversal of the causal arrow implicit in the civic spillover literature. Interview narratives substantiate our contention that conceptual models of civic spillover must take motivation, trajectories of engagement, and boundary crossing into account. We argue that exploring self-selection into participatory workplaces, substitution of workplace participation for civic activity, and permeability of the boundary between professional and civic spheres lays the groundwork for a new conceptual model of civic spillover, helps illuminate the black box of this social process, and sheds new light on debates about the implications of workplace structure for democracy in America.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Worker Cooperatives as a "Critical Case" of Civic Spillover

In her influential book *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970), political theorist Carole Pateman engaged classic ideas about the workplace as a school of democracy to argue

that the structure of workplace authority has profound implications for political behavior. The linchpin of her analysis is the idea that autonomy and control over workplace-based decision-making enhances individuals' participatory capacity and personal efficacy, which in turn fosters a sense of political efficacy: "Participation develops and fosters the very qualities necessary for it; the more individuals participate the better able they become to do so" (Pateman 1970:42). Practicing self-governance in industry thus equips and empowers workers to practice self-governance in the public sphere.

Pateman's articulation of the civic implications of workplace organization was an important contribution to an ongoing debate. Several contemporaries similarly proposed that the structure of workplace authority spills over into the public and private spheres. Wilensky (1961:522) argued that "freedom" in the workplace facilitates social integration. Dahl (1985:5) drew a link between "equality in owning and controlling economic enterprises" and the equality necessary for widespread political participation. Almond and Verba (1963:294) conducted one of the early empirical studies on this topic and argued that opportunities to participate in workplace decision-making are "of crucial significance" for political socialization because they shape expectations, skills, and attitudes relevant to politics. Their finding that "being consulted on the job" is associated with "feelings of subjective political competence" (ibid:196) made a strong impression on Pateman, yet she argued that Almond and Verba failed to adequately theorize the political implications of more meaningful forms of worker control (Pateman 1970:74).

Since then, a multidisciplinary literature on "civic spillover" has examined how participation in the workplace affects participation in public life. In contrast to studies focusing on the spillover impacts of unemployment (see Brand 2015 for a review), the civic spillover literature focuses less on employment *per se* than the experience of it: "Simply being involved

with non-political institutions does not foster political activity. What counts is what happens there" (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995:281). According to what we refer to in this paper as the *civic spillover hypothesis*, higher levels of participation at work foster higher levels of civic participation because the workplace equips individuals with resources, networks, attitudes, and skills that are transferrable to civic life (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995, Greenberg 2008, Staines 1980).

Pateman (1970:68-74) viewed worker cooperatives as a critical case for testing the civic spillover hypothesis because of differences in the nature and extent of participation between worker cooperatives and conventional firms. Worker cooperatives are firms fully owned and democratically controlled by workers. They share a commitment to principles of autonomy, democratic participation, and equality enacted through a distributed ownership model. Worker-owners purchase an equity share that entitles them to participate in workplace governance and receive a share of profits. According to Pateman (1970:43), this transformation of employment relations combined with worker control over both strategic and day-to-day decisions maximizes the development of political efficacy and civic skills: "abolishing the permanent distinction between 'managers' and 'men' would mean a large step toward" creating the "economic equality required to give the individual the independence and security necessary for (equal) participation." Although she acknowledged that less extreme forms of worker control might have a marginal civic spillover effect, she made a strong normative case that worker cooperatives are the foundation of an efficacious, empowered, and politically active citizenry.

Outstanding Empirical Issues in the Study of Civic Spillover

We agree that worker cooperatives *can* be viewed as a "critical case" that offers insight into the social phenomenon of civic spillover. If participation at work indeed begets participation

off the clock, it should be most obvious in nonhierarchical firms with full worker ownership and governance control. Yet studies of worker cooperatives are in critically short supply. Pateman (1970:86) herself examined only one case and lamented that "a singular lack of examples of enterprises organised on democratic lines" makes it exceedingly difficult to study them.

Our review of the literature found only a handful of studies of civic spillover in worker cooperatives, all with limited external validity. The most frequently cited are Greenberg's studies of matched samples of workers in cooperative and conventional firms in the Pacific Northwest plywood industry. Drawing on a small panel survey (n=153), the original study (1986) finds that workplace structure has no measurable impact on political efficacy but, on average, cooperative workers are more involved in non-voting civic activities in 1983 than 1978.[3] Yet a second study with a different sample a decade later (Greenberg, Grunberg and Daniel 1996) finds that cooperative workers are much *less* civically engaged than workers in conventional firms, a result the authors attribute to the cooperatives' economic struggles and infrequent opportunities for higher-level participation. A larger study by Smith (1985) surveyed workers in 55 U.S. manufacturing firms with varying levels of worker control and finds an association between political activity and frequency of discussions about work issues. Yet Greenberg and Smith's respondents are overwhelmingly white men in the industrial sector, raising questions about the generalizability and contemporary relevance of these findings given that worker cooperatives now predominantly employ women and people of color in service jobs (DAWI 2019).[4] A more recent survey by Verdorfer et al. (2013) finds that "prosocial behavioral orientations" are

[3] We note that workers in conventional firms also became more politically active between panels; see Greenberg (1986:127).

[4] All respondents in Greenberg (1986:188) are white men. Respondents in Greenberg et al. (1996:311) are 90 percent male and 93 percent white. Smith (1985:184) does not report descriptive statistics for gender but speculates that women face sex discrimination in the male-dominated manufacturing firms he studied. Race is absent from his analysis.

stronger in five cooperatives relative to similar conventional firms in Northern Italy but has no direct measure of civic behavior and only 285 survey respondents. Wajcman's (1983) ethnography of an all-woman shoe factory in Britain argues that a transition to democratic worker ownership did *not* increase workers' "political consciousness," while Coutinho's (2016:7) mixed methods case study of a UK worker co-op concluded that "the benefits of workplace democracy for workers and for society are overstated." As Greenberg (2008:9) himself put it, "One must conclude, I believe, that while much has been made about this dynamic in the theoretical literature, the empirical evidence for its existence is not strong." The few existing studies of worker cooperatives provide mixed or weak evidence for the civic spillover hypothesis.

The vast majority of empirical studies of the civic spillover hypothesis are in conventional firms with varying levels of worker control, but these tests are also inconclusive due to empirical limitations. First, while a few studies using national random samples find a positive relationship between civic and workplace participation (e.g. Arrighi and Maume 1994, Budd, Lamare and Timming 2018, Lafferty 1989, Sobel 1993), those using panel data yield mixed results (Adman 2008, Wilson and Musick 1997). Many other studies lack the sample size and diversity for robust statistical analysis and generalizability. Like Greenberg (1986), three of the most frequently cited classic analyses of civic spillover in non-cooperative firms have fewer than 220 survey respondents, almost exclusively white men (Elden 1981, Peterson 1992, Sobel 1993). Jian and Jeffres (2008), which to our knowledge is the most recent study in the U.S., has only 115 respondents. These mixed results led Greenberg (2008:7) to conclude that "the definitive test of the theory has not yet been done."

Second, scholars use widely different measures, making it difficult to compare results and understand what exactly "happens" at work that is important for particular civic outcomes (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). For example, Elden (1981) finds a positive association between self-rated influence over workplace decision-making and feelings of political efficacy but assumes the link to civic behavior, whereas Wilson and Musick (1997) find that workers in more self-directed occupations are more likely to volunteer. Other scholars use similar measures of political activities but focus on different aspects of workplace structure and practice ranging from skill-acts (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995, Schur 2003) to politicization (Peterson 1992) to voice (Budd, Lamare and Timming 2018). As a result, debates about how best to operationalize these aspects of workplace experience and adjudicate between mechanisms remain unresolved (Carter 2006, Greenberg 2008, Schweizer 1995).

Finally, effect sizes are typically negligible even when key independent variables are statistically significant (e.g. Elden 1981, Sobel 1993). Evidence suggesting that direct involvement in enterprise-level decision-making is significantly more consequential for civic behavior than job autonomy (Arrighi and Maume 1994, Greenberg, Grunberg and Daniel 1996) implies that most forms of participation in conventional firms may simply be too weak to have a measurable impact off the clock.

In short, empirical studies have yet to resolve the basic question of whether and how workplace structure matters for civic engagement. Furthermore, we argue that several assumptions in the literature undermine the potential leverage of embracing worker cooperatives as a critical case. There are lessons to be learned about civic spillover by studying these theoretically important firms but doing so requires addressing more fundamental problems with the framework as a whole.

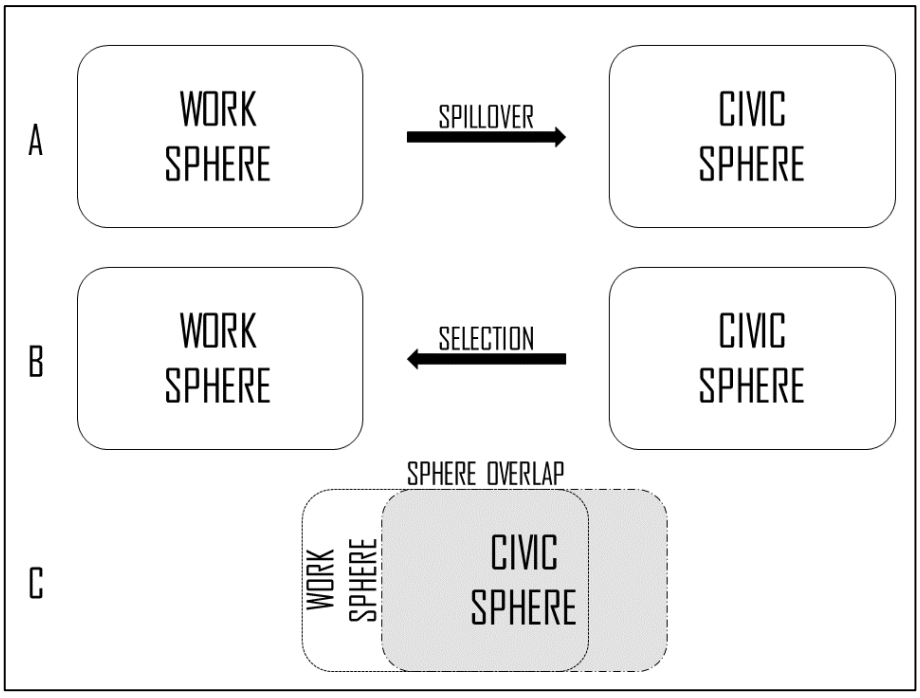
Persistent Conceptual Issues in the Study of Civic Spillover

Lurking behind these empirical limitations, we identify three key conceptual issues in the literature on civic spillover. First, the problem of motivation. Although Almond and Verba (1963:297) emphasized the reciprocal relationship between workplace and political participation, to our knowledge only one cross-sectional study of conventional firms (Budd, Lamare and Timming 2018) and none of worker cooperatives directly control for self-selection. This leaves open the possibility that a positive relationship between workplace and civic participation is spurious. Second, scholars have not sufficiently explored trajectories of this relationship over time. In its basic form, the civic spillover hypothesis predicts a positive linear relationship whereby workplace participation and civic behavior positively track together. As a result, questions related to burnout, expectations, participatory preferences, and other issues are left off the table. Third, the spillover framework assumes there are two separate "spheres" – workplace and civic – and reifies the distinction between them. This schema precludes an interrogation of intersections, "cross-connections" (Fraser 1985:117), or even overlap between spheres (see panel C in Figure 1 below). We argue there are reasons to doubt these assumptions, which have important implications for how to interpret empirical results. We propose that effectively measuring "civic spillover" will require a model that reflects these issues.

Do democratic firms engender civic engagement, or do people who are civically engaged seek them out? Most studies of civic spillover utilize survey data to examine associations between workplace and civic participation and cite a positive relationship as evidence that participation at work begets participation off the clock. This approach assumes a unidirectional causal arrow that points *from* the workplace *to* the civic sphere (see panel A in Figure 1). It also expects a larger civic return from exposure to democratic practices at work among those whose

civic skills and democratic values are relatively less developed upon joining a cooperative (Greenberg 2008:23). A "rich-get-richer" scenario is also possible, however, whereby individuals with a predisposition to collective action seek out opportunities to participate in both work and civic life – or civic experiences equip people with skills, efficacy, networks, or other resources that motivate them to opt into democratic professional settings or enact participatory workplace reforms (Almond and Verba 1963:270). As shown in panel B in Figure 1, the causal arrow might run in the opposite direction. Studies of biographical consequences of activism demonstrate that social movement participation often has durable impacts on occupational trajectories (McAdam 1989, Passy and Monsch 2020). After these "active and competent" (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995:331) workers secure jobs with ample opportunities for participation, they may pursue higher levels of involvement in workplace governance and decision-making. In other words, self-selection can take place at two levels: 1) opting into participatory firms, and 2) opting into participation *within* participatory settings.

Figure 1. Conceptualizing the Relationship Between Work and Civic Spheres



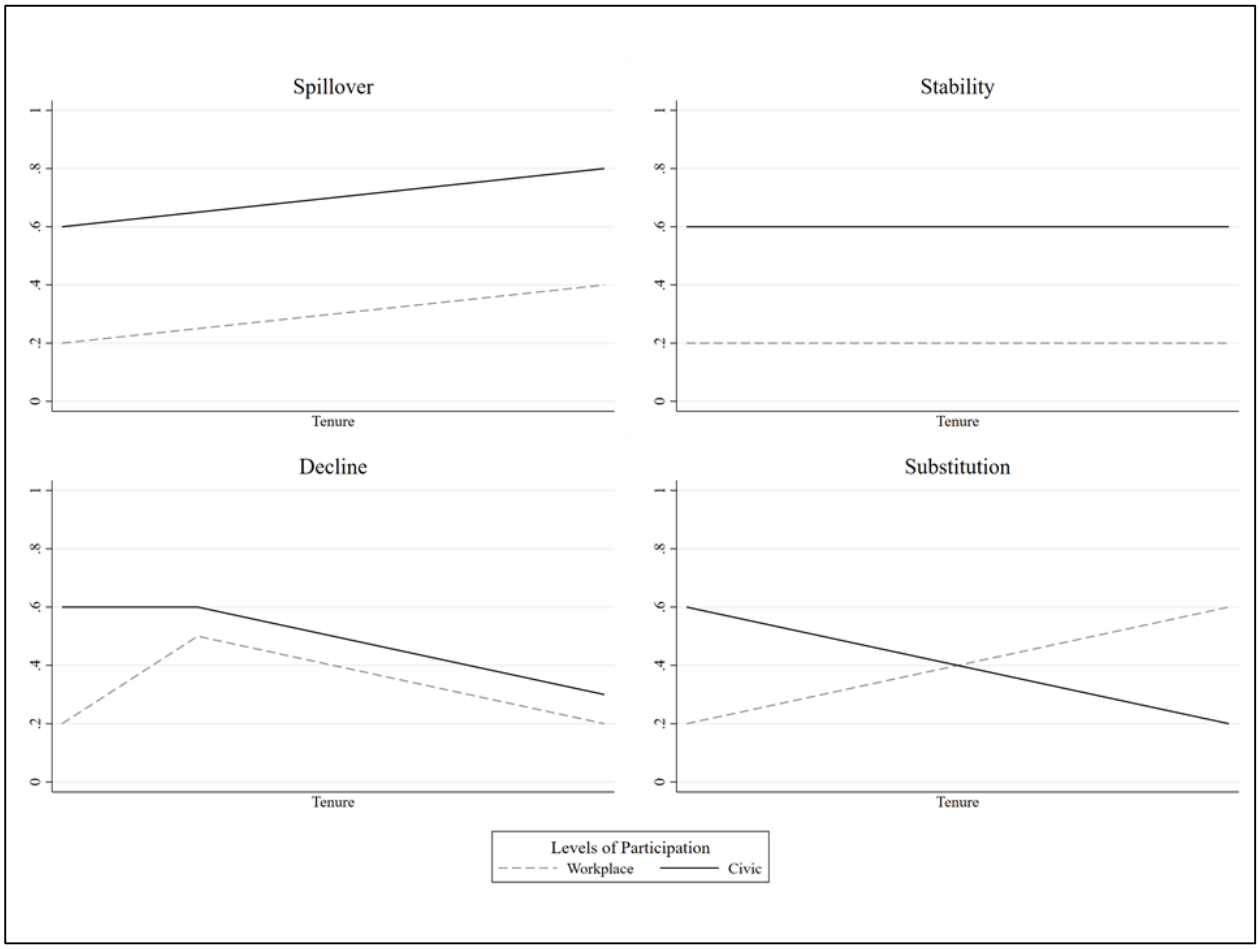
Several studies of civic spillover have dismissed self-selection as an alternative explanation on face validity grounds, and efforts to resolve the endogeneity question in empirical studies of conventional firms have had mixed results. Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995:277) argue it's plausible to assume that professional aspirations are "apart from and in advance of choices to take part politically" for the vast majority of people. Similarly, Greenberg (1986:34) describes political motives as "virtually absent" from workers' decisions to join the cooperatives he studies. To our knowledge, only one cross-sectional study adjusts for self-selection in statistical models and incorporates instrumental variables, but the authors acknowledge their measure is at best a proxy assuming "that respondents can separate out what they desire in a job and what their current job provides" (Budd, Lamare and Timming 2018:965). A single paper explicitly models the possibility of reverse causality and finds evidence to support it (Cohen and Vigoda 1999). Others find no civic spillover once selection is taken into account. For example, Adman (2008) finds that a positive association between participation at work and in politics in the 1997 wave of the Swedish Citizen Study disappears in a panel analysis incorporating data from the second wave in 1999. He attributes these results to the difficulty of controlling for self-selection, reciprocal causation, and omitted variables with cross-sectional data (ibid:120). He also acknowledges that Sweden may be a "special case" and that further study is needed in countries like the U.S., where higher levels of inequality would be expected to increase the civic effects of workplace participation (ibid:133). In short, the thorny problem of self-selection remains unresolved.

The second conceptual issue is related to trajectories of engagement. We argue that focusing on the static association between civic and workplace participation obscures potential temporal dimensions of the relationship between engagement in work and civic life. Relatively

little research on civic spillover considers how this relationship changes over time. As mentioned earlier, only a few studies utilize longitudinal data (Adman 2008, Greenberg 1986, Wilson and Musick 1997) and none follow the same individuals over the life course.

Yet there are several possible trajectories of engagement. We focus on four possible ideal-type relationships between workplace and civic participation: spillover, stability, decline, and substitution (depicted with simulated data in Figure 2).

Figure 2. Trajectories of Engagement:
Levels of Workplace and Civic Participation by Tenure



Note: Graphs generated with simulated data.

A *spillover trajectory* is consistent with the civic spillover hypothesis: workers join democratic firms where they are exposed to democratic practice and consequently increase their participation in civic life. This type of positive linear relationship implies that exposure to workplace democracy enhances civic engagement over time, and we would expect the relationship between workplace and civic participation to be stronger among workers with longer tenure in cooperative firms. A *stability trajectory* implies that an individual's civic engagement is unchanged before and after joining a democratic firm. This scenario is not consistent with the civic spillover hypothesis because there is no apparent benefit of participation in democratic governance for civic participation (Adman 2008). A *decline trajectory* is when joining a worker cooperative decreases interest in civic behavior *and* democratic governance at work i.e. a negative linear relationship between civic and workplace participation. For example, "participation fatigue" (Lee 2007) may lead to burnout as suggested by the finding from Greenberg, Grunberg and Daniel (1996) that workers in economically struggling cooperatives are much less politically involved than those in conventional firms. A *substitution trajectory* is when participation in workplace democracy displaces civic participation off the clock (or vice versa). We argue that some workers under specific conditions might substitute their civic participation for either democratic workplace governance or simply more work at a *civic* workplace. Substitution may simply result from a scarcity of fixed resources like time (Staines 1980:115). Another possibility is that the desire for civic action is satiated at work (Bryson et al. 2013). We discuss this latter option in more detail below.

The third conceptual issue in the civic spillover literature is the presumption of a clear boundary between professional and public life. The metaphor of "spillover" itself implies a separation of domains whereby civic activity takes place "*outside* the workplace" and work takes

place "*inside*" it (Budd, Lamare and Timming 2018:956). In this framework, work is apolitical. Except perhaps for the rare paid activist or elected official, the workplace is presumed to be an "environment removed from politics" that produces resources and latent benefits relevant for civic engagement only "in the context of activities that have nothing to do with" it (Jahoda 1982, Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995:310). Workplaces are not sites of civic engagement in and of themselves.

As Jeffrey Alexander argues in *The Civil Sphere* (2006), while scholars have divided social space into spheres since the beginning of social science, they disagree about their boundaries. The civil and economic spheres were equated during long periods (Alexander 2006:27), whereas schemas that draw a strong and stable divide between public and private spheres have been subject to strong feminist critiques (Fraser 1985, Gal 2002). Scholars continue to disagree about *how* to draw boundaries, for example by function, relation to other spheres, values, structure, or power. Nevertheless, we agree with Alexander that sphere boundaries matter for actual behavior and any theory employing spheres. For example, one way to conceptualize the civil sphere is as the location of "universalistic" values and thus contrasted against other "hierarchical" and "particularistic" spheres such as the economic sphere (as Alexander does). These boundaries start to break down and become blurred, however, if the economic sphere becomes less hierarchical and more universalistic or the civic sphere becomes more hierarchical and less communitarian.

Professional and public commitments can also be intimately "intertwined" (Roth 2016:29). Passy and Giugni (2000:122) propose the concept of "life-spheres" to describe the "distinct though interrelated 'regions' in the life of an individual, each one with its own borders, logic, and dynamic." Edges between politics, family, or spirituality can be blurry, and career

decisions that better align political and professional life-spheres are especially common among activists who choose to "voice their values" through the "politicization of […] daily life" (Passy and Monsch 2020:502). This alignment helps sustain civic participation and its concomitant social networks, behaviors, and worldviews (Passy and Giugni 2000). In cases like community unionism and "occupational activism" (Cortese 2015), the life-spheres of work and politics are not only congruent but one and the same: civic aspirations are "embedded" and enacted in workers' everyday lives (Roth 2016:31). Occupational activism is also related to our discussion of trajectories above; individual "boundary crossers" may shift between paid and unpaid positions over the life course (Roth 2003, Roth 2015).

Thus, instead of workers in cooperatives perceiving a strict boundary between work and civic activities, they might instead view them as synonymous (see e.g. panel C in Figure 2). For some, this might be the conscious effort of *democratizing* or *civilizing* (Alexander 2006) the economic sphere. For others, a coincidental overlap between spheres may occur via efforts to achieve some social purpose. Ethnographic studies of worker-recovered factories in Argentina suggest it's not uncommon for worker cooperatives to "make space for family demands and major life events that are traditionally separated to the 'private sphere'" by, for example, offering shelter for evicted workers or hosting community services on the factory floor (Sobering 2016:140). Given close links between cooperatives, self-help, and mutual aid (Gordon Nembhard 2014), it's reasonable to ask whether these boundaries are more porous than previous studies of civic spillover assume. In cases where workers do *not* perceive clear boundaries between spheres, studies of civic spillover may need to incorporate a more inductive approach that pays special attention to boundary contestation and connections between "work" and "civil society."

Research Questions and Approach

We argue that a mixed-methods approach is critical to begin addressing outstanding questions related to motivation, trajectories, and boundaries in the study of civic spillover. Survey data provides valuable insight into patterns at the aggregate level that generalize to a population of interest – in our case, the association between workplace and civic participation among workers in U.S. cooperatives. Interviews provide valuable insight into mechanisms and meaning-making that generalize to the social process of civic spillover (Small 2009b). We triangulate data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) and the largest and most comprehensive dataset about worker cooperatives in the U.S. to answer each of the following questions in turn: 1) How do civic engagement levels of cooperative and non-cooperative workers compare? 2) What is the relationship between civic and workplace participation among cooperative workers? 3) How do the professional and civic trajectories of workers in co-ops intersect over the life course? Our approach seeks to glimpse into the black box of civic spillover and identify the social processes underlying the relationship between participation in the workplace and civic life in this critical case.

DATA & METHODS

Survey Data

Our first data source is a national survey fielded in spring 2017 as part of the Democracy at Work Institute (DAWI) Worker Co-op Census (see Schlachter 2017 for details). DAWI is a nonprofit that conducts applied research about worker cooperatives in the U.S., which employed an estimated 5,984 individuals in 2016 (Palmer 2018). Given the small size of the target population and unreliability of within-cluster random selection techniques (Battaglia et al. 2008),

DAWI invited all workers in all established worker cooperatives in its database to participate. Of the 306 firms DAWI contacted by email, 27 percent chose to distribute a confidential paper-and-pencil self-administered questionnaire (SAQ) at their workplace, typically during an all-staff meeting. The worker SAQ was available in English and Spanish and included 58 items about topics ranging from firm governance to compensation, including seven questions about civic participation adapted from the Current Population Survey (CPS) and American National Election Studies. Participating firms also completed a short SAQ about enterprise characteristics (see Appendix 1 for key measures, full instruments available on request).

These procedures resulted in a nonrandom sample of 1,147 workers clustered in 82 firms. The overall response rate was 19 percent (AAPOR 2016) and response rates within firms ranged from 9 to 100 percent with a mean and median of 72 and 80 percent, respectively. Since nonrandom sampling requires stronger assumptions for statistical modeling and generalizability, we conducted several nonresponse analyses and robustness checks to strengthen confidence in our results (Copas and Li 1997).

First, data from DAWI's annual enterprise survey suggests that nonresponse bias was limited at the firm level. Participating firms mirror eligible firms in terms of organizational structure, industry, geography, and origin. Members of the U.S. Federation of Worker Cooperatives, however, are overrepresented (see Appendix 2).

Second, we utilized point person survey data to assess nonresponse bias among the firms that chose to participate because there was no reliable baseline data on demographics in the U.S. worker co-op sector (see Appendix 3). Participating co-ops employ a total of 3,544 workers who represent 59 percent of the estimated target population, a large proportion of individuals in the study universe. This was possible in part thanks to participation from one large co-op that

employs one-third of workers in the target population and contributed one-third of the sample. This firm is not only an anomaly in the sector in terms of size – DAWI estimates the average worker co-op employed only nine workers in 2017 (Palmer 2018) – but also in terms of industry, worker demographics, and organizational history. This means including it in our analysis has the effect of oversampling for immigrant women of color and "skewing" the demographics of our sample. Excluding these respondents from the nonresponse analysis, full-time workers are the only overrepresented group.[5]

Finally, since the DAWI survey was limited to workers in cooperatives, we also compare their civic participation to that of respondents in the CPS who reported they worked for pay or profit in the past week. The CPS is a monthly survey of over 50,000 households that serves as one of the primary sources of information about the U.S. labor force. We primarily use data from the 2015 Volunteer Supplement but also use the 2017 Volunteering and Civic Life Supplement for robustness checks. These supplements include the civic participation questions adapted in the DAWI survey (see Appendix 4 for descriptive statistics).

Interview Data

The first author also conducted fifteen in-person, one-hour semi-structured interviews with a purposive sample of survey respondents in summer 2017. An email invitation asked survey respondents in all 33 participating firms from the Bay Area, Madison, and New York to complete a follow-up interview. Interested individuals completed an online screening questionnaire. Purposive sampling captured a variety of perspectives (see Appendix 5). All interviewees spoke English and most were active in workplace governance through service on the board of directors or a committee addressing workplace issues.

[5] We ran all analyses including and excluding respondents from this large co-op and found that using the entire sample is a more conservative test of our expectations. All findings presented below include all respondents.

The first author secured written consent and audio-recorded each interview. The beginning of the protocol focused on workers' experiences at their current job including how and when they joined their cooperative, compensation, scheduling, and participation in firm governance. The second half focused on constructing a modified life history. Individuals drew a chronology of their employment history and described each of their past five jobs. They also drew a chronology of their civic engagement history including volunteering, activism, voting, and other forms of participation in public life and reflected on the relationship between their workplace and civic engagement. Each interviewee chose their own pseudonym and we have changed identifying details to preserve confidentiality.

Analytical Strategy

We first describe and compare rates of civic engagement for all workers in co-ops (DAWI sample) and conventional firms (2015 CPS sample), then use a matching strategy to compare demographically similar workers. We employ "Coarsened Exact Matching" (CEM) (Iacus, King and Porro 2012) with Stata's "cem" command (Blackwell et al. 2009) and the standard CEM algorithm to match respondents on gender, race, Hispanic ethnicity, education, hours worked, and state of residence. CEM reduces imbalance substantially ($\mathcal{L}_1$ distance decreased from 0.91 to 0.54).[6] The final matched sample includes 10,510 CPS and 641 DAWI respondents. CEM returns matching-weights to compensate for differential group sizes, which we use to compute the mean volunteering rate for each subsample. Since we do not have a measure for age, we re-run the matching analysis for younger and older workers as a robustness check.

[6] The Multivariate $\mathcal{L}_1$ distance score runs between 0 and 1 but is relative to the sample size and covariation of variables. Thus, the distance from end-points matters less than the difference between unmatched $\mathcal{L}_1$ and matched $\mathcal{L}_1$.

Next, we examine variation in the relationship between participation inside and outside the firm within the DAWI sample. Our data is nested – workers within firms – so we employ multi-level model (logit) regressions to analyze the association between participation in workplace governance and civic behavior. We operationalize participation in workplace governance as an index combining measures of workers' reported frequency of voting for the board of directors and attending meetings of the general assembly, committees, and board of directors in the past five years. This "Governance Index" represents predicted values of the underlying factor we identified through a principle component analysis. The key measure of interest for civic participation is a dichotomous variable indicating whether a respondent reported volunteering in the past year. We adapted this question from the 2015 CPS Volunteering Supplement: "In the last 12 months, have you done any volunteer activities through or for an organization?"[7]

Our first model focuses on the civic spillover hypothesis i.e. whether those who participate more frequently in workplace governance volunteer at a higher rate. Based on previous studies and our theoretical model, Model 1 also adjusts for basic demographics, exposure, and motivation. Demographics include gender identity, racial identity, and educational attainment. Exposure includes hours worked in a typical week and logged firm tenure. Motivation includes two dummy variables: worker-ownership status (i.e. whether a worker owns an equity stake in the co-op and is entitled to vote for the board of directors) and whether respondents reported the opportunity to work in a worker co-op was the most important factor initially attracting them to the job (co-op enthusiasts) or not (co-op agnostics).[8] Each model

[7] In 2017, the CPS Volunteering and Civic Life Supplement slightly revised the volunteering question: "In the past 12 months, did (you/NAME) spend any time volunteering for any organization or association?"

[8] About 60% of the DAWI sample are co-op enthusiasts and 40% co-op agnostics.

reports robust standard errors. We next limit the analysis to subgroups of co-op enthusiasts and agnostics who vary in their level of motivation to join a cooperative firm, again adjusting for basic demographics, exposure, and worker-ownership status. In these models we also examine whether civic participation varies by tenure.

Finally, we conduct a narrative analysis of interview transcripts to peek inside the black box of the civic spillover process. We carefully read each interview transcript alongside the development of an inductive coding scheme to construct a profile of each interviewee's role and experiences at their current workplace, paying special attention to stories about participation within and beyond the firm over time. Building on Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995:277) insight that life history interviews can illuminate the antecedents of civic participation, we explore motivation and questions related to self-selection by analyzing stories of joining worker cooperatives in workers' own words. We explore trajectories of engagement by creating a detailed chronology of employment and civic engagement history for each interviewee, then juxtaposing these timelines to identify the circumstances under which they intersect. Finally, we code descriptions of the boundary between professional and civic life-spheres.

FINDINGS

Quantitative Results

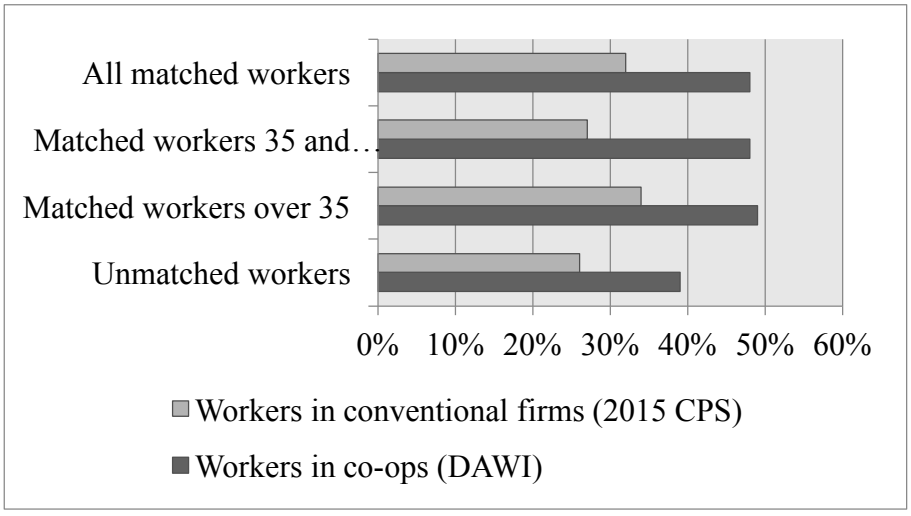
Are workers in co-ops more civically engaged?

A direct comparison of DAWI and CPS data implies that co-op workers are more likely to engage in civic activities than workers in conventional firms. The mean national volunteering rate among all employed CPS respondents was 13 percentage points lower than among all DAWI respondents in 2015 (see Figure 3) and 8 percentage points lower in 2017 (see online

supplement).[9] Rates of other civic behaviors were substantially lower among workers in conventional firms: only 11 percent of employed CPS respondents served as an organizational leader and 9 percent attended a public meeting in the past year compared to 53 and 51 percent in the DAWI sample, respectively. Since volunteering is the most comparable outcome between these two groups (and thus our most conservative dependent variable), we focus on volunteering in subsequent analysis and examine other civic behaviors in robustness checks.[10]

The contrast between rates of civic activity in cooperative and conventional firms is even more pronounced when we compare demographically similar workers. Figure 3 shows that the mean volunteering rate among matched respondents in the DAWI sample is sixteen percentage-points higher (48 percent) than that of counterparts in the 2015 CPS (32 percent). These differences persist when we limit the CPS sample to younger or older respondents.

Figure 3. Rates of Volunteering Among DAWI and 2015 CPS Respondents



[9] The five percentage-point increase in the national volunteering rate from 2015 to 2017 likely reflects an artifact of new question order and wording introduced in the 2017 Volunteering and Civic Engagement Supplement rather than a change in volunteering behavior (Grimm and Deitz 2018). See online supplement for replication of matching with 2017 CPS data.

[10] We also looked at voting in the 2014 midterm and 2016 presidential elections. Consistent with previous findings, we find no significant relationship between participation in workplace governance and voting (see e.g. Brady et al. 1995; Greenberg 1986).

Although it's possible that people with more education, discretionary time, or other resources are more likely to opt into participatory workplaces, observable demographic characteristics do not explain high rates of civic engagement within U.S. worker cooperatives. These results are consistent with the civic spillover hypothesis. Our next set of findings focus on the relationship between civic and workplace participation among co-op workers.

Is participation in workplace governance associated with civic participation?

We first explore the association between volunteering and frequency of participation in workplace governance among the full sample of DAWI respondents.[11] Model 1 in Table 1 replicates what previous studies have reported as evidence of civic spillover in worker cooperatives: the governance index coefficient is significant, substantive, and positive. Those who participate more frequently in workplace governance volunteer outside the firm at higher rates than workers who participate less frequently.

Table 1. Multilevel Models of the Relationship between Volunteering and Frequency of Participation in Workplace Governance

	Model 1 Full Model	**Model 2 Agnostics**	**Model 3 Enthusiasts**
Governance Index	0.451*	0.226	0.680**
	(0.19)	(0.28)	(0.22)
Log of Tenure	-0.057	0.108	-0.232*
	(0.09)	(0.17)	(0.11)
Co-op Agnostic (ref. cat.)			
Co-op Enthusiast	0.393*		
	(0.18)		
Constant	0.508	0.353	1.219*
	(0.46)	(0.69)	(0.50)
Firm Level	0.637*	0.659	0.476
	(0.28)	(0.55)	(0.34)
Number of Obs.	707	317	390

Note: Levels of significance (two-tailed tests) * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$. All models include controls for gender, race, education, hours worked, and ownership.

[11] We report models that exclude respondents with missing values on any items. Re-running the models without this more conservative restriction does not substantively change the findings.

Substantively, the predicted probability of volunteering in Model 1 among *high participants* who are most active in workplace governance (at the 90th percentile of our governance index) is 61 percent compared to only 34 percent for the *low participants* who are least active (at the 10th percentile of our governance index). This difference of 27 percentage-points is about double that between those with a university versus high school degree (14 percentage-points). These results are consistent with previous findings that active participation in workplace governance is positively associated with civic engagement among cooperative workers overall.

Do co-op enthusiasts volunteer more?

The social processes underlying this positive association between participation inside and outside the firm, however, remain unclear. We next leverage our measure of self-reported selection into a worker cooperative to conduct a subgroup analysis comparing this relationship among *co-op agnostics* (those motivated by occupational opportunities rather than the cooperative structure per se) and *co-op enthusiasts* (those motivated by opportunities to work in a co-op) in Models 2 and 3, respectively. We find that the average co-op enthusiast is more enthusiastic about both volunteering and participating in workplace governance than the average agnostic: 43 percent of enthusiasts volunteer compared to 35 percent of agnostics. The average enthusiast attends meetings of the board of directors a few times per year whereas the average agnostic attends once a year or less. Results from our subgroup analysis are consistent with both a "rich-get-richer" scenario and a selection effect for co-op enthusiasts. The governance index coefficient is insignificant in Model 2, whereas it is positive and large in Model 3. We find no evidence of civic spillover among those who did not self-report being motivated to join a democratic firm.

How does co-op workers' volunteering change over time?

Next, we explore how the relationship between workplace and civic participation changes over time. Since panel data on the civic behavior of U.S. cooperative workers is not available, instead we utilize a cross-sectional tenure measure to consider how this relationship changes for enthusiasts and agnostics, respectively. In Model 1, the coefficient on tenure is not significant at conventional levels. Our subgroup analysis, however, shows that tenure and volunteering have an inverse relationship in Models 2 and 3. The coefficient on tenure is positive (but not significant at conventional levels) among agnostics but negative and significant among co-op enthusiasts. This implies that senior employees who self-selected into co-ops are less likely to volunteer. Table 2 shows volunteering by motivation at different levels of tenure. Although co-op enthusiasts volunteer at a substantially higher rate early on, agnostics catch up over time.

Table 2. Volunteering Rate by Tenure

	Tenure		
	1 year or less	4 years or more	10 years or more
Enthusiasts	50%	45%	42%
Agnostics	37%	42%	46%

Taken together, these findings imply some spillover or selection among agnostics and burnout or substitution (i.e. workers participate in their co-op in lieu of volunteering) among enthusiasts.

Robustness checks

We conduct several additional analyses to examine the robustness of these results (see online supplement). First, we re-run the matching procedure with 2017 CPS data. Matching results are not sensitive to changes in question wording. Second, we run four different specifications of the models presented in Table 1 with fewer and more controls. In most cases coefficients change only marginally. Third, we examine the association between participation in workplace governance and other forms of civic engagement. We find that a positive and

substantively meaningful relationship persists in the overall sample when we operationalize civic engagement in terms of protest, public meeting attendance, and organizational leadership. We also find evidence of a selection effect whereby the relationship between civic and workplace participation is stronger among co-op enthusiasts. We do not find, however, that these other types of civic activity decline as tenure increases among co-op enthusiasts. Finally, following many previous studies, we use an index of workplace autonomy as our independent variable that yields substantively similar results.

Qualitative Results

Activism as a pathway to co-ops: spillover … or selection?

Echoing our finding in the survey data that 60 percent of respondents are co-op enthusiasts who actively opted into democratic firms, just over half of interviewees described the opportunity to work in a cooperative as more important than occupational factors in attracting them to their job. "I had fancied the idea of working at [my cooperative] for a really long time," said Alex. "I was attracted to the collective idea." The majority of interviewees also described developing skills, attitudes, and networks through activism that led them to join a worker cooperative. Co-op enthusiasm and activism as pathways to workplace democracy are often but not always intertwined. Overall, our narrative analysis of follow-up interviews substantiates the proposition that selection plays a central role in the process of civic spillover.

"I got to co-ops because of activism," said Martina, a worker-owner in the Bay Area who exemplifies the link between civic motivations and co-op enthusiasm. She first got involved in environmentalism in high school, then became "more deeply enmeshed in activism" through organizing against the Iraq War in college. Although Martina earned an undergraduate degree in biology, she was drawn to professional opportunities that allowed her to contribute her artistic

skills to the cause. In the years following graduation, jobs at progressive organizations strengthened connections to social movements ranging from anti-globalization to housing justice. She eventually went on to co-found a worker cooperative focused on graphic design. As she put it, "I identified as an activist my whole life, so then I worked at co-ops. Makes sense that way." Political participation was her entrée into workplace democracy, and now "everything I do is co-op," she said. Cooperation became part and parcel of her activist way of life.

Nine of fifteen interviewees emphasized activist experiences in stories about how they joined their firm. Oliver was a freelance programmer who became enamored with the worker co-op model through Occupy Wall Street. Anne volunteered for a nonprofit that incubated a worker-owned cleaning company that employs survivors of sexual assault. Fred's worker co-op was an early adopter of the local currency network he co-founded. Sameena was a Muslim anti-war activist "looking for ways to merge my interest in design with my passions for social justice work." The civic spillover hypothesis assumes the causal arrow flows from the workplace to the public square. For these interviewees, however, civic participation fostered ties and ideals that led them to opt into participation at work.

We observe this pattern even among co-op agnostics who described working in a cooperative as secondary to occupational goals. For example, Paula explained that writing a book about "what a holistic, nourishing food system could look like" inspired her to explore concrete strategies to get paid to put her vision into practice. "It was like, OK, well, we're going to do this community-supported kitchen, what kind of legal entity are we going to be? […] We just totally stumbled into it." Whether or not she consciously sought out a job at a cooperative firm, Paula clearly channeled her movement work into working for the movement.

Two co-op enthusiasts without activist backgrounds cited more general familiarity with the model as their primary motivation to opt into workplace democracy. For example, Winston said "it was the worker cooperative" that motivated him to pursue a job at his firm:

> I really wouldn't have cared if they made donuts or did floor tiling […] I was a member for a long time of [my local food cooperative]. I've known a lot of people that lived in housing co-ops. So I was familiar with the idea behind co-ops. I grew up in Minnesota, so […] I had a good education, you know, about the history of – U.S. history and how the co-op movement got started here and what it was for.

In other words, exposure to a place-based cooperative culture and ecosystem encouraged Winston to pursue professional opportunities that reflected those ideals. Just as activism does not deterministically lead individuals to sort into worker cooperatives, it's possible to be predisposed to cooperation despite limited prior experience in the civic sphere.

Interview narratives also suggest that self-selection operates at a second level whereby individuals with activist orientations sustain high levels of participation both on and off the clock. For example, Sameena often devotes evenings and weekends to social justice organizing in her community. She also practices direct democracy at work, which involves participating in weekly general assembly meetings and service on a number of committees to address workplace issues. She described a strong sense of commitment, purpose, and interconnection in both spheres:

> All of us are social justice organizers who are involved in social change work inside and outside of the shop […] the real unifying factor for all of us is wanting to use and leverage creative tools to advance social justice movements […] I think what I like best [about working in a co-op] is my sense of agency. I not only feel empowered as an equal partner in a democratic process and project, but I also feel very valued.

Stories like Sameena's could explain the positive association between volunteering and governance participation we see in the survey data, which is even stronger among co-op enthusiasts. These stories of self-selection suggest that people who join co-ops via activist

networks may simply maintain a high level of participation in both their civic and professional lives. Yet this contradicts our quantitative finding that enthusiasts appear to volunteer less the longer they are exposed to workplace democracy. We next turn to narratives about the interplay of these commitments over the life course.

Trajectories of engagement: spillover or substitution?

Our finding in Model 3 that the volunteering rate of co-op enthusiasts declines with tenure suggests there may be greater variety in trajectories of engagement than the civic spillover hypothesis presumes. The dominant pattern among interviewees is a stability trajectory: eleven people described no change in their civic behavior before and after joining their cooperative, regardless of their level of participation in workplace governance. For example, Sameena was an activist who sustained intense engagement in both spheres. Lars was an agnostic who joined his co-op "on a whim" and has never volunteered through or for an organization.

Four interviewees described a substitution trajectory whereby involvement in workplace governance directly traded off with civic engagement over time. For example, Alex had volunteered in organizations ranging from an anarchist cafe to a dog rescue nonprofit prior to joining their co-op. Yet as they became more deeply involved in decision-making about the direction of the enterprise, Alex began to reallocate their energy from activism to work:

> LAURA: It's interesting that you've been super active through your entire life, and then this seems like the first year that you're not volunteering with some kind of activist group. Do you have any reflections on that?
> ALEX: I think that I'm putting in a lot of energy at [my worker cooperative] and […] dedicating a lot of my time to problem solving there […] I believe in what we're doing in the community, and I believe in the fact that there's still space for businesses like ours. But it's also really stressful sometimes, and I need to just be at home to recover.

At the end of the day, the emotional labor of keeping their co-op afloat in the midst of a financial crisis was so draining that Alex felt compelled to put their civic commitments on hold.

Henry's story of substitution speaks to the possibility that working in a cooperative can be a strategy to sustain movement participation over the life course. A longtime participant in radical ecological and social justice campaigns, Henry's co-op emerged out of a nonprofit he founded in the early 2000s. A decade later, however, he was frustrated with the "voluntyranny" of unpaid activism and poured his energy into making ends meet in a workplace consistent with his values. He described himself as a movement "ally" but said, "I have to support my family, and those groups are based on volunteering […] People don't stick together based on ethics. People – they need income." Henry crossed the boundary from unpaid to paid activism and saw the two as mutually exclusive.

The interviews also indicate that a substitution trajectory can occur among agnostics. Prior to joining her co-op, Diana had been a stay-at-home mom who volunteered at a nearby community center on an almost daily basis. But work quickly absorbed much of the discretionary time she had previously spent as a volunteer each afternoon, especially thanks to board and committee meetings that popped up on her calendar above and beyond her scheduled shifts. Volunteering at the community center declined to a weekly or monthly event. The idea that work hours can crowd out volunteering has been thoroughly explored in conventional firms (Musick and Wilson 2008). Diana's story suggests this dynamic can also apply in worker cooperatives, counteracting the potential benefit of workplace democracy for civic participation.

Alex, Henry, and Diana perceived a clear distinction between work and civic life, with one trading off for another. Yet for other interviewees, joining a worker co-op involved merging their activist values and commitments with work rather than abandoning them altogether.

"It feels like my job – but also activism"

The spillover hypothesis assumes that work is an apolitical sphere. Yet an overarching theme in the interviews is that respondents conceptualize work and civic engagement as one in the same. As Oliver said, "I feel like the activism – I just do through whatever I do and also my work. Because it's not like I get involved in a separate thing." For many interviewees, opting into a worker co-op was itself an expression of values that had a multiplier effect on their civic work. For example, Mariposa was a longtime volunteer for food banks and nonprofits working on hunger issues. She described her co-op as "in alignment with my values and […] how I feel about health and the environment." Her day-to-day responsibilities at work involve tasks like coordinating donations and creatively using up leftover food. She said her co-op "gives me the space to develop things that are important" in order to leverage and deepen her community ties: "It's crazy how this has all fit together in my life."

In some cases, working in a co-op didn't necessarily displace civic commitments but changed how interviewees understood how they could best contribute to the cause. Paula described her co-op as a microcosm of societal racial tensions that enables her to make a relatively larger impact through day-to-day interactions at work than she could through activism. As she said, "I kind of feel like my work is my political work […] I don't need to go and find somewhere else where I could work on racial justice. I just need to be with the people who are around me [in my co-op] as this [microaggression] stuff surfaces and hold the space." Similarly, Martina described how she gradually redirected her focus from direct action to design in order to maximize her impact:

> I'm lucky in that […] I was able to bring my activism to this co-op. So it might be different if I was baking bread, and then we would have to find ways to make that connection. Political activism is what this co-op is about […] When we first started, I think that year I got arrested seven times in one week […] So, you know, I was more

> in the streets. But then in starting [my co-op], I spent more, you know, just more and more time just doing what we do best, which is the graphic design part […] So I probably actually do less in the streets, just putting my body on the line type stuff now because this is what I get to do all day long.

These narratives indicate that the boundary between life within and outside democratic firms can be much more porous than the civic spillover hypothesis assumes.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Critiques about the validity of evidence for the civic spillover hypothesis abound. Persistent challenges include the scarcity or bias of data on democratic firms, modeling strategies, small sample sizes, measurement of key constructs, and unobserved variables (Carter 2006, Greenberg 2008). This study begins to address some of these issues while expanding our inquiry to reconsider more fundamental assumptions about the framework itself. Our analysis lays the groundwork for a new conceptual model of civic spillover that contributes to extant theory by bringing motivation, trajectories of engagement, and boundary crossing to the fore.

Empirically, utilizing the first large-scale survey of individuals in worker cooperatives across the U.S. allows us to account for firm-level variation rather than assuming that practices in one enterprise generalize to the entire sector (Djupe and Gilbert 2006). We also leverage a measure of self-selection into worker cooperatives in order to quantitatively investigate differences between co-op enthusiasts versus agnostics. Finally, we use a mixed-methods approach combining life history interviews with original survey data on a national scale.

Comparing respondents from the CPS and DAWI survey, we find evidence that workers in cooperatives are more civically engaged than those in conventional firms. DAWI respondents attend public meetings, serve as organizational leaders, and volunteer at substantially higher rates than workers in the general U.S. population. Observable characteristics like education do not

explain why cooperative workers are more active in the civic sphere. Within cooperatives, we find that workers active in governance volunteer at significantly higher rates overall. This positive relationship persists among co-op enthusiasts but not agnostics. Among enthusiasts, the difference in the predicted probability of volunteering between high and low participants is almost double that between those with a university versus high school degree. In other words, we find evidence of civic spillover only among individuals specifically attracted to working in a democratic firm. Furthermore, our quantitative analysis of volunteering and tenure implies this relationship atrophies among co-op enthusiasts over time: longer exposure to democratic workplaces may actually be associated with *lower* rates of volunteering in this group.

Interview narratives substantiate our interpretation of survey results and allow us to peek into the black box of civic spillover as a social process. Contrary to previous claims, we find that motivation does play a role in sorting individuals with resources, capacities, and attitudes conducive to participation into democratic firms – including but not limited to those with activist backgrounds. We also find evidence of a variety of engagement trajectories, including a substitution trajectory whereby workplace participation directly replaces civic activity over time. Finally, interview narratives reveal that in some cases, the boundary between professional and civic spheres is porous if not absent in the minds of some cooperative workers.

These findings reveal several issues in previous studies of civic spillover and point towards a new conceptual framework to guide future research. Broadly, we argue that scholars need to attend more carefully to the fact that there are multiple social processes in play, in particular one we might call "civic enrichment."[12] A civic spillover process involves workplace experiences that beget a civic impact manifesting *outside of work*. A civic enrichment process

[12] We thank Chaeyoon Lim for this helpful phrase.

involves civic experiences that beget a civic impact manifesting *at work* because people opt into or create workplaces that more closely embody their civic ideals (Alexander 2006). Civic spillover and enrichment are distinct but not necessarily mutually exclusive processes, each with their own scope conditions and important theoretical and empirical implications.

Previous studies have taken the correlation between workplace and civic participation as evidence of civic spillover (e.g. Arrighi and Maume 1994, Jian and Jeffres 2008, Peterson 1992). The fact that this association only persists among co-op enthusiasts in our subgroup analysis, however, suggests that self-selection drives the overall effect (also see Adman 2008). We are by no means the first to recognize that selection can play a role in the relationship between workplace and civic participation. Even those whose work is foundational to the study of civic spillover ran into the problem of selection. Pateman (1970:87) cited only one empirical example of "direct (full) participation at the higher level," a worker cooperative called Rowan Engineering Co. Limited, but argued that its utility for testing her emancipatory vision was limited because workers "have tended to be self-selected" from the peace movement. Although Greenberg (1986:230) found that most workers in his study joined plywood cooperatives for financial reasons, he acknowledged this was the exception but not the rule:

> This is not the case for the many small handicraft, food, and service cooperatives that blossomed in the late 1960s and early 1970s […] Almost all of these cooperatives […] were formed by a few people of upper-middle-class and college-educated background, active in either antiwar, ecology, or countercultural politics, with the explicit purpose of establishing small businesses that would both serve the community and provide a work environment devoid of the "hassles," "hierarchy," and "rat race" of the conventional business world. They were inherently political.

Yet Pateman and Greenberg buried these discussions in footnotes, conceding that selection occurs in many types of firms without fully considering its implications for generalizability. We argue that the literature on workplace and civic participation needs to take a closer look at the

role of civic motivation, as we suspect self-selection operates not only in cooperatives but also social enterprises, the public sector, and even nonprofits – which tend to disproportionately employ people who volunteer (Rotolo and Wilson 2006). Motivation should be front and center in any civic-workplace framework.

Second, little attention has been given to tradeoffs between workplace and civic participation over time. In particular, scholars have overlooked the possibility of substitution and its implications for the study of civic spillover and enrichment. We find both qualitative and quantitative evidence suggesting that co-op enthusiasts – those with a strong civic and democratic ideological motivation – *decrease* their volunteering outside the workplace as they become more embedded in democratic firms. Substitution occurs not necessarily because of burnout or "participation fatigue" (Lee 2007) but because these individuals believe their workplace serves a civic function or at least fulfills their civic appetite.

Third, as a result, it should not come as a surprise that for many people the boundaries between the work and civic spheres are blurred or porous as they strive to get paid for what they perceive to be important *civic* work. One way to achieve that is forming or joining a worker cooperative that works towards civic goals and upholds democratic ideals. If workers do not perceive a clear boundary between the work and civic spheres, then the civic impacts of working in democratic firms might not materialize in volunteering, voting, or other behaviors we measure outside the workplace but in richer and deeper civic engagement in the context of work itself. In other words, a civic enrichment scenario suggests that we (and all previous studies of civic spillover) may have been asking the wrong question altogether. Our study reveals that civic enrichment raises equally if not more important questions about the social processes underlying the work-civic engagement relationship as civic spillover. Under what conditions do civic

motivations inspire people to select into more democratic and civic workplaces? When do people endow their work with broader civic meaning and pride? What drives and enables people to transform their workplaces to better align with their ideals? These and other questions call for more attention among scholars of work, employment, and civic participation.

Future research needs to more clearly explore and compare civic spillover versus enrichment and how they interact. Since we cannot randomize people into workplaces (or randomly assign workplace structures), it is imperative that future studies more carefully attend to the theoretical models being tested and contrasted. We of course need more data and stronger measures of civic enrichment – but perhaps more importantly, we need a clear theoretical framework. Otherwise, in the absence of experimental settings, causal estimation of the effect of these processes will continue to be riddled with problems. Theory-generating qualitative methods are especially crucial here because we can't move towards clear, contrasting, and testable theoretical models without a careful understanding of underlying social processes.

Highlighting the empirical limitations of our study also offers fruitful avenues for future research. Taking advantage of the novel DAWI data is both a weakness and strength. We agree that worker cooperatives can function as a critical case if we assume that exposure to the most extreme version of workplace participation yields important lessons for other strategies to enhance worker voice. Yet we are unable to make causal claims due to non-random sampling and the cross-sectional nature of our data. Panel data, randomization, and/or a more closely matched sample of conventional firms would increase our confidence in results. Like prior studies, we are also limited by measurement problems. For example, the DAWI survey lacks skill-act items and thus we are unable to adjudicate between mechanisms, which need to be more clearly detailed and operationalized in future research. Our measure of self-selection is

retrospective whereas a pre/post plus control group design (Passy and Monsch 2020) offers a promising way to identify the antecedents of opting into a democratic firm. And although our models account for clustering within firms, we do not adjust for variation in governance structures, cultural context, or the institutional and economic environment (Budd, Lamare and Timming 2018, Carter 2006, Coutinho 2016, Greenberg, Grunberg and Daniel 1996). Future studies should take these and other factors at the enterprise, meso, and macro level into account.

To conclude, this study highlights that many people are (or become) motivated to pursue civic and democratic ideals in all parts of their daily lives. This might be especially true among co-op enthusiasts, but we suspect this motivation is more common than scholars often think. It might manifest itself in different ways and face various challenges in different social settings, but scholars need to give more attention to these processes of civic enrichment. Developing a new conceptual model of civic spillover *and* enrichment will contribute not only to the literature on workplace and civic participation, but also to broader debates about how best to design civic infrastructure in ways that promote democratic participation writ large.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Key Measures in DAWI Survey

Variable	DAWI Question Text	Notes
Volunteer	<Q31> In the last 12 months, have you done any volunteer activities through or for an organization?	Adapted from 2015 CPS Volunteer Supplement <S1> Since September 1st of last year, (have you/has NAME) done any volunteer activities through or for an organization?
Governance Index	<Q25> Over the past 5 years, how often have you typically participated in the following types of workplace decision-making and governance activities?	PCA of Q25a-d with Eigenvalue of 2.8 and Cronbach's Alpha of 0.85. Response options included "Never," "Every two or three years," "Every year," "A few times a year," and "Every month or more."
	<Q25a> Attending general assembly meetings	
	<Q25b> Attending meetings of committees that address workplace issues	
	<Q25c> Voting for the board of directors or governance body	
	<Q25d> Attending meetings of the board of directors or governance body	
Co-op Enthusiast	<Q2> Which one of the following best describes what initially attracted you to this job?	Co-op Enthusiasts chose "The opportunity to work in a worker cooperative" or "The opportunity to start a new worker cooperative. Co-op Agnostics chose "The opportunity to work in your current occupation."
Tenure	<Q3> About how many months or years have you worked at your current workplace?	Standardized to years
Female	<Q47> Which of the following describes how you identify yourself?	Females chose "Female."

Race	<Q50> Check all of the following that describe your race.	Multiracial includes respondents who chose two or more categories. Other includes those who chose American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, or Other.
Education	<Q45> What is the highest level of education you have completed?	
Hours Worked	<Q7> Thinking about all the shifts you work at this workplace in a typical week, about how many hours do you usually work at this workplace each week?	
Owner	<Q10> Do you own a share in the cooperative?	Owners answered “Yes, I’m a worker-owner.” Non-owners answered “No, I’m an employee, but not a worker-owner.”

Appendix 2. Nonresponse Analysis of DAWI Survey Data at Firm Level

	Percent of Firms in Sampling Frame (n=306)	**Percent of Participating Firms (n=82)**	**Percentage Point Difference**
Firm Type			
Worker Cooperative	83%	91%	-9%
Multi-Stakeholder Cooperative	6%	4%	2%
Democratic Workplace	11%	5%	7%
Industry			
Cleaning and Waste Management Services	12%	10%	2%
Construction	8%	7%	0%
Educational and Other Services	6%	9%	-3%
Food Services	11%	7%	3%
Health Care and Social Assistance	7%	7%	-1%
Manufacturing	12%	12%	0%
Other Industry	9%	6%	3%
Professional Services	16%	27%	-11%
Retail Trade	15%	11%	4%
Transportation	6%	5%	1%
State			
California	20%	20%	0%
New York	14%	17%	-3%
Wisconsin	6%	12%	-6%
USFWC Member			
No	67%	49%	18%
Yes	33%	51%	-18%
Origin			
Conversion	21%	28%	-7%
Startup	75%	70%	5%

Appendix 3. Nonresponse Analysis of DAWI Survey Data at Worker Level

	Percent of All Respondents (n=1147)	**Percent of All Workers Employed by Participating Firms (n=3544)**	**Percentage Point Difference**
Ownership Status			
Employee	37%	47%	-10%
Worker-Owner	63%	53%	10%
Hours Worked			
Full-Time	65%	31%	33%
Part-Time	35%	69%	-33%
Race			
Black or African American	10%	14%	-4%
Hispanic or Latino	31%	54%	-23%
Multiracial	7%	2%	4%
Other	5%	2%	3%
White	47%	28%	19%
Gender			
Female	61%	79%	-18%
Identify in “Some Other Way”	4%	1%	3%
Male	34%	20%	14%
Language			
English	71%	51%	20%
Spanish	29%	49%	-20%

Appendix 4. Descriptive Statistics

DAWI Survey

	Min.	Max.	Mean/Percent	Std. dev.	N
Volunteer	0	1	44.1%	N/A	707
Governance Index	-1.48	1.45	0.10	0.95	707
Female	0	1	54.3%	N/A	707
Race					
- White	N/A	N/A	55.9%	N/A	395
- Hispanic	N/A	N/A	21.8%	N/A	154
- Black	N/A	N/A	8.6%	N/A	61
- Multiracial	N/A	N/A	8.5%	N/A	60
- Other	N/A	N/A	5.2%	N/A	37
Education					
- High school	N/A	N/A	19.0%	N/A	134
- Some College	N/A	N/A	18.8%	N/A	133
- Trade School	N/A	N/A	11.6%	N/A	82
- University Degree	N/A	N/A	50.6%	N/A	358
Hours Worked	1	68	32.88	12.18	707
Owner	0	1	67.5%	N/A	707
Log of Tenure	-2.48	3.74	1.19	1.24	707
Co-op Enthusiast	0	1	55.2%	N/A	707

2015 CPS Volunteering Supplement

	Min	Max	Mean/Percent	Std. dev.	N
State (FIPS)	1	56	N/A	N/A	57,608
Hours Worked	0	99	39.40	10.86	53,327
Hispanic	0	1	13.18%	N/A	7,522
Race					
- White	N/A	N/A	81.69%	N/A	46,619
- Black	N/A	N/A	9.92%	N/A	5,663
- Asian	N/A	N/A	5.22%	N/A	2,978
- Other	N/A	N/A	1.54%	N/A	878
- American or Alaskan Native	N/A	N/A	1.16%	N/A	661
- Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	N/A	N/A	0.47%	N/A	269
Female	0	1	47.32	N/A	27,006
Education					
- Some high school	N/A	N/A	4.90%	N/A	2,733
- High school or equivalent	N/A	N/A	27.70%	N/A	15,459
- Trade School	N/A	N/A	4.99%	N/A	2,784
- Some college	N/A	N/A	18.94%	N/A	10,572
- Associate's degree	N/A	N/A	6.01%	N/A	3,354
- Bachelors or 4-year college degree	N/A	N/A	23.83%	N/A	13,298
- Masters	N/A	N/A	9.80%	N/A	5,471
- Advanced degree	N/A	N/A	3.83%	N/A	2,139
Volunteer	0	1	26.98%	N/A	12,375

Appendix 5. Interviewee Characteristics

	N
Gender Identity	
Male	8
Female	7
Racial Identity	
White	8
Asian	3
Latinx	3
Multiracial	1
Education	
High School or less	3
BA or less	11
Graduate Degree	2
Age	
20s	2
30s	2
40s	6
50s and older	5
State	
California	5
New York	3
Wisconsin	7

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT

Table O1. Key DAWI Survey Measures in Robustness and Extended Analysis

Variable	DAWI Question Text	Notes
Physical Health	<Q46> Do you have a health problem or impairment lasting 6 months or more that limits the kind or amount of work, housework, or other major activities you can do?	Response options include "Yes" and "No"
Number of Children	<Q53> How many children under 18 live in your household?	Open response.
Relationship Status	<Q48> What is your current marital status?	Response options included all categories in descriptive statistics.
Household Income	<Q56> Including all sources, what is your current total annual household income before taxes?	Response options included all categories in descriptive statistics.
Other Types of Civic Participation	<Q33> In the last 12 months, how often have you participated in the following activities?	Recoded as dummy variables for those who reported they had participated in each type of civic activity at least once.
Organizational Leadership	<Q33a> Participated in a meeting as an officer or on a committee of any group or organization.	Adapted from 2013 CPS Civic Engagement Supplement <PES7> In the last 12 months, that is since November 2012, (have you/has NAME) served on a committee or as an officer of any group or organization?
Public Meeting Participation	<Q33b> Attended any public meetings in which there was discussion of community affairs?	Adapted from 2015 CPS Volunteer Supplement <S17> Since September 1st, 2014 have you attended any public meetings in which there was discussion of community affairs?
Protest	<Q33c> Joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration?	Adapted from 2016 ANES Post-Election Questionnaire <DHSINVOLV_EVERRRALLY> During the past 12 months, have you joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration, or have

		you not done this in the past 12 months?
Autonomy Index	<Q24> How much involvement and direct influence do you have in …	PCA of Q24a-c with Eigenvalue of 2.47 and Cronbach's Alpha of 0.88. Response options included "None," "A little," "Some," "Quite a bit," and "A great deal."
	<Q24a> deciding how to do your job and organize your work?	
	<Q24b> setting goals for your work group or department?	
	<Q24c> overall company decisions?	

Table O2. Descriptive Statistics for Robustness and Extended Analysis

DAWI Survey

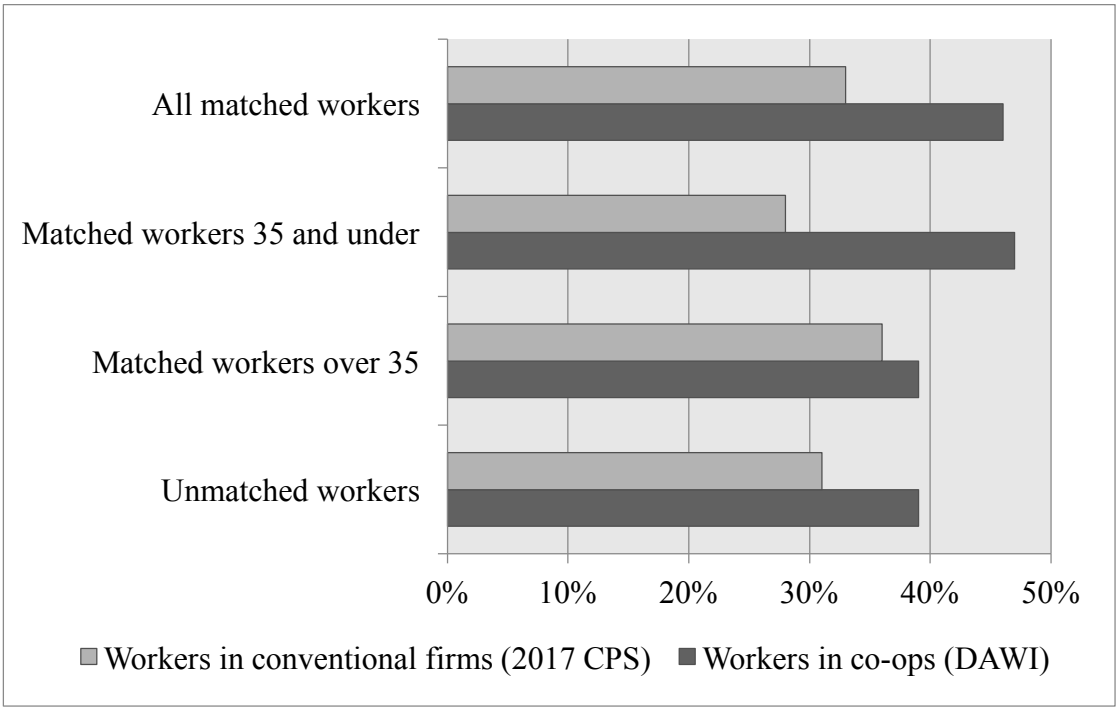
	Min.	Max.	Mean/Percent	Std. dev.	N
Physical Health	0	1	9.2%	N/A	706
Number of Children	0	4	0.64	.99	683
Relationship Status					
- Married	N/A	N/A	41.6%	N/A	293
- Marriage-like	N/A	N/A	14.4%	N/A	101
- Divorced or Separated	N/A	N/A	11.4%	N/A	80
- Widowed	N/A	N/A	1.0%	N/A	7
- Single, Never Married	N/A	N/A	31.7%	N/A	223
Household Income					
- Less than $25,000	N/A	N/A	29.0%	N/A	200
- $25,001 to $40,000	N/A	N/A	20.6%	N/A	142
- $40,001 to $55,000	N/A	N/A	11.0%	N/A	76
- $55,001 to $65,000	N/A	N/A	7.7%	N/A	53
- $65,001 to $75,000	N/A	N/A	7.6%	N/A	52
- $75,001 to $100,000	N/A	N/A	10.3%	N/A	71
- More than $100,000	N/A	N/A	13.8%	N/A	95
Protest	0	1	51.77%	N/A	707
Public Meeting Participation	0	1	51.20%	N/A	707
Organizational Leadership	0	1	52.76%	N/A	707
Autonomy Index	-2.12	1.13	0.10	0.93	685

2017 CPS Volunteering and Civic Life Supplement

	Min	Max	Mean/Percent	Std. dev.	N
State (FIPS)	1	56	N/A	N/A	57,312
Hours Worked	0	99	39.27	10.78	53,693
Hispanic	0	1	13.33%	N/A	7,639
Race					
- White	N/A	N/A	81.17%	N/A	46,522
- Black	N/A	N/A	9.91%	N/A	5,682
- Asian	N/A	N/A	5.70%	N/A	3,267
- Other	N/A	N/A	1.62%	N/A	930
- American or Alaskan Native	N/A	N/A	1.12%	N/A	641
- Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	N/A	N/A	0.47%	N/A	270
Female	0	1	47.81	N/A	27,401
Education					
- Some high school	N/A	N/A	4.59%	N/A	2,572
- High school or equivalent	N/A	N/A	27.25%	N/A	15,270
- Trade School	N/A	N/A	4.95%	N/A	2,774
- Some college	N/A	N/A	18.02%	N/A	10,100
- Associate's degree	N/A	N/A	6.371%	N/A	3,572
- Bachelors or 4-year college degree	N/A	N/A	24.60%	N/A	13,785
- Masters	N/A	N/A	10.18%	N/A	5,706
- Advanced degree	N/A	N/A	4.04%	N/A	2,263
Volunteer	0	1	32.43%	N/A	11,107

We re-ran the matching with data from the 2017 CPS Volunteering and Civic Life Supplement to test if changes in the CPS volunteering question wording between 2015 and 2017 or field period timing impacted the results (the DAWI survey was conducted in 2017). CEM reduced imbalance substantially in the 2017 CPS sample ($\mathcal{L}_1$ distance decreased from 0.91 to 0.51). The final matched sample included 10,600 respondents from the 2017 CPS and 660 from DAWI. Figure O1 is analogous to Figure 3 in the main text.

Figure O1. Rates of Volunteering Among DAWI and 2017 CPS Respondents



We re-ran Models 1-3 in Table 1 with different specifications to test the robustness of our main findings. Table O3 summarizes the results. Model A1 presents a limited model with only the two key independent variables of interest. Models A2-A4 include additional control variables.

Table O3. Multilevel Models of the Relationship between Volunteering and Frequency of Participation in Workplace Governance

	Model A1 Limited	Model A2 Full Model	Model A3 Agnostics	Model A4 Enthusiasts
Governance Index	0.377*	0.518*	0.289	0.694**
	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.36)	(0.22)
Log of Tenure		-0.028	0.218	-0.257*
		(0.11)	(0.19)	(0.12)
Co-op Agnostic (ref. cat.)				
Co-op Enthusiast	0.436*	0.482**		
	(0.17)	(0.18)		
Constant	-0.242	-0.253	0.442	0.030
	(0.18)	(0.60)	(1.17)	(0.67)
Firm Level	0.798**	0.684*	0.621	0.445
	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.54)	(0.30)
Number of Obs.	707	666	296	363

Note: Levels of significance (two-tailed tests) + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Model A1 includes only the two variables shown. Each model A2-A4 includes controls for gender, race, education, household income, relationship status, number of children, physical health, hours worked, and ownership.

The following models are analogous to those presented in Table 1 but with different outcome variables, i.e. for other types of civic participation.

Table O4. Multilevel Models of the Relationship between Protest Participation and Frequency of Participation in Workplace Governance

	Model B1 Full Model	Model B2 Agnostics	Model B3 Enthusiasts
Governance Index	0.418+	0.276	0.591**
	(0.21)	(0.28)	(0.22)
Log of Tenure	0.044	0.024	0.063
	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.12)
Co-op Agnostic (ref. cat.)			
Co-op Enthusiast	0.863***		
	(0.20)		
Constant	0.533+	0.521	1.604***
	(0.29)	(0.46)	(0.45)
Firm Level	0.727+	0.452	0.715
	(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.53)
Number of Obs.	707	317	390

Note: Levels of significance (two-tailed tests) + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. All models include controls for gender, race, education, hours worked, and ownership.

Table O5. Multilevel Models of the Relationship between Public Meeting Participation and Frequency of Participation in Workplace Governance

	Model C1 Full Model	Model C2 Agnostics	Model C3 Enthusiasts
Governance Index	0.792***	0.594***	0.997***
	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.25)
Log of Tenure	-0.094	-0.046	-0.085
	(0.09)	(0.17)	(0.12)
Co-op Agnostic (ref. cat.)			
Co-op Enthusiast	0.475*		
	(0.19)		
Constant	0.623	0.820+	0.646
	(0.40)	(0.49)	(0.51)
Firm Level	0.647*	0.254	0.977
	(0.30)	(0.38)	(0.64)
Number of Obs.	707	317	390

Note: Levels of significance (two-tailed tests) + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. All models include controls for gender, race, education, hours worked, and ownership.

Table O6. Multilevel Models of the Relationship between Organizational Leadership and Frequency of Participation in Workplace Governance

	Model D1 Full Model	Model D2 Agnostics	Model D3 Enthusiasts
Governance Index	0.738***	0.546*	0.993***
	(0.15)	(0.24)	(0.16)
Log of Tenure	0.068	0.202	-0.082
	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.10)
Co-op Agnostic (ref. cat.)	0.000		
Co-op Enthusiast	0.153		
	(0.16)		
Constant	-0.056	0.129	0.005
	(0.35)	(0.59)	(0.43)
Firm Level	0.197	0.214	0.000
	(0.14)	(0.30)	(0.00)
Number of Obs.	707	317	390

Note: Levels of significance (two-tailed tests) + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. All models include controls for gender, race, education, hours worked, and ownership.

Finally, we present a model where we use an "autonomy" index instead of the "governance" index used in the main analysis. Many studies of civic spillover use autonomy at the individual, team, and enterprise level as a proxy for workplace authority or participation.

Table O7. Multilevel Models of the Relationship between Volunteering and Workplace Autonomy

	Model E1 Full Model	Model E2 Agnostics	Model E3 Enthusiasts
Autonomy Index	0.365**	0.460**	0.379*
	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.19)
Log of Tenure	-0.020	0.091	-0.152
	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.11)
Co-op Agnostic (ref. cat.)			
Co-op Enthusiast	0.395*		
	(0.17)		
Constant	0.445	0.470	1.066*
	(0.41)	(0.61)	(0.48)
Firm Level	0.571*	0.344	0.566+
	(0.25)	(0.39)	(0.33)
Number of Obs.	685	308	377

Note: Levels of significance (two-tailed tests) + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. All models include controls for gender, race, education, hours worked, and ownership.

Paper II: The Constructive Dimensions of Social Movements

This paper addresses the relationship between resistance and building in collective political struggle. Although protests, strikes, and other repertoires of contention are well-studied in the contentious politics literature, relatively few scholars examine the interplay of contentious strategies and tactics with constructive action that builds social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs. I draw on a case study of the campaign to divest from fossil fuels and reinvest in climate solutions to illustrate how contentious and constructive dimensions are intertwined in the climate movement. I generalize from this example to argue that constellations of ideologically-saturated constructive strategies and tactics – what I call *repertoires of construction* – have unique dynamics and implications for social movement theory that warrant analytical attention in their own right.

What really matters now isn't that we do the visionary work and we do the oppositional work and we find how they're connected […] What we need to be doing is being simultaneously visionary and oppositional at the same time.
~ Gopal Dayaneni, Movement Generation, June 2018

"I want to be as practical in my radicalism as I can … and to actually get stuff done," Chris Porter said. "And I don't think burning it all down is the way for me to get there." As Chris shared his story of joining the movement to address climate change, exploring ways to move money from the fossil fuel industry to just transition projects in his home state of Kentucky, and founding the Patchwork Cooperative Loan Fund in Lexington, I was struck by his aversion to protest. Here was someone with a long history of activism who had rarely, if ever, taken to the streets. Instead Chris engaged in collective action to build a new economy from the ground up. Since 2014, the question motivating him had been: "How can we combine the powerful resistance created by divestment movements with the visionary work of those building alternatives to capitalism that empower communities and nourish people and the earth? (Bottger et al. 2018:vii).

A vast literature on contentious politics examines the dynamics of strikes, protests, and other disruptive challenges to authority in the political arena (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001, Snow et al. 2019b:5, Walder 2009). Yet many movements are composed of both protestors and

people like Chris Porter. They pursue resistance and building in tandem and reconfigure the balance according to the political, historical, and cultural context (see Paper III). In this paper, I bring the constructive dimensions of social movements to the fore and argue that they have unique dynamics and theoretical implications that warrant analytical attention in their own right.

I define the constructive as sustained, organized challenges to institutional or cultural authority that build social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs (Day-Farnsworth and Morales 2011, Snow et al. 2019a:10, White 2018). Constructive collective action takes a variety of forms on the ground from establishing worker cooperatives (see Paper I) to aligning the operations of local utilities with principles of climate justice (see Paper III). Yet they share an ideological orientation toward solutions and engage in praxis to affirmatively build material and symbolic power (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008). Drawing on Charles Tilly's (1978, 1995) concept of "repertoires of contention," I propose the complementary concept of *repertoires of construction* to describe the ideologically-saturated constellations of constructive strategies and tactics movements employ to pursue their goals. The ideology of intersectional anti-capitalism, strategies of Resilience-Based Organizing, and tactics of translocal non-extractive finance that comprise the Divest/Reinvest Campaign's repertoire of construction is a prime example.

The paper begins with an analysis of contributions and critiques of contentious politics theory, including its definition of collective action repertoires in narrow and state-centric terms. I then examine concepts and historical studies that help lay the groundwork for more comprehensive theorizing of the constructive dimensions of social movements, focusing especially on constructive resistance (Sørensen 2016) and U.S. movements for mutual aid, Black Power, and second wave feminism. Although these examples demonstrate that repertoires of construction are widespread, I suggest that the prominence of protest, emphasis on upswings in

the protest cycle, and discomfort with activism in the economic sphere makes contentious politics ill-equipped to systematically study the constructive in its current form. Monica White's (2018) framework of Collective Agency and Community Resilience and my ethnographic case study of the campaign to divest financial assets from the fossil fuel industry and reinvest in climate solutions illustrate how paying attention to repertoires of construction can extend contentious politics theory in useful ways. The discussion explores how repertoires of construction raise new questions related to resource acquisition, tactical innovation, and movement continuity and outcomes. I conclude that expanding our conception of what counts as activism contributes to both theory and empirical knowledge.

CONTENTIOUS DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Contentious politics has been the leading theory in Western scholarship on social movements for several decades. It emphasizes ways movements pursue social change via disruptive challenges to authority in the political arena (Snow et al. 2019b:5). Contentious politics analyzes collective political struggles like movements and revolutions under a common analytical framework in order to break down disciplinary silos and identify shared causal mechanisms (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001:5). For instance, scholars have compared the Cochabamba Water War and protests against rising corn prices in Mexico City to explain how resistance to market reforms occurs through common bundles of underlying mechanisms (Simmons 2017). It has been a generative framework for empirical studies.

Contentious politics theory offers several advantages over its predecessors in the resource mobilization and political process traditions. First, its comparative sensibility directs analytical attention to strategic interaction among multiple actors in a field (Edwards, McCarthy and

Mataic 2019, Fligstein and McAdam 2011, McAdam and Tarrow 2019, Walder 2009). This dynamic, networked perspective is consistent with a broader relational turn throughout sociology (see e.g. Auyero, Hernandez and Stitt 2017, Burawoy 2017, Emirbayer 1997, Zelizer 2012). Second, contentious politics highlights the period beyond initial mobilization (Tindall 2003:483). This more expansive temporal frame has helped scholarship around long-neglected areas like movement outcomes to flourish (see Part V in Snow et al. 2019a). Another key contribution of the framework has been challenging the rigid boundary between institutionalized and non-institutionalized politics. Although McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) accentuate non-institutionalized ("transgressive") politics in their seminal book outlining contentious politics theory, *Dynamics of Contention* inspired many subsequent studies that examine the distinction and relationship between the two (McAdam and Tarrow 2010, McAdam and Tarrow 2011:4, O'Brien 2003).

Scholars working in the contentious politics tradition use Charles Tilly's concept of "repertoires of contention" to describe the "culturally saturated, relatively stable" bundles of strategies and tactics movements use in specific campaigns (Doherty and Hayes 2019:272). Tilly (1993:264) uses the metaphor of a jazz performance or improvisational theatre to emphasize that repertoires are both extemporaneous and constrained. The "spontaneous consensus" around leaf blowers, umbrellas, and a wall of moms in recent protests against police brutality in Portland is a prime example (Baker and Fuller 2020). Ideological, historical, political, and other factors limit the set of routines actors choose from at any given moment (Doherty and Hayes 2019, Tilly 2006), meaning that repertoires of contention are inherently interactive and innovation occurs primarily "at the perimeter" (Tilly 1993:265). The term typically denotes the disruptive actions of extra-institutional actors and is thus a fruitful concept for analyzing the protests, strikes, and

other forms of episodic public resistance to the state that dominate the contentious politics literature (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001:5).

Yet the close association between contentious politics and this specific image of what constitutes a repertoire of collective action has also been the focus of trenchant critiques.[13] Many scholars argue that social movements are more than "just 'politics by other means'" and that contentious politics overlooks important types and modes of collective action (Snow 2004a:21). As Tindall (2003:487) writes:

> Ironically, the authors [of *Dynamic of Contention*] simultaneously broaden the scope of relevant phenomena (e.g. phenomena that fall outside the traditional definition of social movement) for social movement scholars to consider, while simultaneously excluding many types of social movements from the new agenda (various religious, lifestyle and self-transformation movements, etc.).

In particular, critics have lamented the theory's exclusion of "collective efforts at escape or self-renewal" (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 1996:21, Snow 2004a)[14] and stress on state targets (see e.g. Katzenstein 1998, Klawiter 2008, Rojas 2007, Seidman 2003, Van Dyke, Soule and Taylor 2004).

Early on, the architects of contentious politics theory attempted to preempt concerns about centering the state: "Contention is not something peculiar to the realm of politics. It is a generic phenomena inextricably linked to the establishment of institutionalized power relations (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001:343). They later conceded its "enduring state-centric bias" (McAdam and Tarrow 2011:5) and attempted to rectify this oversight in part by contributing to a growing literature on "movements and markets" that explores how contentiousness operates in

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[13] As McAdam and Tarrow (2011:6) write, "Tilly often quipped that DOC was the most successful failed experiment he had ever been involved in."

[14] Citing Hirschman (1970), Snow (2004:18) classifies communes and other forms of escaping mainstream society as "indirect collective challenges to authority" that indeed count as claims-making because exit and voice are intertwined: "Exit, under some conditions, may not only constitute a form of voice, but sometimes it may even speak louder than the voices commonly associated with direct collective challenges."

economic domains and often targets firms (King and Pearce 2010, Walker 2012). Although contentious politics has continued to emphasize disruptive, visible resistance targeting the state, in principle its adherents recognize that "not all politics entails contention" (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 1996:17) and that social movement activity indeed "takes many forms – brief or sustained, institutionalized or disruptive, humdrum or dramatic" (Della Porta 2013, Tarrow 1998:3, Tilly 2008). Even Tilly (1993:271) acknowledged that repertoires need not necessarily "involve overt conflict" and may very well feature "assemblies that escape the wrath of authorities" such as art or coordinated expressions of solidarity (Juris 2014, Mathieu 2019).[15]

Nevertheless, many scholars remain unconvinced that contentious politics fully appreciates the role cultural, discursive, and identity-based strategies and tactics play in collective action repertoires. Some critics dispute McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly's (1996:17) view that activities like "work[ing] in consensus" and "celebrat[ing] shared memories" are not forms of claims-making in and of themselves. As Jasper (1997:237) writes, "Tactics represent important routines, emotionally and morally salient in these people's lives. Just as their ideologies do, their activities express protestors' political identities and moral visions." Advocates of a more actor-centered approach emphasize the importance of meaning-making and emotions in tactical repertoires and their core features of "contestation, intentionality, and collective identity" (Doherty and Hayes 2019, Melucci 1996, Taylor and Van Dyke 2004:264). Others have proposed wholesale alternatives to the contentious politics framework altogether. For example, Armstrong and Bernstein (2008) present a model of multi-institutional politics that accounts for various targets and sources of both material and symbolic power. In so doing, they

[15] For example, see Eltantawy (2008) on Argentine women banging pots and pans as a form of resistance, Streeter (2020) on taking a knee in the N.F.L., and VanDerWerff (2020) on Italians singing from their balconies during quarantine.

refute an assumed boundary and implicit hierarchy between culture and social structure (also see e.g. Bernstein 2003, Polletta and Jasper 2001, Sewell 1992).

Contentious politics theory has undoubtedly shaped the questions scholars of social movements have asked – and overlooked – in the past 20 years. In this paper, I focus specifically on raising new questions about the ideologically-saturated movement strategies and tactics that build social-relational infrastructure in order to meet collective needs.

CONSTRUCTIVE DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Although repertoires of contention are well-studied in the social movements literature, relatively little research examines the interplay of resistance and building in political struggle. Yet many movements pursue social change by simultaneously engaging in contentious and constructive collective action. The Knights of Labor organized strikes to resist oppressive employers and founded worker cooperatives to emancipate members from wage labor in the early U.S. union movement (Leikin 2005, Voss 1993). Gandhi's theory of change in the struggle for Indian independence was premised on both *Satyagraha* – the "truth force" of nonviolent civil disobedience – and a Constructive Programme that promoted economic self-reliance by encouraging the domestic production of textiles and other goods (Gandhi 1945, Salla 1993:52, Sørensen 2016).[16] During colonialism, Koreans both directly resisted military occupation and created autonomous economic and civic institutions that indirectly challenged the authority of Japanese rule (Snow 2004a). These examples of construction – which literally means "together build" in the original Latin (Bell et al. 2020:354) – all involve building social-relational

[16] As Sørensen (2016:52) notes, the constructive programme was central to Gandhi's political philosophy: "For Gandhi, the constructive programme was more important for the liberation of India than the non-cooperation and civil disobedience campaigns." The call to produce Khadi (homespun cloth) as an alternative to purchasing imported British textiles was its most widespread campaign.

infrastructure to meet collective needs. They also represent the kinds of sustained, organized challenges to institutional or cultural authority that differentiate social movements from other forms of collective action (Snow et al. 2019a:10). I argue that constellations of ideologically-saturated constructive strategies and tactics – what I call *repertoires of construction* – warrant analytical attention in their own right.

My definition of repertoires of construction draws on Tilly's foundational concept and scholarship on the crucial but often-overlooked social-relational infrastructure underpinning resilient local food systems. For example, Day-Farnsworth and Morales (2011) argue that food hubs help make midtier food value(s) chains tick by meeting needs for aggregation, transparency and source identity, and fair pricing. Day-Farnsworth and Miller (2014) illuminate how building relationships and scale-appropriate transportation and distribution infrastructure is essential for the success of values-based regional food economies.[17] I propose that the "ideologically structured" bundles of actions (Zald 2006) movements undertake to build social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs are a similarly "diverse and complex set of empirical instances" (Oliver 2008:13) ranging from alternative economic institutions (White 2018) to Transformative Narratives (Movement Generation 2013). In all cases, however, constructive repertoires involve both a solutions-oriented ideological position that "no is not enough" (Klein 2017) to achieve social change and concrete collective action that seeks to affirmatively build a movement's material and symbolic power (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008). In this sense, my empirical object is better conceptualized as practices of constructive challenges to authority than

[17] The authors emphasize the social and ideological dimensions of effective regional food transportation networks: "Relationships drive logistics and logistical decision-making. Logistics drives transportation infrastructure development. Supply chain relationships foster efficiencies and economic opportunities […] Regional food distribution faces the competing goals of reducing costs and improving quality, while balancing market efficiencies with relational values […] The businesses that are building values-based supply chains are looking for strategic partners who are committed to sustainability in terms of environmental, economic, and social goals." (Day-Farnsworth and Morales 2011:9-11).

as a particular group or geographic place.[18] This definition is relational and contingent rather than typological.

Although many scholars in sociology, history, political science, peace studies, and other disciplines have written about building social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs, studies of the constructive dimensions of social movements comprise a fragmented rather than coherent body of work. A number of concepts and empirical examples help lay the groundwork for more comprehensive theorizing of the broad range of ideologically-saturated constructive strategies and tactics movements employ to pursue their goals.[19]

One line of thinking is the framework of constructive resistance. Anchored in resistance studies, constructive resistance describes efforts to build social structures that operate outside the dominant system such as parallel educational institutions, squatter settlements, and worker cooperatives (Koefoed 2017, Lilja 2020, Sørensen and Vinthagen 2012, Sørensen 2016, Wiksell 2020). Architects of the framework present it as a useful way to theorize:

> initiatives which not only criticise, protest, object, and undermine what is considered undesirable and wrong, but simultaneously acquire, create, build, cultivate and experiment with what people need in the present moment, or what they would like to see replacing dominant structures or power relations (Sørensen 2016:57).

In particular, they argue that constructive resistance opens up opportunities for comparative analysis of prefigurative politics, or "the attempted construction of alternative or utopian social relations in the present" (Yates 2015:1). Prefiguration can take many different forms including communes, free spaces, and kindred efforts to foster oppositional consciousness and create small-scale models of the world as activists believe it should be (see e.g. Evans and Boyte 1986,

[18] Thanks to Monica White for this insightful observation. For debates on defining the ethnographic object, see Small (2009), Desmond (2014), Burawoy (2017), and Jensen and Auyero (2019).

[19] Thanks to Pamela Oliver for this helpful formulation.

Groch 2001, Kanter 1972, Morris and Braine 2001, Roth, Saunders and Olcese 2014, Vaisey 2007).[20] The constructive resistance framework posits that these types of activities can be usefully analyzed according to their ratio of how much resistance (operationalized as visibility or the repressiveness of the response provoked) versus construction (operationalized as consequences or scale of social change achieved) is involved (Sørensen 2016:59). In this sense, it is related to schemas that classify strategies and tactics according to the extent to which they are disruptive versus non-disruptive (Rojas 2007), orderly versus violent (Tarrow 1995), or based on conflict versus consensus (Bell 2007).

Constructive resistance provides a model of the kind of framework needed for theorizing the constructive dimensions of social movements, yet its utility for extending contentious politics theory is limited in two critical ways. First, constructive resistance is limited to action that takes place outside the state (Sørensen 2016:73) whereas my definition of constructive action acknowledges the overlap between institutional and non-institutional politics (O'Brien 2003). Second, constructive resistance includes "unorganized and individual acts" (Sørensen 2016:57) such as everyday forms of resistance (Scott 1985) and the atomized consumer choices prevalent in many lifestyle movements (Haenfler, Johnson and Jones 2012). While recognizing that private decisions have the potential to create the conditions necessary for movement emergence (Willis and Schor 2012), repertoires of construction constitute forms of *collective* action that cannot be undertaken by individuals alone.

A more empirical line of inquiry also helps lay the groundwork for systematic study of repertoires of construction. A diverse set of studies grounded in archival research and thick description examines how movements have actually gone about the work of building social-

[20] As Yates (2015:1) points out, prefigurative politics often take place "either in parallel with, or in the course of, adversarial social movement protest."

relational infrastructure throughout history, often lifting up actors and activities less visible in traditional accounts. What they share is not a single theoretical lens but a common preoccupation with cases of constructive action within and beyond the state.

For example, historical studies of self-help movements in the United States illustrate longstanding traditions of organizing within marginalized communities to meet collective needs. Benevolent and mutual aid societies that provided insurance, burial services, and other forms of social support were critical for the survival of subaltern groups throughout the nineteenth century (see e.g. Du Bois 1898, Gamm and Putnam 1999, Gordon Nembhard 2014). In 1902, Russian anarchist Petr Kropotkin published *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution* outlining a theory of mutual aid as political participation that proposed solidarity rather than social Darwinism as the driving force of human progress (Gulick et al. 2020, Katz 1981). These ideas were influential during the early labor movement (Leikin 2005) and inspired neighbors to explore "new ways to put two and two together" when inadequate government relief programs left millions destitute during the Great Depression (Rowe 2006). Historians like Jonathan Rowe have documented self-help cooperatives that operated in over 30 states in the early 1930s. For example, the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Organization in Compton, CA began in 1932 as a barter network that allowed members to trade their time for essential goods and services. Governance was democratic, benefits were distributed according to need, and the cooperative often utilized more contentious tactics to stop evictions and utility shutoffs. Although many such "economies of reciprocity" (Schor 2011) disintegrated with the advent of the Works Progress Administration (Rowe 2006), others evolved into the 40,000 established cooperatives still operative in the U.S. today (Haveman, Rao and Paruchuri 2007, Schneiberg 2011, Schneider 2018).

Although contentious politics scholars frequently examine how disaffected workers engage in strikes and other contentious actions, they have largely ignored their informal, self-organized, and ostensibly spontaneous efforts to help each other directly. Debates about whether mutual aid qualifies as social movement activity persist (Katz 1981). Yet as Polletta (2006:475) writes, "I suspect that the lines separating movement groups from […] self-help groups often reflect the idiosyncrasies of how subfields have developed rather than anything intrinsic to the phenomena themselves." Informal practices of self-help and mutual aid have persisted since the Great Depression, thriving during periods of social upheaval under guises ranging from time banks to local currencies. Most recently, there has been a renaissance of mutual aid organizing in response to the COVID-19 crisis.[21] Many of these efforts identify as "solidarity not charity," challenging the authority of elite philanthropic and state institutions by "caring for one another" in ways that build "new social relations that are more survivable" (Spade and Carrillo 2019). These developments have prompted some scholars to reconsider their assumption that self-help movements are necessarily ad-hoc, short-lived, and uninterested in broader social change (Tolentino 2020).

A growing literature on "the long civil rights movement" (Hall 2005) also features rich historical accounts that emphasize the centrality of repertoires of construction in the struggle for Black liberation. Although a lesser-known aspect of Black Power activism during the 1960-70s, "community survival" programs that provided free breakfast, medical care, and other services were a major focus of the Black Panther Party (BPP) after 1968 (Abron 1998, Austin 2009,

[21] See Mutual Aid Hub (https://mutualaidhub.org/) for a map of mutual aid networks across the U.S., Mutual Aid Disaster Relief (https://mutualaiddisasterrelief.org/) and Big Door Brigade (http://bigdoorbrigade.com/) for primers on mutual aid principles, and the March 20, 2020 episode of Democracy NOW! (https://democracynow.org/2020/3/20/coronavirus_community_response_mutual_aid) for an introduction to mutual aid organizing during the COVID-19 crisis.

Bloom and Martin Jr. 2016, Nelson 2011). A network of free health clinics "serve[d] the people body and soul" by providing basic medical care and screening for sickle-cell anemia (Nelson 2011). BPP members supervised traffic stops and organized grocery giveaways to combat malnutrition (Bell 2014). Party leaders studied Black cooperative business traditions (see e.g. Du Bois 1907, Gordon Nembhard 2014, White 2018) and launched grassroots projects to increase economic autonomy (Hill and Rabig 2012). As one member said, "People's needs are land, bread, housing, education, … , clothing, justice, and peace, and the Black Panther Party shall not, for a day, alienate themselves from the masses and forget their needs for survival" (quoted in Bloom and Martin Jr. 2016:181). Although the BPP is best known for its militant resistance to white oppression, it pursued social change with both "guns" and "a helping hand" (Nelson 2011:54).

The dominant academic narrative dismisses BPP social service programs as evidence of deradicalization and movement degeneration (Bell 2014, Nelson 2011:2-7). Yet recent empirical studies demonstrate the ideological and practical significance of efforts to build social-relational infrastructure in the Black Power movement. The Party's founders viewed self-sufficiency and self-determination as integral to the transformation of racial and economic inequality.[22] As Chicago chapter head Fred Hampton said, "First you have free breakfasts, then you have free medical care, then you have free bus rides, and soon you have FREEDOM!" (quoted in Nelson 2011:58). In terms of praxis, BPP programs patched holes in the social safety net and supported recruitment, mobilizing, and organizational legitimacy. For example, the Party's 1972 foray into electoral politics ran candidates for the Oakland mayor and city council on a "Community

[22] As Wilson (1973:99) observes, "The most basic and most obvious theme in Black Panther ideology is the diagnosis of Black people's trouble as being due to institutional racism, which in turn is a reflection of the evils of capitalism."

Survival Ticket" that promised to serve constituents left behind by the War on Poverty (Nelson 2011). Building social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs also spurred long-term institutional and cultural impacts in arenas like medicine (Nelson 2011), agriculture (White 2018), the academy (Rojas 2007), and the profession of social work (Bell 2014). As Bell (2014:11) writes: "The work of changing racialized norms and practices, while necessarily a dispersed and somewhat amorphous process, was partially carried out in the institutions of civil society." Inspired in part by the BPP, many Black activists in subsequent decades have continued to pair overt resistance to institutional racism with constructive mutual aid in the face of state repression and neglect (see e.g. Gulick et al. 2020, Oliver 2020, White 2011b).

A third group of historical studies explores cases of constructive action in the context of second wave feminism. During the 1960s and 1970s, activists established independent social service infrastructure like women's shelters and reproductive clinics and built alternative economic institutions like credit unions and bookstores (Enke 2007, Staggenborg and Taylor 2005). Recognition of the importance of free spaces, consciousness-raising, and cultural activities for mass feminist mobilizations like the 1970 Women's Strike for Equality is widespread. Relatively few movement scholars, however, have explored the social change implications of constructive activities in and of themselves. This is partly because, as Enke (2007) notes, building this kind of infrastructure was "fueled by diverse people who did not necessarily identify themselves as political activists or feminists" (2) and often "spontaneous, unattached to named organizations, and left little record in print" (4). This "dazzling array of action" is thus much less visible than protests and marches in the historical record (Enke 2007:2).[23]

[23] In contrast, Enke (2007:5) writes, "the historiography of the movement has largely confined itself to studying feminist-identified organizations and people who embraced a feminist identity."

As in the case of the Black Power movement, observers often glossed over these examples of constructive action during the 1960s and 1970s or cited shifts from public, disruptive actions targeting the state to more constructive activities like advocacy and self-help as evidence of feminism in abeyance (Epstein 2001, Sawyers and Meyer 1999). Yet several empirical studies have challenged this narrative (Staggenborg 2001, Staggenborg and Taylor 2005). Notably, Verta Taylor's (1996, 1999) careful analysis of the postpartum self-help movement prompted a dramatic change in her thinking about the implications of therapeutic feminism and identity politics for social change. Whereas her previous scholarship had seen the decline in protest activity and appearance of cultural groups as hallmarks of the feminist "doldrums" after World War II (Rupp and Taylor 1987, Taylor 1989), Taylor (1996:5) came to see the pivot toward meeting collective needs in the 1980s as a strategic response to failure of the Equal Rights Amendment and anti-feminist sentiment more broadly:

> This shift to a more hostile national political climate did not spell the death of feminism. Rather, it transformed both the form and the strategies of women's movements […] As new generations of activists continued to be drawn to feminism in the 1980s, they found new arenas for political action as they struggled to define a feminism that would reflect the specific disadvantages of gender in their own lives.

Like scholars of the long civil rights movement, researchers taking a broader view of what counts as feminist collective action have also found that institutions like the church and military became key sites of contestation during this period (Katzenstein 1998, Walker 2012).[24] Taking the constructive seriously thus "rethinks the parameters" of the movement (Enke 2007:12) in important ways by looking for feminism in less obvious places, from inside the beltline to anti-

[24] Arguments about the expansion of politics to nonpolitical arenas also links to Elizabeth Clemens's (1993, 1997) work tracing the rise of lobbying and interest group politics in the U.S. to women's adaptation of "nonpolitical" forms of organization for political ends in the early twentieth century.

nuclear demonstrations (also see Klawiter 2008, Meyer and Whittier 2014, Taylor and Van Dyke 2004).

U.S. movements for mutual aid, Black Power, and second wave feminism within the past 150 years illustrate that repertoires of construction are widespread. This discussion is far from comprehensive, neglecting numerous cases of building social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs throughout history and around the globe. Yet these examples are analytically useful in highlighting more general features of constructive action. For example, they demonstrate that repertoires of contention and construction are deeply intertwined. Like institutional and non-institutional politics, resistance and building are not always mutually exclusive or sharply distinct. BPP community clinics both constructed alternatives to public health services and contested state control of Black bodies (Nelson 2011). Furthermore, contentiousness or constructiveness is not an inherent feature of any particular strategy or tactic. Depression-era food cooperatives and feminist credit unions did not inevitably resist capitalism simply by virtue of their legal status (Enke 2007, Wright 2010). Rather, these alternative economic institutions adopted and transformed market logics in unpredictable and sometimes contradictory ways. In other words, complementary sets of movement practices tend to cohere around contention or construction in ideologically-saturated ways.

My conceptualization of the relationship between resistance and building draws inspiration from Erik Olin Wright's (2010) concept of Real Utopias, which analyzes the interplay between diagnosis/critique of capitalism and pathways to viable socialist alternatives in actually-existing institutions like worker cooperatives and participatory budgeting. Wright (2013:3) refrains from drawing crisp dividing lines between the real and the utopian in the empirical examples he studies, instead recognizing that the "tension between dreams and practice" is

constantly renegotiated. Similarly, my definition of repertoires of construction assumes that the process of "constructing new space for collective agency" is rarely linear (Jacobsson and Sörbom 2015:714).

Movements for mutual aid, Black Power, and second wave feminism also exemplify how the configuration of contentious and constructive practices is context-specific. Just as repertoires of contention are "historically conditioned" (Doherty and Hayes 2019:273, Tilly 1993, Tilly 2006), the balance of resistance and building varies with historical, cultural, political, geographic, and other factors. Reconfiguration is a form of "strategic adaptation" (Koopmans 2007). For instance, the BPP de-emphasized militancy and expanded survival programs in response to the "tactical exigencies" of state repression and concerns that a reputation for inciting violence was eroding community support (Bloom and Martin Jr. 2016, Nelson 2011:5).[25] And like the "innovation and strenuous bargaining" involved in developing new repertoires (Tilly 1993:265), shifting the relative weight of contention and construction requires movement actors to navigate quandaries that often provoke moments of conflict. For example, many feminist activists who called for equal rights in the streets during the 1970s pivoted to organizing within state agencies and the ivory tower in the 1980s (Stacey and Thorne 1985, Staggenborg and Taylor 2005). Some observers lifted up benefits of professionalization for personal and organizational sustainability (Roth 2016, Staggenborg 1988). Others decried it as the death knell of the women's movement (Epstein 2001, Sawyers and Meyer 1999). In short, shifts in the political opportunity structure are likely to necessitate strategic repertoire reconfiguration (see Paper III).

[25] As Bloom and Martin Jr. (2016:186) point out, however, community survival programs were not exempt from state repression. As the free breakfast program won "hearts and minds" and highlighted failures of the War on Poverty, the police and FBI spread disinformation campaigns and even violently raided meals with children present.

Taken together, this relational and contingent understanding of constructive action implies that it is a feature of every social movement rather than a classification criterion.[26] I contend that some movements emphasize building social-relational infrastructure more than others but most pursue contention and construction in tandem. Several typologies miss this interplay by assuming they are mutually exclusive. For example, Aberle (1966:318) categorizes organized group efforts toward widespread systems change as Transformative Movements that "involve a radical rejection" of existing systems and the creation of new ones to enact a total "shift from things as they are to things as they should be."[27] Other scholars similarly distinguish between movements oriented toward reform and affirmation of existing structures versus movements that are "world-rejecting" and seek more fundamental systems change (Smelser 1962, Wallis 1984).[28] These and other attempts to create space for "awkward movements" (Polletta 2006) in social movement theory usefully suggest that more systematic study of constructive action would enrich our understanding of the broad range of strategies and tactics collectivities employ to pursue their goals. The problem is that they view construction as a distinctive rather than constitutive feature of social movements.

My proposal that repertoires of contention and construction are contingent, context-specific, and operative in all sustained, organized challenges to authority has important empirical

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[26] I conceptualize the configuration of resistance versus building as akin to the way in which every movement takes some stance along a continuum of violent versus nonviolent repertoires.

[27] Aberle (1966:318) classifies social movements according to the "locus" (individual versus systems) and "amount" (total or partial) of change they seek. He defines Transformative Movements as "organized groups of people who actively seek, by whatever means, ritual or practical, a transformation of the socio-cultural, or indeed the natural order, including the socio-cultural – and this in their own lifetimes" in part through disengagement from mainstream society. In this scheme, Transformative Movements are similar to prefigurative politics as practiced in communes or what Snow (2004) describes as indirect challenges to authority via "exit" rather than "voice."

[28] Smelser's (1962) distinction between "norm-oriented" (i.e. reform) and "value-oriented" (i.e. radical, seeking more fundamental change) movements is related to Wallis's (1984) distinction between "world-affirming" and "world-rejecting" movements.

and theoretical implications. Thus far, however, I have shown that studies of the constructive dimensions of social movements have been fragmented and largely overlooked in the dominant literature. The next section explores some reasons why repertoires of construction seem to be peripheral in extant contentious politics research. I then examine a particularly detailed and illuminating example from Monica White (2018) to argue that constellations of ideologically-saturated constructive strategies and tactics warrant greater analytical attention in their own right.

WHY REPERTOIRES OF CONSTRUCTION HAVE BEEN OVERLOOKED

Given that constructive collective action is prevalent in many movements clearly within the purview of contentious politics, why have so few scholars placed it in the center of analysis? As Snow (2004a:19) points out, there is "an abundance" of work that looks beyond public, disruptive protest targeting states – yet it "is rarely used at the basis for refining and sharpening how we conceptualize social movements." I suggest three main explanations for the relative dearth of theoretical attention to repertoires of construction in dominant theories of social movements: the prominence of protest, an emphasis on upswings in the protest cycle, and discomfort with the "gray zone" (Thayer 2017) between movements and markets.

Protests loom large in the academic imagination. As Taylor and Van Dyke (2004:263) note, mass mobilizations demanding social change outside conventional political channels are "integral to popular views of social movements" and a key indicator of movement activity in political sociology (Walder 2009). Protests that took the form of nonviolent mass mobilizations were also decisive in the 1960s U.S. Civil Rights movement, which was the prototypical case for scholars developing theories of resource mobilization, political process, and contentious politics (McAdam et al. 2006, Oliver 2008, Seidman 2001). Steve Schapiro's photographs of the 1963

March on Washington and Martin Luther King Jr. linking arms with fellow (male) leaders of the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery march are some of the most iconic social movement images of all time, projecting "models for political participation and action" that had profound impacts in the 1960s and beyond (Snow et al. 2019b:2). Not only did the Civil Rights Movement provide empirical fodder for quantitative protest event research designs, but it also cemented cultural assumptions about what effective resistance looks like.[29] For example, "patriarchal bias in our understanding of social resistance has rendered many strategies unnoticed and unappreciated" (Kuumba 2001:100). A narrow focus on protest often obscures resistance by women, who are more likely to take the lead on providing basic needs like food, shelter, and education that nourish and sustain activists on the streets (Kuumba 2001, Payne 1995 [2007], Taylor 1999, White 2011a, White 2017).

A second and related reason for the lack of systematic study of constructive action is that social movement research tends to focus on upswings in the cycle of contention when mobilization targeting the state is visible and widespread (McAdam and Sewell 2001). Dominant theoretical frameworks provide limited traction, however, on the question of how actors sustain collective action when openings in the political and cultural opportunity structure are limited and activity takes less recognizable forms (Meyer 2004). For example, innumerable studies focus on the period leading up to and immediately following the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 (see e.g. Andrews 1997, McAdam 1983, Morris 1984). Relatively few center on the Poor People's Campaign, protest repression after Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination in 1968, and institutionalization in the movement for Black liberation (for exceptions, see e.g. McKnight

[29] Selection and description bias is especially pronounced in protest event data based on mainstream newspapers, which systematically lift up "great men" and confrontation while leaving out leaders and tactics that are less disposed to grabbing headlines (Earl et al. 2004).

1998, Oliver 2020, Walton 1988). This may be because constructive activities have often been dismissed as having limited prospects to achieve meaningful social change. Abeyance scholars have theorized that less confrontational strategies and tactics are evidence of a "holding pattern" and diminished movement strength (Jacobsson and Sörbom 2015, Taylor 1989, Taylor and Crossley 2013). Alternatively, taking for granted that protest is an adequate indicator of a movement cycle might mean "we miss out on where the real action happens: the movement to implement the movement" (Bell 2014:28).

Finally, constructive activities often take place in the market sphere and thus have largely been the domain of subfields like economic sociology, organizational sociology, and Marxism (see e.g. Collins 2017, Gibson-Graham 2006, Wright 2010, Wry and York 2015). Many social movement scholars have expressed antipathy toward efforts to build alternative economic institutions like cooperatives, viewing them as a slippery slope towards oligarchy or neoliberalism (Clemens and Minkoff 2004, Harrison 2015, Piven and Cloward 1977, Thayer 2017). These critiques tend to view the market as sullying the ostensibly non-calculative logic of movement actors (Block 1990, Jaffee 2014 [2007], Thayer 2017:159). The movements and markets literature has begun bridging this gap by examining how social movements play a role in the emergence of new fields and alternative organizational forms (King and Pearce 2010, Walker 2012). Yet these studies still tend to assume a clear boundary between the spheres of economy and civil society whereby social change results from spillover rather than transformation of these spheres in and of themselves (Meyer and Whittier 2014, Schlachter and Már 2020).

These reasons why contentious politics has largely overlooked constructive collective action suggest that accounting for the broader range of ideologies, strategies, and tactics movements employ to pursue their goals requires expanding our analytical toolkit. Decentering a

narrow understanding of protest, analyzing the entire course of the movement cycle, and actively exploring links between movements and markets have in fact all been aspirations of many prominent contentious politics scholars (King and Pearce 2010, McAdam and Sewell 2001, McAdam et al. 2006, Tindall 2003, Walker 2012). In other words, systematically theorizing the constructive is not a challenge rooted in an inherent incompatibility with the contentious politics framework. Instead I see it as a promising opportunity for theory extension.

ILLUMINATING REPERTOIRES OF CONSTRUCTION IN ACTION

My concept of repertoires of construction builds on the framework of constructive resistance and the types of historical studies I described earlier of movements for mutual aid, Black Power, and second-wave feminism to encourage more systematic study of constructive collective action. Again, *the constructive* includes a broad range of activities movements engage in to build social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs. *Repertoires of construction* are constellations of constructive strategies and tactics that are grounded in ideologies. Following Oliver and Johnston (2000:43) and Wilson (1973), I understand ideology as "a system of meaning that couples assertions and theories about the nature of social life with values and norms relevant to promoting and resisting social change" that includes three elements: diagnosis, prognosis, and call to action.[30] Following Ganz (2009:8-10), I understand strategy as "a verb" that captures "how we turn what we have into what we need to get what we want" and tactics as the particular actions movements take to implement their strategies. Monica White's (2018)

[30] Oliver and Johnston (2000:43) draw "heavily" on Wilson (1973:91), who defines ideology as "a set of beliefs about the social world and how it operates" including as assessment of the justice of social arrangements and what should be done about them. This definition captures both cognition and values. Wilson describes the elements of ideology as "diagnosis – what is wrong" (95), "prognosis – what must be done" (108), and "rationale – who must do the job" (124). Also see Snow and Benford (1988) for application of these three elements to framing theory.

study of Collective Agency and Community Resilience is a particularly detailed and illuminating example of a repertoire of construction in action. It suggests these constellations of these elements have unique dynamics and implications for social movement theory that warrant greater analytical attention in their own right.

A key takeaway of White's story of Black agricultural cooperatives is that the constructive has long been central but overlooked aspect of the struggle for Black liberation. Her story weaves together history and ethnography to demonstrate direct links between food sovereignty projects in contemporary Detroit and the Jim Crow South. As she argues:

> Even the study of everyday forms of resistance misses activities that are not disruptive but rather constructive, in the sense that the aggrieved actively build alternatives to existing political and economic relationships. The acts of building knowledge, skills, community, and economic independence have a radical potential that the term does not encompass. We might then ask: Is it possible to conceptualize these ways of building self-sufficiency and self-reliance as resistance in their own right? (White 2018:6)

White's framework of Collective Agency and Community Resilience provides a way to analyze constructive action across her empirical cases. As such, I view it as a particularly rich example of a repertoire of construction featuring three elements: an ideology of collective agency and community resilience, strategies of commons as praxis, prefigurative politics, and economic autonomy, and tactics of building alternative economic and political institutions like farm co-ops, local and regional co-op networks, and urban food justice projects.

Collective Agency and Community Resilience also demonstrates how repertoires of construction can shed light on questions of interest to social movement scholars. For example, in terms of resource acquisition, White's case study of Fannie Lou Hamer's Freedom Farm shows us that the demonstration project successfully accessed fundraising dollars inaccessible to other civil rights organizations known for more contentious repertoires like the Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee. Hamer wasn't able to fully achieve her vision of economic self-determination, however, because the project became dependent on external donors when local whites threatened by Freedom Farm's vision of Black self-determination were able to block access to crucial indigenous resources. In terms of tactical innovation, White shows us that Black agricultural cooperatives in the South preceded an upsurge in food justice mobilization in the North: Freedom Farm and the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative prefigured regional networks like the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and eventually projects like D-Town Farm in Detroit. CACR also has implications for movement continuity and outcomes. White echoes scholars of the long civil rights movement in demonstrating that repertoires of contention and construction are deeply intertwined in agriculture – an arena often assumed to be "non-political" by contentious politics scholars. In particular, she shows that farmers carried strategies, tactics, and "an ideology of self-sufficiency and self-determination" from their experiences in the Civil Rights and Black Power movements into their work of building alternative economic institutions (White 2018:98). Agricultural cooperatives were also sites of political activism in and of themselves:

> The transition from organizing cooperatives to participation in local politics was clear […] The organizing mechanism that allowed black farmers to increase their profits and provide for their livelihoods also educated them on the mechanisms to push back against oppressive political power (White 2018:112).

In sum, CACR illustrates that paying attention to the constructive can yield generative insights for social movement theory. It also provides a point of departure to ask how the concept of repertoires of construction generalizes to other movements. The next section takes up this question through a case study of a campaign in the movement for climate justice.

CASE STUDY: THE DIVEST/REINVEST CAMPAIGN

> *Social movements have shown us the power of divestment to resist the flow of social and financial capital to industries and economies of violence. We believe that there is enormous potential in not just halting this flow but redirecting it into a new economy based on solidarity, justice, and sustainability.*
> *~ Bottger et al. (2018:vii)*

Although a number of social scientists have examined activism calling for divestment from fossil fuels (see e.g. Bratman et al. 2016, Grady-Benson and Sarathy 2016, Hunt and Weber 2019, Seidman 2015, Yona and Lenferna 2016), the reinvestment demands of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign have been largely overlooked. This campaign is an opportune empirical site to examine the interplay of resistance and building in the climate movement because it explicitly pairs repertoires of contention and construction to move money from the fossil fuel industry to "frontline" communities most affected by climate change (Roberts and Toffololon-Weiss 1999). As Stoner (2019) writes, "Most initiatives, like campus fossil-fuel divestment movements or #DefundDAPL, fight environmentally destructive projects […] The next logical step [is] working 'to build the good' ones." Proponents of reinvestment argue that moving divested assets from extractive activities to "regenerative" institutions like agricultural cooperatives and community-owned solar farms enacts principles of equity, democracy, systems transformation, and radical inclusion that characterize a "just transition" (LNS and SPGPP 2018, Pellow 2020, United Frontline Table 2020).

I develop the concept of repertoires of construction through a multi-sited ethnographic case study (Marcus 1995) of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign. Thanks in part to a collaborative research relationship with the Working World, a nonprofit deeply enmeshed in the story of reinvestment, I observed trainings and meetings related to the campaign between October 2017

and March 2019.[31] Many of these events took place online. I also conducted fieldwork about just transition organizing in Kentucky in July and August 2018 and attended a weekend workshop for non-extractive finance activists in Montreat, North Carolina in February 2019. My field notes paid special attention to strategic debates, network ties, and moments of conflict. Semi-structured interviews with 22 individuals (see Table 1) focused on professional trajectories, turning points in the campaign, perceptions and interpretations of changes in the political opportunity structure, and resource acquisition.[32] I triangulated these observations and interviews with organizational documents shared by the Working World, archival sources from the Special Collections Research Center at the University of Kentucky in Lexington, and secondary sources.

Table 1. Interview Participants

Primary Campaign Focus	Gender Identity		Racial Identity		Age in Years			
	Female	Male	White	Nonwhite	Under 30	30-45	46-60	Over 60
Divest	3	0	2	1	2	1	0	0
Reinvest	9	10	15	4	2	8	5	4
Total	12	10	17	5	4	9	5	4

Two considerations guided my case selection. First, the Divest/Reinvest Campaign clearly links resistance targeting states and corporations with building social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs.[33] By intentionally "selecting on the dependent variable"

[31] The Working World facilitated interview recruitment and allowed me to observe invite-only trainings and network calls. Our collaboration had an action research component whereby I drafted narratives about the history of the Our Power Loan Fund to support fundraising and outreach activities. For more details about the Working World, see https://www.theworkingworld.org/us/

[32] I secured consent to record from 22 interviewees; five people preferred to speak more informally and I use their insights for background purposes only. All quotations are from interviewees who consented in writing to be directly quoted using either a pseudonym or their real name.

[33] Mainstream philanthropic interest in divesting from fossil fuels and reinvesting in climate solutions has coalesced under the banner of Divest Invest, a network of financial professionals and foundations who pledge to shift investments in the top 200 oil, gas, and coal companies to "climate solutions, broadly defined," within the next five years (Vondrich et al. 2017:11). The network's tag line is "Doing Good. Performing Better. Beat your Benchmarks. Beat Climate Change." Although Divest Invest has intersected with the Divest/Reinvest Campaign, the former is largely an elite advocacy initiative that does not recommend particular reinvestment opportunities. As such, it is distinct from the Divest/Reinvest Campaign I focus on in this case study, which clearly utilizes contentious and constructive repertoires composed of specific grassroots movement ideologies, strategies, and tactics. A separate

(Small 2009b), I aim to demonstrate how repertoires of construction can extend contentious politics theory to account for the broader range of ideologies, strategies, and tactics movements employ to pursue their goals. Second, my own involvement in movements for economic democracy and climate justice provided background knowledge and facilitated access to key actors in this case. Although my role was more observer than participant in the Divest/Reinvest Campaign, I have been involved in climate activism as a volunteer leader at my local affiliate of 350.org since 2013.[34] This positionality made it possible to conduct interviews and review primary sources that might otherwise have been inaccessible. Per my consent process, I refer to all characters in this tight-knit movement circle using real names except individuals who actively chose a pseudonym (Jerolmack and Murphy 2017). My account looks behind the scenes of the few publicly available debates about the relationship between divestment and reinvestment (see e.g. Davidson and Kaufman 2015, LaSala 2015, Smith, Brecher and Sheeran 2014) to identify elements of the campaign's repertoire of construction and questions it invokes for social movement theory and practice.

Origins of the Fossil Fuel Divestment Campaign

In the United States, political opportunities for action to address the climate crisis have been severely constrained by a powerful corporate-funded countermovement of "organized climate change denial" (Dunlap and McCright 2015:309, McCright and Dunlap 2011). Global warming was a largely nonpartisan issue under the Reagan and H.W. Bush administrations, and there was broad public support for U.S. participation in an international climate treaty in the

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Shake the Foundations initiative that seeks to channel philanthropic resources directly to Seed Commons has been emerging from conversations between foundations and reinvestment activists since the 2016 EDGE Conference and is explicitly linked to Reinvest in Our Power. See https://reinvestinourpower.org/philanthropy-finance/ for details.

[34] See, for example, a 2014 interview with Wisconsin Public Radio in my capacity as 350 Madison Co-Coordinator (accessed July 2020). "Wisconsinites Join World's Largest-Ever Climate March in New York Last Weekend" https://www.wpr.org/people/laura-hanson-schlachter.

1990s (McCright and Dunlap 2003). The "Republican Revolution" brought a number of vocal climate deniers to power, however, and the Senate blocked ratification of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997. UN climate treaty negotiations also collapsed in 2009. Congress rejected a comprehensive federal climate bill shortly thereafter. Party affiliation is now a more important factor than scientific understanding in attitudes toward climate change in the U.S. A 2019 poll by the Pew Research Center found that only 17 percent of republicans with high science knowledge believe "human activity contributes a great deal to global climate change" compared to 89 percent of democrats.[35] A number of groups in the climate movement have persisted in calling for legislative action on climate change despite this inopportune political environment (McAdam 2017) while others have turned their attention beyond the state.

The fossil fuel divestment campaign began in 2010 when students at Swarthmore College, a Quaker institution near Philadelphia, began calling for the removal of coal investments from their university endowment.[36] They had formed Mountain Justice in the wake of a class trip to West Virginia where they met environmental justice activists fighting a particularly destructive form of coal mining called mountaintop removal (Apfel 2015, Bell and York 2012, Bell 2016). "We saw and heard about how toxic the coal mining industry is," said Kate Aronoff, then a first-year student in the nonviolent activism seminar. "It was a moment when the connection between economic injustice and environmental injustice was just so clear" (quoted in Stewart 2014). Locals challenged students to leverage their influence at "an elite and

[35] Pew Research Center (accessed June 2020). "How Americans see climate change and the environment in 7 charts." Updated 21 April 2020. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/04/21/how-americans-see-climate-change-and-the-environment-in-7-charts/

[36] The 2007 Step It Up Campaign (Schlickeisen 2007), a precursor to 350.org, and the Sierra Club's Beyond Coal Campaign (https://coal.sierraclub.org/) helped pave the way but most accounts point to Swarthmore Mountain Justice as the spark for what would become the global fossil fuel divestment movement.

wealthy college" to stand in solidarity with the cause (Apfel 2015:914). As the students considered this call to action back on campus, they also studied student resistance to apartheid South Africa. It inspired them to embrace divestment as a strategy to shame extractive industry in their own backyard (Bartley and Child 2014, Seidman 2015).

Climate justice principles were central to Mountain Justice's theory of change, prefiguring demands that divested assets serve as reparations for communities like the West Virginian coal towns that had long been exploited by extractive industry (Coates 2014, Harlan et al. 2015).[37] As students wrote in their rebuttal to the Swarthmore Board of Managers' refusal to divest in September 2013, "Justice and equity lie at the core of our understanding of climate change, environmental justice, and institutional responsibility, as well as the stated values of the college itself."[38] Mountain Justice demanded both an end to Swarthmore's endowment profiting from mountaintop removal and transformation of the economic system they saw as the root cause of injustice: "Endless growth is a false methodology […] It is the same logic on which the fossil fuel industry has operated since its inception, and what has driven us to our current economic and environmental crises." Early on, their diagnosis of the problem held that capitalism and climate injustice are deeply intertwined (Bratman et al. 2016, Klein 2014).

Despite targeting a nonstate institution, in many ways campus divestment activism typified the collective action envisioned by scholars of contentious politics. "From the beginning," writes Daniel Apfel (2015:925), former executive director of the Responsible

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[37] For more on the link between climate justice and reparations, see Coronel et al. (2016) and New Economy Coalition. 2015. "Reparations: What It Looks Like and How We Get There." 10 November webinar. https://youtu.be/N7IcENRZfaU.

[38] The Phoenix (accessed July 2020). "Letter-to-the-Editor: Mountain Justice Responds to Board Divestment Statement." Originally published in *The Daily Gazette* 13 September 2013. https://swarthmorephoenix.com/2013/09/13/letter-to-the-editor-mountain-justice-responds-to-board-divestment-statement/

Endowments Coalition who worked closely with Mountain Justice, "the fossil fuel divestment campaign's plan was to spark serious public and confrontational organizing on the issue of climate change and fossil fuel extraction." By the fall of 2011, campaigns were ratcheting up at Swarthmore and dozens of other schools. Students organized protests, occupied administrative buildings, and formed national networks to mobilize their peers. Hampshire College – an early adopter in the anti-apartheid divestment movement – became the first campus to divest from fossil fuels (Cadan, Mokgopo and Vondrich 2019). Wins at Sterling College and College of the Atlantic followed shortly thereafter (Grady-Benson and Sarathy 2016).

Student efforts soon caught the attention of other well-resourced organizations that helped spread divestment "fever" to other institutions (Polletta 1998). The Wallace Global Fund was an early champion of Mountain Justice and recruited other foundations that were newly open to supporting more grassroots strategies as alternatives to the failed legislative initiatives "that left a demoralized climate advocacy community in its wake" (Vondrich et al. 2017:4).[39] Divestment also piqued the interest of 350.org, then an up-and-coming organization pivoting from international days of action to sustained resistance to the fossil fuel industry.

With thousands of local groups on six continents, 350.org is now the world's largest social movement organization focused on climate change (Caniglia, Brulle and Szasz

[39] Mainstream philanthropic interest in divesting from fossil fuels and reinvesting in climate solutions has coalesced under the banner of Divest Invest, a network of financial professionals and foundations who pledge to shift investments in the top 200 oil, gas, and coal companies to "climate solutions, broadly defined," within the next five years (Vondrich et al. 2017:11). The network's tag line is "Doing Good. Performing Better. Beat your Benchmarks. Beat Climate Change." Although Divest Invest has intersected with the Divest/Reinvest Campaign since its founding in 2014, the former is largely an elite advocacy initiative that does not recommend particular reinvestment opportunities. As such, it is distinct from the Divest/Reinvest Campaign I focus on in this case study, which clearly utilizes contentious and constructive repertoires composed of specific grassroots movement ideologies, strategies, and tactics. A separate Shake the Foundations initiative that seeks to channel philanthropic resources directly to Seed Commons has been emerging from conversations between foundations and reinvestment activists since the 2016 Edge Conference. See https://reinvestinourpower.org/philanthropy-finance/ for details.

2015:251).[40] A group of Middlebury College students founded 350.org in 2008 with Bill McKibben, an author-activist who has written extensively about environmental issues and become an influential leader in the climate movement (see e.g. McKibben 1989, McKibben 2007, Schifeling and Hoffman 2019).[41] Members often say "our mission is in our name" because 350.org's founding goal was to keep warming at livable levels by limiting the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere to 350 parts per million.[42] The group's first campaigns were decentralized mobilizations that asked communities around the world to show their support for policies to limit carbon emissions. The 2009 International Day of Climate Action, for example, called on policymakers to negotiate a global agreement to limit carbon emissions at the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change in Copenhagen (COP 15). Local demonstrations ranged from divers unfurling an underwater 350 banner in the Maldives to skiers who made a human 350 on a snow-covered slope in New Zealand. Unlike most "Big Green" groups (see e.g. Braun 2009, Morford 2009), 350.org's support for the ill-fated American Clean Energy and Security Act (the "Waxman-Markey" bill) was lukewarm. Environmental justice activists argued the cap-and-trade system for U.S. carbon emissions it would have created did not go far enough (Frosch et al. 2009, Mazur 2016).

In response to the "spectacular" failure of politicians in Copenhagen and Congress, 350.org set its sights on firms profiting from the burning of fossil fuels (McKibben 2012). In August 2011, McKibben led a civil disobedience action at the White House to protest

[40] 350.org (accessed June 2020). "Get Involved." https://350.org/get-involved/

[41] 350.org (accessed June 2020). "History." https://350.org/about/

[42] 350.org (accessed June 2020). "Science." https://350.org/science/

TransCanada Corporation's proposed construction of a tar sands pipeline called Keystone XL.[43] Over 1,200 scientists, faith leaders, and activists were arrested over the course of ten days, thrusting Keystone XL into the center of a national energy policy debate (Kojola 2017, Liptak 2020).[44] As the campaign against TransCanada picked up steam, 350.org began to explore additional strategies to challenge the authority of the fossil fuel industry.

Divestment was a perfect fit. "Movements require enemies," wrote McKibben in a July 2012 article titled "Global Warming's Terrifying New Match." He argued that policy solutions were a non-starter until climate activists tackled fossil fuel corporations head on:

> And enemies are what climate change has lacked. But what all these numbers make painfully, usefully clear is that the planet does indeed have an enemy – one far more committed to action than governments or individuals. Given this hard math, we need to view the fossil-fuel industry in a new light. It has become a rogue industry, reckless like no other force on Earth. It is Public Enemy Number One to the survival of our planetary civilization.

McKibben laid out the case for divestment as a strategy to loosen the fossil fuel industry's grip on political action to cut emissions and called on readers to demand that their institutions divest from the world's top 200 coal, oil, and gas companies. The article attracted widespread attention in environmental circles and heralded a dramatic upswing in the divestment protest cycle.

A crucial aspect of 350.org's theory of change was straight from the Mountain Justice playbook: college students leveraging their "moral outrage" to stigmatize university endowment investments "that guarantee they won't have much of a planet on which to make use of their degree" (McKibben 2012). In November, 350.org launched a 21-city tour featuring McKibben and figures like author Naomi Klein, anti-apartheid leader Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu, and

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[43] TransCanada Corporation, a Canadian company, changed its name to TC Energy in 2019. See https://www.tcenergy.com/TC-Energy/.

[44] I participated alongside my indomitable mother-in-law, the late Rev. Dr. Barbara Schlachter, and NASA scientist James Hansen.

indigenous activist Winona LaDuke. It was "called the Do the Math tour, but it's not a calculus class," said McKibben. "Think of it as more of a campaign rally meets TED talk, with a very dire warning about the future attached" (Rolling Stone 2012). The tour deliberately engaged students and brought fossil fuel divestment to the national stage as 350.org "packaged and popularized divestment […] in an easily digestible format, leading to its rapid mass diffusion on campuses" (Grady-Benson and Sarathy 2016:665). Recruits moved to start their own divestment campaigns could find an organizing guide, talking points, and links to peer efforts online.[45] 350.org also forged partnerships with organizations like the Responsible Endowments Coalition to provide additional resources and support under the banner Go Fossil Free, including a fellowship program that placed student interns with allied groups in the network. As student pressure and fiduciary evidence of an impending "carbon bubble" mounted, Go Fossil Free became the fastest-growing divestment campaign in history (Ansar, Caldecott and Tilbury 2013, Braungardt, van den Bergh and Dunlop 2019, Hunt and Weber 2019). It soon expanded to other types of institutions such as congregations and state pension funds (Ayling and Gunningham 2017).

Empowered by this momentum, student activists built their own networks to coordinate campus-based strategy and assert themselves in the rapidly expanding divestment strategic action field (Fligstein and McAdam 2011). Mountain Justice hosted over 200 people at the first national youth convergence at Swarthmore in February 2013 (Stewart 2014). Shortly thereafter, a group of students and alumni founded the Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network (DSN) to "unite campus campaigns across the country and galvanize the power of the student divestment movement" (Grady-Benson and Sarathy 2016:665). DSN soon began dispatching peer trainers to seed new campaigns and mentor emerging leaders. "I'm looking back at past movements of

[45] See, for example, 350.org's "How to Run a Campus Divestment Campaign" guide outlining seven distinct phases of a successful campaign: https://gofossilfree.org/usa/divestment-guide/.

history, and [the DSN trainer is] now telling me that I can be a part of this and start a campaign on my campus and take down the fossil fuel industry," recalled Erin Bridges of the inaugural training on her campus. "That was just really transformative for me." Like many students whose professional trajectories were transformed by participation in the divestment campaign, Bridges went on to found the University of North Carolina-Asheville Divestment Coalition, join the DSN staff after graduation, and serve as Fundraising Director for Sunrise Movement. DSN also began developing its own analysis of what would be necessary to transform the broader climate policy debate.

The Divest/Reinvest Campaign

DSN's emerging "politic" was deeply shaped by Mountain Justice's commitment to climate justice (Grady-Benson and Sarathy 2016:666) and the mentorship of Gopal Dayaneni, an educator and co-founder of the Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project (Movement Generation).[46] Since Swarthmore's divestment campaign grew out of being "in direct relationship with frontline communities in Appalachia," said Dayaneni, "it created an opportunity to do a kind of political education about the nature of capitalism and extractivism in particular […] that didn't have traction before." The theory of change that developed out of conversations between Dayaneni and youth activists at Resource Generation[47] and DSN held that "divestment from fossil fuels is not an end in itself, but rather a critical step in the movement for climate justice, towards a new energy economy that values people and the planet" (Grady-Benson and Sarathy 2016:666). This implied that institutions divesting from fossil fuels must go beyond a sin stock screen to actively reinvest in climate solutions. It called for a just transition

[46] Movement Generation (accessed June 2020). "Who We Are." https://movementgeneration.org/about/who-we-are/

[47] Resource Generation is a group of people aged 18-35 who leverage their class privilege to redistribute wealth. See Resource Generation (accessed July 2020). "Who We Are." https://resourcegeneration.org/who-we-are/.

that directly moved money from the "extractive economy" into building a "regenerative" alternative "based on ecological restoration, community protection, equitable partnerships, justice, and full and fair participatory practices" in frontline communities (United Frontline Table 2020:6).

Centering the question of where the divestors should invest (Smith, Brecher and Sheeran 2014) was distinct from 350.org's approach, which was much more focused on challenging the authority of the fossil fuel industry than the extractive economy writ large. 350.org has consistently sought to build a big tent around cutting greenhouse gas emissions rather than taking a firm stance in the capitalism-versus-climate debate (Klein 2014, Schifeling and Hoffman 2019). "'Where are we going to put that money?' was a big question that we had across the board," said Jay Carmona, a former divestment campaign manager with 350.org. "Well, probably into things that are doing the opposite of what fossil fuel companies are doing for the planet […] but certainly we didn't have an answer to that for a while." When asked about alternatives to fossil fuel investments in the early days of the Do the Math tour, McKibben offered anodyne answers like clean tech or campus sustainability programs. "He even said things like, 'It's okay to make money – it's just not okay to make money off of the companies that are destroying the planet,'" said Dayaneni, who lamented that "a lot of opportunity to liberate people's revolutionary imagination was lost." In response, Dayaneni set about bringing his "freedom dream" (Kelley 2002) – reinvesting divested assets in a just transition – to life with colleagues in the climate justice movement.

The Climate Justice Alliance (CJA), a national network including Movement Generation and over 70 other organizations, has been the "center of gravity" of the U.S. climate justice

movement since 2013.[48] The first international Climate Justice Summit took place in conjunction with the UN climate summit (COP6) in the Hague in 2000. Since then, more and more U.S.-based groups have called for action to address climate change that is consistent with environmental justice principles of equity, participation, reparations, and restoration (Harlan et al. 2015:136, Schlosberg and Collins 2014). CJA grew out of a three-year grassroots process of bringing these groups together around a strategy and vision that expands the definition of just transition from compensation for displaced workers to systems transformation (LNS and SPGPP 2018). "We've reclaimed and expanded the definition of just transition to mean not just workers, but transitioning whole communities in different sectors," said CJA Reinvest Project Director Yuki Kidokoro. "Whether it's energy or waste or transportation or housing or food … all those systems need to shift."

In contrast to traditional campaign-based organizing calling decision-makers to account, CJA's just transition framework is consistent with Movement Generation's (2013, 2015) Resilience-Based Organizing strategy. This approach leads with "a bold vision worth working for"[49] and explicitly connects the dots between capitalism, colonialism, and climate change:

> To understand the climate crisis we cannot simply look up at the atmosphere and count carbon. We must look down at the economy – at the erosion of seed, soil and story and the exploitation of land, labor and life" (Movement Generation 2015:22).

Resilience-Based Organizing also combines La Via Campesina's philosophy of *buen vivir* or "living well" (von Redecker and Herzig 2020) with the Black Panthers' praxis of economic self-determination (Movement Generation 2013). Guided by the maxim, "What the hands do, the

[48] Climate Justice Alliance (accessed June 2020). "About." https://climatejusticealliance.org/about/

[49] Movement Generation (accessed June 2020). "Resilience-Based Organizing." https://movementgeneration.org/resources/key-concepts/resiliencebasedorganizing/

heart learns," it promotes community-based labor as the foundation of self-determination and systems change. This strategic sensibility prioritizes concrete solutions that meet immediate needs in communities most vulnerable to climate disruption. It soon became foundational to the theory and practice of reinvestment.

Much of CJA's organizing around just transition has taken place under the umbrella of Our Power, an initiative to resist resource extraction and build regenerative demonstration projects that has intersected with the Divest/Reinvest Campaign in formative ways.[50] Our Power began in June 2013 with a camp hosted by the Black Mesa Water Coalition (Black Mesa), a Diné- and Hopi-led organization in northern Arizona that has been fighting coal companies while building new, green jobs since 2001.[51] CJA members from California to Kentucky came together to share stories and chart a new way forward together: "The time is now, we're at a crossroads," said Black Mesa Executive Director Wahleah Johns. "We can continue this business-as-usual path or we can create solutions for our future generations."[52] Black Mesa joined Detroit, MI and Richmond, CA in the 2013 cohort of Our Power pilot sites, which began coordinating their just transition activities as a "translocal" network of frontline communities sharing resources and

[50] Movement Generation (accessed June 2017). "Climate Justice Alliance/Our Power Campaign." https://movementgeneration.org/our-work/movementbuilding-2/cjaourpower/.

[51] Although the Navajo Nation rejected a proposal to change its name to the Diné Nation in 2017, many members of Black Mesa prefer the latter term. Black Mesa has successfully used litigation and protest to shut down the Mohave Generating Station and Black Mesa Mine and advocacy to establish a Navajo Green Economy Fund and Commission within the Navajo Nation tribal government. For a discussion of these examples, see Mersha, Sara. 2013. "Black Mesa Water Coalition resists coal, forges vision for climate justice" (accessed July 2020). 23 April. https://grassrootsonline.org/blog/newsblogblack-mesa-water-coalition-resists-coal-forges-vision-climate-justice/.

[52] Quoted in video about 2013 Our Power Camp available at Movement Generation (accessed June 2017). "Climate Justice Alliance/Our Power Campaign." https://movementgeneration.org/our-work/movementbuilding-2/cjaourpower/.

lessons learned (United Frontline Table 2020:9). A 2014 cohort of pilot sites in Jackson, MS; Antonio, TX; and Eastern Kentucky joined the following summer.[53]

One goal of Our Power was to encourage environmental justice groups to expand their scope beyond resisting extractive industry to building economic alternatives: "We must struggle to fight the bad, build the new, change the story, and move the money" (United Frontline Table 2020:11). As part of this effort, CJA initiated a research project to identify potential sources of financing for "local living economy" projects in each pilot site. As Kidokoro said:

> We looked at a couple of different strategies, things like the financial transaction tax and other things, including the divestment student movement […] The divestment movement had been going strong, but reinvestment – where the money's going – was still not talked about very much.

Several CJA leaders were frustrated with 350.org's "carbon fundamentalism" (Movement Generation 2015) and saw its narrow focus on divestment as a failure of imagination. Institutions needed substitutes for investments in fossil fuels. Our Power pilot sites like Black Mesa needed capital to build regenerative infrastructure. Why not bring these two pieces of the puzzle together? With CJA's blessing, Dayaneni began collaborating with Deirdre Smith, 350.org's Strategic Partnerships Director and advisor to many student divestment activists interested in broader systems transformation. She persuaded 350.org to fund a meeting to explore the potential of pairing divestment with reinvestment in a more intentional way.

By all accounts, the gathering Dayaneni and Smith convened in Oakland in April of 2014 marked the launch of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign. The meeting brought together CJA members, campus activists, and organizations with technical expertise in building alternative economic institutions to strategize about how to channel divested fossil fuel assets into values-

[53] Movement Generation (accessed June 2017). "Climate Justice Alliance/Our Power Campaign." https://movementgeneration.org/our-work/movementbuilding-2/cjaourpower/.

and place-based economic development in frontline communities.[54] "It was a watershed moment," said Working World Executive Director Brendan Martin, whose presentation on non-extractive finance offered a model for how to move money in alignment with just transition principles.[55] As Dayaneni said, "that's what sort of set things in motion, that meeting. And it wasn't that that was where the idea [of reinvestment] came from per se, but it was where we suddenly went from a bunch of people having a similar vague idea to actually saying, 'This is the thing we could move.'" The relationship-building, collective visioning, and reparations frame established common ground among groups that hadn't previously worked together. It also piqued the interest of newcomers to CJA's just transition framework: "I think I slept, like, four hours the whole weekend," said Chris Porter, a former staffer at the Mountain Association for Economic Development (MACED) in Kentucky who would go on to co-found the Patchwork Cooperative Loan Fund in Lexington, KY. "I was just so excited about it […] this idea is so brilliant about how to take money from the places that have robbed and stolen and extracted from communities and give it back to people to remake their future." Members of this nascent network decided to report back to their groups and continue brainstorming in the coming months.

Momentum continued to grow during the eventful summer and fall of 2014, which brought several turning points in the Divest/Reinvest Campaign (see Appendix 1). In June, a critical mass of participants from the Oakland meeting reconvened at the New Economy Coalition's conference in Boston. Dayaneni, Smith, and Martin led a standing-room-only session on reinvestment, invited new groups to get involved, and spoke about just transition in plenary

[54] CJA member organizations in attendance included the Asian Pacific Environmental Network, Black Mesa, Communities for a Better Environment, Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, MACED, and Movement Generation. Divestment organizations included DSN and the Responsible Endowments Coalition. Alternative economic development organizations included the New Economy Coalition and the Working World.

[55] For more on the Working World and Seed Commons' approach to non-extractive finance, see https://seedcommons.org/about-seed-commons/seed-commons-approach-to-non-extractive-finance/.

sessions. In July, 30 campus divestment activists attended a Reinvestment Summit hosted by DSN, the Responsible Endowments Coalition, 350.org, and the New Economy Coalition in Philadelphia. Several of these students also attended CJA's national convening in Richmond in August, where they built relationships and participated in a joint strategy session with climate justice organizations across the country. In September, the People's Climate March brought over 400,000 protestors to New York City to demand political action on climate change in advance of UN talks. Divestment activists timed the mobilization with announcements of several major victories.[56] Groups interested in reinvestment also hosted a joint strategy session with DSN, New Economy Coalition, and 350.org in conjunction with the mobilization. DSN's decision to incorporate reinvestment into its trainings for campus organizers scheduled for the fall semester suggested that coordinated divest-and-reinvest demands had the potential to diffuse widely.

Challenges emerged, however, as the inchoate coalition navigated dilemmas about how to actually build the movement bridges (Roth 2003) necessary to implement their ambitious vision together. In February 2015, Dayaneni and Smith facilitated a Divest/Reinvest Campaign strategy session in parallel with the CJA steering committee meeting in Jackson. The invite list included participants from the April 2014 meeting in Oakland along with groups like the Fund for Democratic Communities, which was collaborating with the Working World to establish a "values-based financial commons" to promote economic self-determination in the South.[57] The goals of the Jackson meeting were to create "a shared political analysis," explore the nuts and bolts of moving money from fossil fuels to frontline communities, and build consensus around

[56] The announcement featured a report by Arabella Advisors estimating the campaign had secured over $50 billion in divestment commitments in less than three years, as well as new commitments from the World Council of Churches and over 50 foundations, including the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Vondrich et al. 2017:7). At least 181 institutions had made divestment pledges by September 2014 (Yona and Lenferna 2016:190).

[57] The Fund for Democratic Communities was instrumental in establishing Seed Commons before it voluntarily sunset in June 2020 and created the Southern Reparations Loan Fund in its stead. For details, see https://f4dc.org/.

governance and next steps (Coronel et al. 2016:10). The agenda was largely consumed, however, by what MACED staffer Brianna Isaacs recalled as "tense" but "productive" debates about structure, decision-making authority, and inclusion. Dayaneni described the meeting as "challenging and essential," and it resulted in the creation of a working group that volunteered to draft more tangible plans. Yet the debates raised a number of lingering questions: Should campaigners prioritize divestment or reinvestment demands? Who would do the legwork to identify alternative investment options for institutional targets? How would capital be allocated among frontline communities? And perhaps most fundamentally, who was entitled to make these types of decisions on behalf of the group? "It was very up in the air at that point," said Porter.

The Jackson meeting also exposed deeper rifts emerging between and within key players in the Divest/Reinvest Campaign. The working group began meeting regularly to create the social-relational infrastructure for a coordinated reinvestment effort. During the summer of 2015, they "advance[d] thinking and discussion around culturally appropriate technical assistance and that kind of thing," said Kidokoro, and developed more "concrete" proposals for getting regenerative demonstration projects in Our Power pilot sites off the ground. In September, the Working World hosted a training about non-extractive finance at the Watershed Center in upstate New York. Over the next five years, this workshop would become an annual event for the Seed Commons Community Wealth Cooperative, a decentralized national network of local loan funds that follow principles of "productive sustainability, democratic inclusion and ownership, radical inclusion that centers historically marginalized communities, maximizing community benefit, and non-extraction."[58] Several reinvestment working group members attended in 2015, but divestment activists were conspicuously absent. Gopal continued to mentor students as DSN and

[58] Reinvest in Our Power (accessed June 2020). "Just Transition Projects." https://reinvestinourpower.org/just-transition-projects/

350.org organized a separate training on reinvestment for staff and campus activists in November 2015. Strategic conversations about moving money to frontline communities, however, were clearly becoming organizationally siloed.

Within DSN, the idea of reinvestment became more contested as the organization pursued it more actively. By March 2016, DSN had helped six campus groups incorporate a specific reinvestment demand into their campaigns: reinvest at least 5 percent of divested funds into local regenerative projects within five years (Coronel et al. 2016:9). In May, several leadership team members helped publish a "Reinvestment Toolkit" with Movement Generation and CJA that underscored the centrality of this demand in DSN's theory of change (ibid:6-8):

> [Reinvestment] allows resistance-based movements, including the Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Movement, to align with frontline communities to contest for and build real solutions to the climate crisis […] [Students] have taken aim at the fossil fuel industry [and] also understand that it is time for us to contest in the realm of solutions.

Yet constituents in DSN's network were not actually of one mind on the subject. "The core questions that divided student organizers are the same questions facing the broader environmental movement," wrote faculty and students reflecting on their experiences with Fossil Free American University (Bratman et al. 2016:683). "To what extent does meaningfully addressing climate change require a revolutionary reimagining of our economy and society?"

Proponents of reinvestment like Meaghan LaSala of Divest UMaine argued that divestment in and of itself didn't go far enough. They criticized investment screens that rule out fossil fuels without provisions to ensure that divested assets aren't channeled into other industries they saw as extractive, such as Big Tech. Instead, they contended that students needed to "put the idea of climate justice into practice" by demanding that their schools move money into local loan funds owned and controlled by frontline communities (LaSala 2015). This

argument had obvious synergy with the Our Power initiative and expanded common ground between students and CJA. It proved controversial, however, within DSN. "The student divestment movement really forked around this question of whether we should just do divestment because that's measurable wins or whether we should make reinvestment demands, which are actually about social change," said Dayaneni.

Reinvestment skeptics supported moving money from the extractive to regenerative economy in the abstract but saw developing alternative investment options in frontline communities as beyond the capacity of most campus organizers – and potentially even a distraction from their core task of stigmatizing the fossil fuel industry. Training student activists to find endowment managers' pressure points was a herculean task, but calling for divestment from the top 200 fossil fuel companies required relatively little financial savvy or context-specific coaching in and of itself. In contrast, expanding the scope of student demands from divestment to reinvestment significantly expanded the need for staff resources. As Bridges said:

> [DSN] had to be really strategic about where we were going to be organizing students to do reinvestment because we realize there have to be partners in those areas that we can connect students to, to do that organizing with. [Reinvestment] was part of the strategy, but only in certain places […] When I became a coach […] it was like – I'm just trying to get folks to run a basic campaign, and that by itself is super difficult […] So when you take it to this next level of reinvestment … I'm not saying it's not possible, it just takes a lot of time.

Seeking to bridge the difference, another faction within DSN proposed that campus campaigns push for more straightforward – albeit less radical – reinvestment options like bolstering campus sustainability plans, which are now common in higher education (Augustine and King 2019).

Bridging the difference was consistent with 350.org's approach, which endorsed the idea of reinvestment while leaving aside the question of radically reimagining the economy. Although 350.org had taken initiative to convene and coordinate groups directly resisting the

fossil fuel industry and those building a just transition, this work was largely driven by a single staffer: "Deirdre [Smith] was really instrumental in all of this, said Dayaneni, "She really commandeered a lot of resources from 350 to keep the [reinvestment] work moving forward." As Strategic Partnerships Director, Smith saw reinvestment as an opportunity for 350.org to take a stronger stand in the national conversation about intersecting forms of injustice that followed Michael Brown's death at the hands of police. Her August 2014 essay on 350.org's blog echoed Movement Generation's (2015) call to "look down" at exploitation in daily life to find the cause of carbon accumulation in the atmosphere:

> It was not hard for me to make the connection between the tragedy in Ferguson, Missouri, and the catalyst for my work to stop the climate crisis […] Part of that work involves climate organizers acknowledging and understanding that our fight is not simply with the carbon in the sky, but with the powers on the ground (Smith 2014).

Smith became deeply engaged with the Movement for Black Lives, eventually leaving her directorship in the summer of 2015. 350.org continued to push divestment forward, but its leadership around creating alternative investment vehicles tapered out shortly thereafter. A twelve-page Divest/Reinvest Campaign update in 2019 devotes only four sentences to reinvestment, calling on institutions to commit 5 percent of their portfolios to unspecified "climate solutions" (Cadan, Mokgopo and Vondrich 2019:11). As of this writing, the Go Fossil Free website is similarly abstract: "Reinvestment may be but is not limited to support projects that stem from a just transition to renewable and clean energy sources such as trainings for workers and infrastructure development."[59] In lieu of a specific call to action, 350.org has largely left the work of creating non-extractive reinvestment opportunities to organizations more deeply rooted in frontline communities.

[59] Go Fossil Free (accessed 20 June 2020). "Reinvestment." https://gofossilfree.org/divestment/reinvestment/

CJA continued to develop pathways to move money to Our Power communities throughout 2016. In April, several key players in the Divest/Reinvest Campaign participated in the annual conference of the EDGE Funders Alliance, a philanthropic network focused on supporting "systemic alternatives that support justice, equity and the well-being of the planet"[60] that had recently launched a Just Transition Collaborative with Movement Generation and CJA.[61] The Our Power initiative inspired the conference theme of "Build the New: Resourcing Change for a World in Transition." The Working World, Fund for Democratic Communities, and Black Mesa were all in attendance. A session on reinvestment laid the groundwork for Shake the Foundation, an initiative to channel foundation resources directly to Seed Commons.[62] In June, CJA members formally adopted a new strategic initiative called Reinvest in Our Power. Maintaining that "we will not resource a Just Transition from charity alone,"[63] the initiative's first task was to incubate a non-extractive loan fund for regenerative projects in Our Power pilot sites. CJA shared the idea with 350.org and DSN during a network gathering at the New Economy Coalition conference in Buffalo in July.[64] Staff capacity to implement these plans was limited, however, as all three organizations focused on keeping a climate denier out of the White House.

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[60] Edge Funders Alliance (accessed July 2020). "About Us." https://edgefunders.org/about-us/

[61] Edge Funders Alliance (accessed July 2020). "The 2016 Just Giving Conference." https://edgefunders.org/annual-conference/the-2016-conference/

[62] See https://reinvestinourpower.org/philanthropy-finance/ for details.

[63] Climate Justice Alliance (accessed June 2020). "How We Work." https://climatejusticealliance.org/how-we-work/#Build-the-New

[64] New Economy Coalition (accessed June 2017). "Commonbound Network Gathering: 'Reinvest in Our Power Convening." https://neweconomy.net/commonbound-network-gathering-reinvest-our-power-convening

A Shift in the Political Opportunity Structure

The November 2016 presidential election dealt a devastating blow to the movement for climate justice. Donald Trump promptly announced his intention to deliver on campaign promises to greenlight Keystone XL and withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement. 350.org Executive Director May Boeve called Trump's designation as president-elect a "disaster."[65] CJA Executive Director Angela Adrar declared "the end of the inside game" and pledged to "hold the line on environmental and climate justice."[66] As the #NotMyPresident hashtag went viral and hundreds of thousands took to the streets (Frumin 2016), many divestment activists began to question their strategic approach. "A lot of students were just like, why are we fighting for this when […] there are some other really high-stakes battles being fought right now?" said Pilar Nuñez of Columbia Divest for Climate Justice; divestment "just wasn't resonating in the way that it might have in a previous political moment." 350.org discontinued its Fossil Free Fellowship and expanded programming internationally.[67] Other organizations sunset their divestment programs shortly thereafter.[68] The election was also a turning point for DSN. As Bridges said:

> It was honestly just a key moment of the DSN coming together and being like, are we doing enough to win this fight? […] If we were going to actually take on this crisis in the way that it demanded, we needed to take this fight off of the university arena […] We want to be building political power in a way that is not possible when we're just

[65] 350.org (accessed July 2020). "November 9, 2016 Press Release: 350.org Responds to Election of Donald Trump." https://350.org/press-release/350-org-responds-to-election-of-donald-trump/

[66] Climate Justice Alliance (accessed July 2020). "November 10, 2016 Blog Post: The Election Crash: The End of the Inside Game." https://climatejusticealliance.org/the-election-crash-the-end-of-the-inside-game/

[67] 350.org's strategic international expansion has been underway since at least 2014. Its global pivot accelerated after the 2016 presidential election, although U.S.-based 350.org groups have continued to be active in criticizing the Trump administration and attempting to protect gains made during the Obama administration.

[68] For example, the Responsible Endowments Coalition, which helped coordinate campaigns on 45 campuses, closed in late 2019 due to funding shortfalls and lack of capacity. Responsible Endowments Coalition (accessed July 2020). "Public Statement on REC's Closing." http://www.endowmentethics.org/public_statement_on_rec_s_closing

> focusing on endowments […] We want to be organizing young people to disrupt and to take back political power.

DSN and 350.org organized nationwide student walkouts to denounce Trump's inauguration on January 23, 2017 (Sidahmed, Puglise and Milman 2017). Yet shielded by a Republican majority in Congress, the new administration soon began systematically dismantling decades of federal environmental regulations and protections for frontline communities (Pulido et al. 2019, Rios 2020). DSN shut down operations that spring. Several staffers, including Bridges, went on to launch Sunrise Movement in the summer of 2017. Their goal is to resist the Trump administration by challenging Republican authority on the national stage.[69]

Although much of the moral urgency that once propelled campus fossil fuel divestment has been redirected, the Divest/Reinvest Campaign has persisted in other forms. The fiduciary case for divestment has never been stronger; more and more institutions are recognizing the "carbon bubble" as a threat to their bottom line (Cadan, Mokgopo and Vondrich 2019, Leaton 2011). Over 1,200 universities, foundations, municipalities, and faith groups have divested more than $14 trillion from the fossil fuel industry since 2011, and activists have increased the pressure on high-profile private sector targets like JP Morgan Chase.[70] The world's largest fund manager pledged to lower its exposure to fossil fuel investments in a major victory in January 2020 (Partridge 2020). At the time, the BlackRock announcement seemed to herald a resurgence of youth-led divestment campaigns after a period of abeyance. The Better Future Project had

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[69] Sunrise Movement is "building an army of young people" to protest the new administration's climate policies, elect climate champions, and advocate for the Green New Deal. It has gained national prominence for its militant tactics including sit-ins targeting Nancy Pelosi and Mitch McConnell. As of this writing, Sunrise Movement had "hubs" at over 300 high schools and colleges in nearly every state. For details, see https://www.sunrisemovement.org/ and NBC's March 6, 2019 documentary "Anatomy of a Movement: Sunrise and the Ascent of the Green New Deal" available at https://www.nbcnews.com/news/embedded-video/mmvo55315525982.

[70] Fossil Free: Divestment (accessed 20 June 2020). "1000+ Divestment Commitments." https://gofossilfree.org/divestment/commitments/

launched Divest Ed to "step into the gap" left by 350.org, DSN, and the Responsible Endowments Coalition in October 2018, creating a new fellowship program to mobilize the next generation of student divestment leaders (Shemkus 2019). On 13 February 2020, Divest Ed coordinated a day of action involving students from 60 North American schools who held sit-ins, walkouts, and banner drops to demand their endowments divest from fossil fuels. This organizing feat "would have been unimaginable" in early 2019 (Engelfried 2020).

Relative to DSN and 350.org, Divest Ed's messaging is much more focused on detailed reinvestment demands. At the time of this writing, its website listed six reinvestment-specific campaign resources including CJA and Movement Generation's just transition framework and their May 2016 reinvestment toolkit published with DSN (Coronel et al. 2016).[71] It also featured plans to form a Reinvestment Research Cohort of students who will write a series of reports highlighting "viable investment options" for university administrators seeking alternatives to fossil fuels in their regions. The model report on New England cites Reinvest in Our Power as the "seeds for this work" and profiles several place-based social impact funds, including Seed Commons members Boston Ujima Project and the Working World (Bottger et al. 2018:vii). Its authors – all veterans of Boston-area divestment campaigns – seem eager to preempt concerns that identifying reinvestment opportunities is beyond the capacity of student activists or a distraction from their core task: Reinvesting the money once used to finance extractive industries into communities that have faced injustice is a powerful and necessary strategy for our movements (ibid:vi). They call on the next generation of student leaders to recalibrate the balance of resistance and building in the Divest/Reinvest Campaign:

> "What we focus on grows." This is a saying from social justice facilitator and author Adrienne Maree Brown, who writes about the idea that we cannot just focus on and

[71] Divest Ed (accessed July 2020). "Reinvestment." https://divested.betterfutureproject.org/reinvestment

> react to negative forces; we have to imagine and build models for healing relationships with each other and the earth (ibid:vii).

Divest Ed's efforts around reinvestment signal ongoing dialogue and collaboration between student activists and communities on the frontlines of the climate crisis, yet it's unclear whether the group will be able to sustain campus-based organizing momentum among students scattered by COVID-19. In the meantime, CJA has also begun putting flesh on the bones of reinvestment through the Our Power Loan Fund.

The closure of DSN in 2017 prompted CJA to reevaluate its vision of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign, in particular the mechanisms that would actually move the money. It was "a big hit for our model," said Kidokoro, who has been central in carrying the vision forward. The Reinvest in Our Power steering committee spent a year processing lessons learned and developing a new strategy. In late 2017, CJA announced the creation of a new initiative to provide technical support and non-extractive loans for regenerative projects in Our Power pilot sites.[72] CJA's Our Power Loan Fund is a lending member of Seed Commons, a cooperative that now includes more than 25 non-extractive loan funds that pool capital and allocate it democratically among members.[73] Seed Commons members have invested $7.8 million in building alternative economic institutions to date. In 2019, the Our Power Loan Fund made its first loan to a worker cooperative in Maryland called Earthbound Building, Farm, and Forestry

[72] Climate Justice Alliance (accessed June 2020). "Reinvest in Our Power." https://climatejusticealliance.org/workgroup/reinvest/

[73] Seed Commons (accessed June 2020). https://seedcommons.org/

(Stoner 2019).[74] Shake the Foundation has continued to promote Reinvest in Our Power in the philanthropic sphere.[75]

The Divest/Reinvest Campaign exemplifies how repertoires of contention and construction are simultaneously operative in the movement for climate justice and deeply intertwined. Although previous accounts of the campaign have focused on public, disruptive activities that mount direct resistance to fossil fuel industry influence in the economy, building social-relational infrastructure that meets collective needs is also central to its theory of change. In the next sections, I identify three elements of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign's repertoire of construction and questions this case invokes for contentious politics theory.

Elements of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign's Repertoire of Construction

The Divest/Reinvest Campaign includes many examples of the constructive. "Our social movements need to actually be building meaningful infrastructure that meets people's needs, that realizes the world that we want," said Dayaneni. I focus on three key elements of the campaign's repertoire of construction: 1) an ideology of intersectional anti-capitalism, 2) strategies of Resilience-Based Organizing, and 3) tactics of translocal non-extractive finance. I then explore implications of this bundle of activities for resource acquisition, tactical innovation, and movement continuity and outcomes.

The Divest/Reinvest Campaign's ideology of intersectional anti-capitalism locates the root cause of injustice in capitalism. Rather than focusing narrowly on counting carbon or privileging certain forms of oppression, this diagnosis holds that "The climate and economic

[74] Ceres Trust (accessed June 2020). "Climate Justice Alliance." https://cerestrust.org/climate-justice-alliance/

[75] Chorus Foundation (accessed July 2020). "Grants: Shake the Foundations." https://chorusfoundation.org/what-we-fund/edge-funders-alliance/

crises are fundamentally intertwined and must be solved together."[76] As Martin said, "This is about climate justice, this is about racial justice, this is about local economic control." Bringing an intersectional lens to the work of building anti-capitalist social-relational infrastructure involves what Choo and Ferree (2010) describe as a "system-centered" understanding of climate change that foregrounds the "fully interactive, historically co-determining, and complex" nature of an existential threat caused by exploitation (Klein 2014). Mountain Justice and CJA laid the groundwork for an intersectional anti-capitalism that created opportunities to build broad alliances across race, class, gender, and other lines. It also raises dilemmas about ideological purity. As Dayaneni said:

> My personal struggle is like, I go to these activist meetings and everybody talks about how much they hate capitalism and how they don't want to do these [regenerative] businesses because these businesses are about making money and all this stuff, and we shouldn't be doing that. And then it's all super high road, ideological anti-capitalist stuff. And then everybody leaves at the end of the meeting and goes across the street to the bar. And it's like, wait, we could own that bar. We could be making our folks go to that restaurant and then using that money to do cool shit. And sourcing our food from the farmer down the street, you know. We're ceding all of this landscape of struggle because we don't want to get our hands dirty navigating the contradictions. We're not going to get anywhere if we don't try to navigate the contradictions.

Actors attempting to erode the system from within argue that what needs to be done is not armchair anti-capitalism but actively engaging in the slow, hard work of building the new (Wright 2019).

Intersectional anti-capitalism involves redirecting the activist gaze to nonstate targets and standing in solidarity with frontline communities by supporting the emergence of alternative sectors and organizational forms in the here and now (Guigni and Grasso 2019). As Grady-Benson and Sarathy (2016:663) observe, the Divest/Reinvest Campaign's prognosis for state-led

[76] Reinvest in Our Power (accessed June 2020). "Home." https://reinvestinourpower.org/

policy change is grim; it "may be understood as a response to years of inadequate political action to address climate change and the social consequences of fossil fuel extraction." Yet "to just focus on the 'no' is obviously not going to do a whole lot," said Farhad Ebrahimi, founder of the Chorus Foundation and Shake the Foundation initiative. Moving money into the regenerative economy says 'yes' to eroding the current economic system, one demonstration project at a time (Wright 2010). "We're doing it. We're building it. We'll see what we learn," said Kidokoro. "The step feels like it's small scale, but it's the exact direction we need to be going in […] We need to be bolder about the things that we actually think we need, and then build it." The campaign's prognosis for the reconfiguration of capitalism is modest, iterative, and hopeful.

Intersectional anti-capitalism also includes an urgent call to action: challenging the authority of overlapping systems of oppression by pursuing contention and construction hand in hand. "Capitalism is not going to be toppled under the weight of the alternatives," said Dayaneni. "You are not going to co-op your way out of capitalism unless the co-op movement actually has an interventionist strategy." Reinvestment activists are enthusiastic about divestment but argue that the devil's in the details: moving money is counterproductive if it simply goes from one extractive industry to another. Channeling divested assets into frontline communities, in contrast, is a form of reparations and what former CJA staffer Ananda Lee Tan called "real, place-based, ground-truth pathways for resolving this ecological crisis (quoted in Stoner 2019).

The second element of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign's repertoire of construction is strategies of Resilience-Based Organizing (Movement Generation 2013, Movement Generation 2015). As described above, this approach adapts constructive strategies practiced by La Via Campesina and the Black Panthers to meet this moment through self-determination in the everyday: "We need to shift capital into more just and democratic forms of energy, food, transit

and community economic development."[77] Resilience-Based Organizing strategies also deliberately construct empowering frames of visionary opposition (also see Paper III):

> People will not go someplace we have not first traveled to in our minds […] We must first craft together and paint for others an irresistible vision of the future. A vision that is not built on a fear of the worst, but of knowing that everything can be better. A vision that recognizes that social inequity is a form of ecological imbalance, and the solution to millions just "getting by," is not in "getting ahead," but in "getting together" (Movement Generation 2013:3)

By leading with the possible, centering local knowledge, and focusing on tangible collective needs, Resilience-Based Organizing actively builds social-relational infrastructure in frontline communities.

Tactics of translocal non-extractive finance are the third element of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign's repertoire of construction. Reinvest in Our Power has been especially focused on providing "political and popular education that build[s] community capacity to govern community wealth."[78] For example, in August 2017 CJA and Seed Commons co-hosted a Creating a Financial Commons training for 47 representatives of environmental justice groups in Detroit. "We thought it was going to be like pulling teeth getting five people there, and we had a goal of 30" said Kidokoro, "But there were way more people who were interested in it than we thought." Thirty-eight people attended a similar training in Voluntown, CT the following May and turnout was high in all subsequent years. A key theme of these trainings was addressing skepticism around finance as a vehicle for social change because CJA needed to introduce the Our Power Loan Fund "in a way that showed there was alignment with the values of environmental justice organizations," said Kidokoro. "Our economic system has mostly been used to extract wealth out of our communities, so it's no wonder that many organizers have a

[77] Reinvest in Our Power (accessed June 2020). "Home." https://reinvestinourpower.org/
[78] Climate Justice Alliance (accessed June 2020). "Power Rooted in Community: Highlights from 2018." https://climatejusticealliance.org/power-rooted-community-highlights-2018/

strong reaction to talking about money. We recognized the need to create a space to unpack our relationship to money, finance, and debt." Whereas divestment demands can be easily adapted to different institutions, successful reinvestment necessitates a relational, place-based approach (Collins 2017).

Seed Commons Community Wealth Cooperative also utilizes tactics of translocal non-extractive finance as a decentralized network of local loan funds. Each fund manages its own portfolio and participates in Seed Commons governance according to the principle of one member, one vote. As a member of this national cooperative, all financing from the Our Power Loan Fund originates in a collectively managed pool of capital reserved for values- and place-based economic development. This means that interest and principal on the $50,000 reinvested in Earthbound Building, Farm, and Forestry does not need to be repaid until the business covers operating costs – including living-wage salaries. It means that the loan terms did not require the Black, formerly incarcerated, and queer farmers who run this social enterprise to disclose their credit scores or provide personal guarantees.[79] And it means that the Our Power Loan Fund is radically reimagining what kind of financial infrastructure is needed for a just transition (also see Chapter 4 in Bell et al. 2020). Table 2 summarizes elements of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign's repertoire of construction.

[79] Seed Commons (accessed July 2020). "Seed Commons' Approach to Non-Extractive Finance." https://seedcommons.org/about-seed-commons/seed-commons-approach-to-non-extractive-finance/

Table 2. Elements of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign Repertoire of Construction

Element	Description	Examples
Intersectional anti-capitalism	An ideology that views ecological and economic problems and oppression based on race, class, gender, and other identities as intertwined	Diagnosis locates the root cause of climate change in capitalism; prognosis for state-led policy change is grim; call to action emphasizes interplay of contention and construction
Resilience-Based Organizing	Strategies based on Movement Generation's Resilience-Based Organizing framework	Constructive strategies to promote self-determination in frontline communities through increasing democratic control over energy, food, transit, and other systems; frame of visionary opposition
Translocal non-extractive finance	Tactics to finance a just transition in frontline communities by building a network of non-extractive loan funds	CJA Our Power Loan Fund, a member of Seed Commons Community Wealth Cooperative

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

My analysis of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign demonstrates that the concept of repertoires of construction can be a useful tool for studying the constructive dimensions of social movements. As with CACR (White 2018), identifying ideologically-saturated constellations of constructive strategies and tactics sheds light on several issues of interest to social movement scholars. For example, it reveals dilemmas related to resource acquisition. Previous research has found that adopting more radical strategies and tactics channels resources to more moderate groups (Haines 1984). My case study similarly indicates that some stakeholders perceived reinvestment – and its ideology of intersectional anti-capitalism – as too extreme. 350.org's withdrawal from active reinvestment organizing perpetuated the resource constraints of climate justice groups relative to the mainstream movement. In contrast, other stakeholders saw CJA's decision to foreground a more constructive "solutions agenda" through the Reinvest in Our Power initiative as a move toward moderation that opened up access to networks like the EDGE Funders Alliance and prompted debates about whether a pivot toward building signaled progress or cooptation (see Paper III). At the same time, participating in networks like the Seed Commons Community Wealth Cooperative also provided opportunities for frontline communities to reduce

dependence on private donors by building their own financial commons. Like many separatist projects with aspirations of economic autonomy, whether and to what extent they should accept support from external institutions was a topic of much deliberation among reinvestment activists.

The Divest/Reinvest Campaign is also relevant to research on tactical innovation. Campus divestment organizers developed specific "tastes in tactics" (James 1997:250): they were savvy at staging protests and nonviolent occupations but unskilled in the "action technologies" (Oliver and Marwell 1992) necessary to achieve their reinvestment demands. As Bridges observed, it was more feasible to coach inexperienced activists in a one-size-fits-all call for divestment than teach the (trans)local knowledge required for non-extractive finance. Tactical innovation within the divest and reinvest camps was largely siloed as a result. Similar dynamics are at play in the contemporary movement to defund the police as activists encounter the place-based complexities of creating alternative justice systems (Herndon 2020). Under what conditions is it easier to say what you're against than create what you're for?

Finally, my case study has implications for movement continuity and outcomes. I find that divestment lost steam after the 2016 presidential election whereas reinvestment has flourished despite an inopportune political context for the climate justice movement. A similar trend is evident in the renaissance of mutual aid during the COVID-19 crisis (Tolentino 2020), the long civil rights movement (Hall 2005), and among feminist postpartum depression self-help groups (Taylor 1996). This suggests that repertoires of contention may be more sensitive to shifts in the political opportunity structure than repertoires of construction. Further study of strategic reconfiguration (see Paper III) that involves a pivot from direct confrontation to prefiguration and institution building is clearly in order.

Ultimately, expanding our conception of what counts as activism can contribute to both theory and empirical knowledge. I have argued that extending contentious politics theory to accommodate more systematic study of the constructive represents a promising new research agenda for the field of social movements. This paper lays the foundation for a more robust understanding of the relationship between resistance and building. It also articulates opportunities to explore links between the constructive dimensions of social movements and literature on institutionalization (Bell 2014, Nelson 2011), care work (Gaddis 2019, White 2011a), and civic enrichment (Paper I). Empirically, it contributes to social movement scholarship through the first detailed analysis of the reinvestment side of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign. This study demonstrates how repertoires of construction play out on the ground in one particular case. I hope it spurs others to explore the transferability of these insights to other settings.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Chronology of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign

2008	Middlebury College students and Bill McKibben launch 350.org
December 2009	UN climate conference in Copenhagen (COP15) concludes without a binding global agreement to limit greenhouse gas emissions
June 2009	House passes Waxman-Markey cap-and-trade bill, which Senate declines to take up
Fall 2010	Swarthmore College students launch Mountain Justice and call for divestment from mountaintop removal
Fall 2011	Hampshire College becomes the first higher education institution to divest from fossil fuels
July 2012	Bill McKibben publishes “Global Warming’s Terrifying New Math” in *Rolling Stone*
November 2012	350.org begins a 21-city “Do the Math” tour
2013	A network of U.S.-based environmental justice groups launch the Climate Justice Alliance

February 2013	Mountain Justice hosts 200 student activists for the first national youth convergence on divestment
Spring 2013	Campus leaders launch the Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network
June 2013	The Black Mesa Water Coalition hosts inaugural gathering of the CJA Our Power initiative
April 2014	Inaugural event of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign: CJA and 350.org bring together climate justice, divestment, and new economy groups for a meeting on reinvestment in Oakland, CA
June 2014	Several participants in the Oakland meeting reconvene at the New Economy Coalition in Boston
July 2014	Thirty campus divestment activists attend a Reinvestment Summit in Philadelphia
August 2014	Several students who participated in the Reinvestment Summit attend CJA's national convening in Richmond
September 2014	People's Climate March in New York City features 400,000 protestors, the announcement of several major divestment victories, and a strategy session on reinvestment; DSN decides to incorporate reinvestment into fall semester campus trainings
February 2015	CJA hosts a reinvestment strategy session in parallel with its steering committee meeting in Jackson; reinvestment working group forms
Summer 2015	Reinvestment working group begins meeting regularly; Dierdre Smith leaves her role as 350.org Strategic Partnerships Director
September 2015	The Working World hosts inaugural workshop for non-extractive finance activists who would eventually form Seed Commons; several members of the reinvestment working group attend
November 2015	DSN and 350.org host a training on reinvestment for their staff and student leaders
March 2016	DSN helps six campus groups incorporate a specific reinvestment demand into their campaigns
April 2016	Shake the Foundation initiative emerges out of a session on reinvestment at the EDGE Funders Alliance conference in Berkeley
June 2016	CJA announces Reinvest in Our Power initiative to incubate a non-extractive loan fund for regenerative projects in Our Power pilot sites
July 2016	CJA, 350.org, and DSN strategize about Reinvest in Our Power at a New Economy Coalition conference network gathering in Buffalo
November 2016	Donald Trump becomes president-elect
January 2017	DSN and 350.org organize nationwide student walkouts to protest Trump's inauguration

Spring 2017	DSN discontinues operations
August 2017	CJA and Seed Commons co-host a Creating a Financial Commons training for 47 environmental justice activists in Detroit
2018	CJA establishes the Our Power Loan Fund, a member of Seed Commons Community Wealth Cooperative
May 2018	CJA and Seed Commons co-host a second Creating a Financial Commons training for 38 environmental justice activists in Fallentown, Connecticut
July 2018	Boston-area divestment activists publish a report on reinvestment opportunities in New England
October 2018	The Better Future Project launches Divest Ed to "fill the gap" left by 350.org and DSN
2019	CJA's Our Power Loan Fund makes its first loan to Earthbound Building, Farm, and Forestry
February 2020	Divest Ed coordinates a day of action across 60 North American campuses
March 2020	COVID-19 shutters colleges and universities across the U.S.

Appendix 2. List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Black Mesa	Black Mesa Water Coalition
CJA	Climate Justice Alliance
COP	Conference of the Parties of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
DSN	Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network
MACED	The Mountain Association for Community Economic Development
Movement Generation	Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project
Seed Commons	Seed Commons Community Wealth Cooperative

Paper III: Kentucky's Bright Future: Strategic Reconfiguration in the Movement for Climate Justice

Paper II suggested that social movements strategically reconfigure the balance of contentious and constructive practices in response to shifts in the political opportunity structure. This paper explores the process of strategic reconfiguration in the case of Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC), a 12,000-member statewide social movement organization that put forward a New Power framework to foreground the constructive in 2008. I use the tools of extended case method to trace the development of New Power in the context of KFTC's environmental justice campaigns in Appalachia from 1981 to 2018. I find that KFTC adapted to a coal industry-sponsored countermovement by centering a repertoire of construction composed of three elements: an ideology of visionary opposition, strategies to build connective tissue, and tactics to change the conversation from resisting environmental injustice to building a just transition. I generalize from this example to explore implications of strategic reconfiguration for movement continuity and outcomes. I argue that taking the constructive seriously is necessary for providing a comprehensive account of social change visions in the movement for climate justice.

KFTC is vision based and solution oriented.
We believe that today, right now, we have the opportunity to build New Power in Kentucky – with a more authentic democracy, a just and sustainable economy, and a clean energy future. At the same time, we work to oppose injustice and end destructive practices (KFTC 2019b).

In August 2018, three dozen activists squeezed into a classroom at Berea College and shared hopes for the future of their community in pairs. A number of words stood out over the din: inclusive, jobs, solar, cooperatives. Eventually, the facilitator reconvened the group and scrawled a definition on the board: "An all-in, inclusive process to protect the well-being of workers and communities, address racial, economic, and gender inequality, and build a new, just, and sustainable economy." So began the Just Transition workshop at KFTC's annual meeting.

Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC) is a statewide grassroots social movement organization (SMO) that put forward a New Power framework focusing on "a more authentic democracy, a just and sustainable economy, and a clean energy future" in 2008 (KFTC 2019a). As a coal industry sponsored countermovement ramped up in Appalachia, KFTC began to implement this framework in the context of campaigns to promote a "just transition" in Eastern

Kentucky (LNS and SPGPP 2018, Pollin and Callaci 2019) from an extractive economy based on coal to a "regenerative economy" grounded in principles of climate justice (Harlan et al. 2015, United Frontline Table 2020). In ideological terms, this involved developing a more future-oriented theory of change that emphasized solutions rather than problems. In practical terms, it involved de-emphasizing protests, petitions, and other "repertoires of contention" and foregrounding "repertoires of construction" – ideologically-saturated bundles of strategies and tactics to build social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs (see Paper II). In terms of theory, the implementation of KFTC's New Power framework exemplifies how social movements strategically reconfigure the relative emphasis on resistance versus building in response to shifts in the political opportunity structure.

This paper explores dynamics of strategic reconfiguration in the context of the climate justice movement. Using the tools of extended case method (Burawoy 1998), I examine how a social movement organization called Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC) adapted to changes in the political opportunity structure by expanding constructive efforts to build social-relational infrastructure in its environmental campaigns. KFTC has played a key role in challenging the authority of Kentucky's coal industry since 1981. I trace the organization's evolution from a group of 26 activists in Central Appalachia to a 12,000-member statewide organization and find that KFTC adapted to an industry-sponsored countermovement by de-emphasizing overt resistance to coal extraction and centering a framework to constructively build New Power. The New Power framework represents a repertoire of construction composed of three elements: 1) an ideology of visionary opposition that foregrounds the possible and treats resistance and building as a dialectic, 2) strategies to build connective tissue: fluid relationships among actors in the field rather than rigid coalitional structures, and 3) tactics to change the

conversation from resisting environmental injustice to building a just transition in frontline communities. I draw on ethnographic observations, interviews, and archival documents to show that strategic reconfiguration involved a deliberate (and hotly debated) organizational process of expanding efforts to meet collective needs via green economic development and building renewable energy alternatives. It also preceded a series of KFTC victories from 2010 to 2016, a period of abeyance for many other environmental justice groups (Benford 2005, Harrison 2015). The case challenges the prevailing assumption in previous studies that repertoires of construction necessarily mark movement decline.

I generalize from this example to argue that scholars must take the constructive seriously in order to provide a comprehensive account of social change visions in movements for environmental and climate justice. Recent scholarship has suggested a broader trend toward a solutions agenda among groups like KFTC, yet normative assessments have dominated debates about the implications of this shift (see e.g. Carter 2014, Harrison 2015). I argue that foregrounding repertoires of construction has the potential to create new opportunities for collective action when movements are confronted with a contracting political opportunity structure. As such, strategic reconfiguration has varied and context-specific implications for movement continuity and outcomes.

The paper begins by introducing the concepts of contentious and constructive repertoires and strategic reconfiguration. I then apply these insights to debates in environmental sociology about the role of a solutions agenda in movements for environmental and climate justice. Next, I turn to my empirical case study of KFTC and trace the development of New Power from 1981 to 2016. In so doing, I examine the process of strategic reconfiguration and identify three elements of KFTC's repertoire of construction. I find that centering New Power helped sustain morale,

inter-organizational collaboration, and local legitimacy in the midst of the "War on Coal." I conclude with a discussion of broader insights analyzing the constructive yields for scholarship on movement continuity and outcomes.

REPERTOIRES OF CONTENTION AND CONSTRUCTION

The term *repertoires of construction* builds on Charles Tilly's foundational concept of "repertoires of contention," which refers to the "culturally saturated, relatively stable" bundles of strategies and tactics movements use in specific campaigns (Doherty and Hayes 2019:272). Repertoires of contention typically denotes the disruptive actions of extra-institutional actors and is thus a fruitful concept for analyzing the protests, strikes, and other forms of episodic public resistance to the state that dominate the contentious politics literature (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001:5). In contrast, repertoires of construction refers to constellations of strategies and tactics that cohere around an ideology of solutions and seek to affirmatively build a movement's material and symbolic power (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008).

Constructive action challenges institutional or cultural authority through sustained, organized efforts to build social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs (Snow et al. 2019b). Contemporary examples include COVID-19 mutual aid collectives, Black food sovereignty projects, and local non-extractive loan funds (Bell et al. 2020, Tolentino 2020, White 2018).[80] Historical studies of groups like the Black Panther Party have demonstrated that contentious and constructive repertoires often go hand in hand even within the same social movement organization (see e.g. Bell 2014, Nelson 2011).

[80] Drawing on this dissertation, Bell et al. (2020) present Rock Steady Farm and Flowers and Soul Fire Farm as case studies of "ecological constructions" that complement the conceptions, connections, and contestations necessary for collective action.

Regardless of whether they emphasize resistance or building, collective action repertoires are context-specific. Historical, political, cultural, and other factors limit the set of routines actors choose from at any given moment (Doherty and Hayes 2019). Tilly (1993:265-66) uses the metaphor of a jazz performance or improvisational theatre to emphasize that repertoires are both extemporaneous and constrained:

> Most innovations fail and disappear; only a rare few fashion long-term changes in a form of contention. Durable innovations generally grow out of success, as other actors rapidly borrow, then institutionalize, a new form of action […] Only rarely does one whole repertoire give way to another.

In other words, repertoires of contention and construction tend to evolve incrementally and in tandem with larger social forces.

STRATEGIC RECONFIGURATION

Although dramatic transformations of collective action repertoires tend to be rare, movements and contextual factors can and do co-evolve (Oliver and Myers 2003). Strategic adaptation[81] is most obvious when a substantial shift in the macropolitical environment corresponds with a "hinge in collective action" (Beckwith 2000). For example, members of the Irish Republican Army adopted more militant strategies and tactics in response to state repression (White 1989) and radical anti-globalization activists in Sweden disavowed violent confrontation after the Gothenburg Summit riots and legal crackdown that ensued (Jacobsson and Sörbom 2015). I conceptualize shifts in the relative weight of contentious and constructive repertoires as a form of strategic reconfiguration akin to a movement's repositioning on the violence-nonviolence continuum. Abeyance scholars, who study downturns in the protest cycle,

[81] Koopmans (2007:30) defines strategic adaptation as a phenomenon whereby "[a]ttempts as problem-solving that do not achieve the anticipated outcomes, will ultimately disappear from the contender's strategic repertoire."

cite constructive activities like building alternative institutions as evidence of "movement decline, failure, and demobilization" (Sawyers and Meyer 1999, Taylor and Crossley 2013:1). In contrast, I take a much broader view of what counts as collective action and recognize that protest is not the only path to social change (see Paper II).

Strategic reconfiguration occurs in response to internal as well as external movement factors, including changes in the political opportunity structure (Koopmans 2007, Tarrow 1995, Tarrow 1998). The political opportunity structure describes elements of the macropolitical environment that shape perceptions of political opportunities and threats, such as the centralization of state power and availability of potential allies (McAdam and Tarrow 2019). Although most closely associated with the political process framework (McAdam 1982), scholars of many theoretical and methodological stripes have employed the political opportunity structure as a useful analytical tool to examine how contextual features like political alignments, demographic trends, and economic conditions matter for mobilization. These analyses have sometimes been criticized as mechanistic, leading some scholars to substitute related concepts of "political mediation" or "strategic action fields" to convey a more interactive and less structural approach (Amenta, Carruthers and Zylan 1992, Fligstein and McAdam 2011, Fligstein and McAdam 2012, McAdam and Tarrow 2019). Others have simply conceptualized the political opportunity structure in more contingent ways, for example by emphasizing "strategic capacity" as a key variable in a movement's ability to exploit openings in the political opportunity structure (Ganz 2000, Walker 2012). While remaining wary of determinism, in this paper I use the more familiar concept of political opportunity structure to capture the proposition that significant shifts in the political arena are often – but not inevitably – accompanied by changes in movements' strategic terrain (Collins and Carlson 2018). I also embrace a broad understanding

of political opportunity structure that takes not only institutional politics but also economic, cultural, and temporal factors into account (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008).

Developing new repertoires in response to changes in the political opportunity structure is often a deliberative process that involves "strenuous bargaining" among movement actors with different preferences and theories of change (Tilly 1993:265). Strategic reconfiguration similarly requires activists to navigate dilemmas related to framing, resource allocation, inclusivity, and other issues (Jacobsson and Sörbom 2015). As such, moments of conflict represent opportune junctures to examine this process in action. I focus on debates about whether movements for environmental and climate justice should respond to an inopportune political opportunity structure with a so-called solutions agenda to catch a glimpse into the dynamics of strategic reconfiguration and its implications for movement continuity and outcomes.

A SOLUTIONS AGENDA IN MOVEMENTS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Like contentious politics, the environmental justice literature has historically focused on documenting the unequal distribution of environmental hazards and public, disruptive challenges to environmental racism in the political arena (Mohai, Pellow and Roberts 2009). A large body of work has systematically documented that poor communities of color bear a disproportionate burden of environmental "bads" like toxic waste facility sites, air pollution, and lead contamination (Bell et al. 2020, Brown et al. 2003, Bullard 1993) while the white and wealthy enjoy privileged access to environmental "goods," including leadership positions in environmental SMOs (Park and Pellow 2011, Taylor 2014). Although some mainstream groups have begun to incorporate environmental justice principles into their work (see e.g. Nieves 2020) environmental justice SMOs that specifically focus on challenging this type of inequality are a

distinct and particularly resource-constrained segment of the environmental movement overall (Dunlap and Brulle 2015). Nevertheless, numerous studies have documented how marginalized communities have drawn upon repertoires of contention to mobilize against environmental injustice (Auyero, Hernandez and Stitt 2017, Bullard 1990, Caniglia, Brulle and Szasz 2015).

A parallel division of labor is evident among environmental groups that primarily focused on climate change. While many mainstream SMOs acknowledge that marginalized communities are hit first and hardest by the consequences of a warming planet, climate justice SMOs that put environmental justice principles like equity, inclusivity, and solidarity on equal footing with greenhouse gas emissions reductions[82] receive a relatively small proportion of overall movement resources (Bullard and Wright 2009, Carmin et al. 2015, Harlan et al. 2015). Yet consistent with the environmental justice literature's emphasis on resistance, a number of academic studies document how the climate justice movement has utilized mass mobilizations, protests, and civil disobedience to challenge the unequal burden of climate risk (Harlan et al. 2015).

The scholarly consensus that marginalized groups can effectively utilize repertoires of contention to pursue environmental and climate justice belies a spirited debate about how a solutions agenda fits into the movements' broader struggle.[83] Several researchers have noted an apparent shift from contentious to constructive repertoires among environmental justice SMOs over the past decade. Some herald strategic reconfiguration as a necessary evolution from "EJ 1.0" to "EJ 2.0" with activists innovatively nurturing new forms of environmental ethics and

[82] A climate justice SMO called the Movement Generation Justice and Ecology Project (2015:25) refers to this narrow focus on emissions as "carbon fundamentalism" or "carbon myopia." It argues that mainstream climate discourse ignores the "interlocking ways in which different forms of ecological erosion are disrupting planetary systems" and "the shared root cause of the erosion – i.e. the global organization of an industrial economy." See Paper II for details.

[83] This is not to imply that these efforts are always successful. A complementary literature has also explored barriers to micromobilization against extractive industry and other forms of environmental injustice (see e.g. Auyero and Swistun 2009, Bell 2016, Jerolmack and Walker 2018).

mobilizing resources like private grants that were previously out of reach (Carter 2014). Others argue that an increase in the relative weight of constructive action is evidence of co-optation linked to professionalization (Perkins 2015), green neoliberalism (Harrison 2015), and the individuation of environmental concern (Maniates 2001). As Harrison (2015:251) writes, celebrating a solutions agenda "disparage[s] advocates' fights against hazards as outdated and unnecessary" and undermines the core mission of the environmental justice movement. Skeptics of the constructive have also characterized recent emphasis on building social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs as an indicator of "stagnation" (Benford 2005).

Although it has received relatively less scholarly attention, a parallel process of strategic reconfiguration is evident in the climate justice movement. For decades, "the dominant discourse on climate action" has presented two mutually exclusive strategies: mitigation and adaptation (Movement Generation 2015:24). Mitigation has largely focused on reducing the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere through changes in consumption, ecological modernization, and policy interventions (Ehrhardt-Martinez et al. 2015). Adaptation has emphasized increasing the resilience of areas most vulnerable to climate disruption through infrastructure improvements, social services, and migration (Carmin et al. 2015). Whereas mainstream climate SMOs have consistently prioritized mitigating emissions through extra-institutional resistance to the state and fossil fuel industry, the center of gravity in the climate justice movement has shifted towards a greater equilibrium between "fighting the bad" and "building the new" (CJA 2019). This pivot toward adaptation has involved a significant scaling up of constructive efforts like solar cooperative development, efficiency retrofitting programs, peoples' energy plans, and other activities to promote a just transition in frontline communities (LNS and SPGPP 2018). Strategic reconfiguration is also apparent in the policy arena as the

climate justice movement has been front and center in crafting complementary mitigation and adaptation planks of the Green New Deal (Lim 2019, United Frontline Table 2020).[84]

I posit that the rise of repertoires of construction in the U.S. movement for climate justice is in part a resourceful response to an inopportune political context. Although the Obama administration supported a global climate agreement from 2008 to 2016, a powerful climate denier countermovement blocked the implementation of large-scale domestic mitigation policies like the Clean Power Plan and framed environmental regulations as a threat to workers (Bell and York 2010, Caniglia, Brulle and Szasz 2015, Dunlap and McCright 2015). Mass mobilizations targeting the state have also increasingly fallen on deaf ears with growing Republican control at the federal level and a public poorly equipped to grasp the complexity of the challenge (McAdam 2017). Global emissions are now on track to far exceed a 1.5°C threshold of warming within a generation (IPCC 2018). Marginalized communities least responsible for greenhouse gas emissions are already experiencing impacts of flooding, wildfires, and COVID-19 exacerbated by climate change. Some climate justice activists argue that focusing on adaptation – building resilient social-relational infrastructure to meet urgent collective needs – is one way to move the cause forward despite these dire realities (see e.g. Movement Generation 2013).

Strategic reconfiguration may also have implications for movement continuity in a subtler sense: focusing on the constructive might be good for morale. The existential threat posed by climate change is a growing source of psychological distress around the globe. The emotional toll of climate change has become so widespread and acute that psychologists have coined terms like "eco-anxiety" (anxiety related to ecological problems) and "solastalgia" (grief or homesickness related to environmental change) to describe and diagnose it (Panu 2020).

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[84] Also see NBC's March 6, 2019 documentary "Anatomy of a Movement: Sunrise and the Ascent of the Green New Deal" available at https://www.nbcnews.com/news/embedded-video/mmvo55315525982.

Previous studies of the expressive dimensions of social movements have found that hope, optimism, and joy are critical for efficacy and movement continuity (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2004). This suggests that sustaining collective action on climate change in part requires tending to participants' emotional needs. If resisting the seemingly unstoppable rise of greenhouse gas emissions leads to burnout, saying "yes" to a regenerative economy that promotes clean energy, food sovereignty, and land restoration in frontline communities may help activists hungry for solutions stay in it for the long haul (Gorski and Chen 2015, United Frontline Table 2020).

My goal is to engage in the solutions agenda debate by exploring the process and implications of strategic reconfiguration in the context of a specific climate justice SMO. The next section introduces my empirical case study of Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC) before examining how the organization responded to a coal industry-sponsored countermovement by introducing a constructive framework to develop New Power. Why did KFTC undergo this process of strategic reconfiguration? How did activists navigate the dilemmas it involved? What are the elements of its repertoire of construction, and to what extent did KFTC's emphasis on constructive ideology, strategies, and tactics open up new opportunities for climate action? These are the puzzles at the heart of this paper.

DATA & METHODS

I explore the process of strategic configuration using an extended case study research design that begins and ends with theory (Burawoy 1998). Whereas quantitative research assesses the distribution of a phenomenon in a population, case study research maps the theoretical principles at play in a particular set of social relationships and assesses the conditions under

which those principles are transferable to other cases (Small 2009a). I intentionally 'selected on the dependent variable' in order to ensure that the social relations of theoretical interest are at play in my empirical research context.

Three principles guided my selection of KFTC's New Power framework as an example of strategic reconfiguration in the climate justice movement. First, the case is conducive to analyzing the relationship between repertoires of contention and construction because KFTC is a well-established SMO that explicitly pairs resistance and building in its campaigns to end mountaintop removal mining and establish alternative economic opportunities for coal communities in Eastern Kentucky. At the time of my fieldwork in 2018, it had a $2.8 million-dollar budget with 12,142 members in fourteen chapters that operated in almost every one of Kentucky's 120 counties. KFTC's mission reflected the ambition of one of the largest statewide grassroots SMO in the United States:

> Kentuckians for the Commonwealth is a community of people, inspired by a vision, building New Power and a better future for all of us. Together, we organize for a fair economy, a safe environment, fairness and equality, and a healthy democracy (KFTC 2018a:1).

Staffers and members of KFTC engage in a variety of contentious actions ranging from protests to petition drives. They also actively build social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs by establishing community-owned initiatives in clean energy, agriculture, and sustainable forestry that promote local climate resilience and create green jobs in Central Appalachia.

Second, KFTC developed New Power during a period of significant changes in the political-economic opportunity structure, including an industry-sponsored countermovement called the War on Coal that took advantage of the backlash against Barack Obama's presidency to obscure how market forces have been driving the decline of coal. Third, KFTC's work in the arena of climate justice inform and are informed by its participation in national larger networks

like the Climate Justice Alliance (see Paper II). The New Power framework explicitly problematizes the unequal distribution of environmental hazards and seeks to rectify this injustice through collective action. Beginning to answer the question of how a solutions agenda fits into efforts to rise to the challenge of the climate crisis requires carefully selecting a case that is situated in that broader struggle.

My ethnographic case study triangulates data collected from interviews, observations, organizational documents, and media accounts in order to address three research questions: 1) What was the genesis of KFTC's New Power framework? 2) What are the key elements of KFTC's repertoire of construction? 3) To what extent to changes in the political opportunity structure map onto the trajectory of KFTC's climate justice campaigns?

During the summer of 2018, I conducted eighteen interviews with a purposive sample of individuals involved in KFTC's climate justice campaigns based on their relationship to KFTC and demographic characteristics. KFTC activists are diverse in terms of race, education, previous environmental justice experience, level of professionalization, and age. Although participants in my study are not intended to be 'representative' of the entire membership, this diversity allowed me to capture socially situated narratives from multiple perspectives. As Table 1 indicates, half of participants are KFTC leaders, staffers, and volunteer members. These individuals are predominantly white, approximately split between women and men, and range in age from their early 20s to their late 50s. I also interviewed nine individuals who have extensive experience with KFTC's climate justice campaigns but an "outsider" vantage point, including funders and representatives from allied organizations. This peripheral sample is predominantly female and white, ranging in age from their early 20s to mid 60s. In accordance with my IRB protocol, participants chose whether they could be directly quoted in publications and if so, whether to

attribute quotes with a pseudonym or their real name. In the text, I also changed certain identifying details of individuals who consented to being quoted with a pseudonym to preserve their anonymity.

Table 1: Interview Participants

	Gender Identity		Racial Identity		Age in Years			
	Female	Male	White	Nonwhite	Under 30	30-45	46-60	Over 60
KFTC Staffer	5	1	5	1	1	3	2	0
KFTC Member	0	3	3	0	0	0	2	1
Funder or Allied SMO	6	3	6	3	3	3	1	2
Total	11	7	14	4	4	6	5	3

Interviews were 60 to 90 minutes long and focused on key turning points in KFTC's climate justice campaigns, the process of developing the New Power framework, sources of funds and other resources, experiences related to morale and burnout, individuals' professional and activist backgrounds, and how KFTC actually goes about building social-relational infrastructure on a day-to-day basis. I continued conducting interviews until I reached "saturation" (Small 2009a:25) on these themes. I audio recorded each interview, wrote detailed field notes of my observations and reflections, and transcribed the most relevant sections.

In July and August 2018, I also observed activities related to the KFTC's repertoire of construction such as meetings of the Central Kentucky Chapter in Lexington and the KFTC annual member meeting in Berea. My field notes paid special attention to actors' perceptions and analysis of changes in the political opportunity structure, discussions related to strategy development, "emotional talk" (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2004), moments of conflict, network ties between sites, and resource acquisition processes.

Finally, I compiled hundreds of documents and media accounts related to KFTC's history, the development of New Power, organizational processes, fundraising, and climate

justice campaigns publicly available online and in the KFTC archives housed at the Special Collections Research Center at the University of Kentucky in Lexington.

My research questions guided the analysis. I documented the genesis of New Power by triangulating narratives in transcribed interviews, media accounts, and documents to develop a chronology of the framework's development including focusing events, shifts in framing, and debates between key protagonists. I identified key elements of KFTC's repertoire of construction through a thematic analysis of transcribed interviews and field notes. Finally, I examined the extent to which changes in the political opportunity structure mapped onto the trajectory of KFTC's climate justice campaigns by juxtaposing the framework chronology with a timeline of changes in the political opportunity structure constructed from media and academic sources. This allowed me to assess how strategic reconfiguration aligned with shifts in the political-economic context in a systematic way.

The next section provides a brief overview of changes in the political opportunity structure from KFTC's founding in 1981 to the conclusion of my fieldwork in August 2018. Kentucky Republicans gradually began consolidating power in the mid-1990s, then gained control of the governorship and both chambers of the General Assembly between 2008 and 2016. The sections that follow draw on my empirical case to trace KFTC's process of strategic reconfiguration during this period. I argue that foregrounding the constructive created opportunities for collective action on climate justice despite the ascendance of climate deniers in state politics and an effective coal industry-funded countermovement.

THE CONTEXT: KENTUCKY POLITICS & THE WAR ON COAL

Democrats dominated Kentucky politics for the six decades before KFTC was founded in 1981. Southern Democrats typically represented Eastern Kentucky in the state General Assembly, presenting themselves as populist allies of the working poor. As KFTC staffer Andy Lawson said, these legislators identified with "the little person" and voted with urban Democrats on issues ranging from abortion rights to education: "Corrupt? Yes. Centrist? Yes. Good ol' boys' club? Yes. But Southern Democrat line." Although the coal industry was deeply embedded in both parties across Central Appalachia (Bell and York 2010, Lewin 2017), Kentucky offered a relatively favorable political context for progressive grassroots organizing in KFTC's early years. Throughout the 1980s, voters sent a split congressional delegation to Washington (including current Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, who was first elected in 1984) and Democrats controlled the governorship and both chambers of the General Assembly in Frankfort.

The partisan balance of power gradually began to shift in the 1990s as the Republican Revolution came to Kentucky. Mirroring national trends, Bill Clinton won the state by narrow margins in 1992 and 1996 but voters elected a majority-Republican federal congressional delegation in 1995. In 1999, Jim Bunning (R) flipped a Senate seat and Kentucky state senators Dan Seum and Bob Leeper switched parties to give Republicans control of the chamber for the first time in a generation. By the 2000 presidential contest, Kentucky was rapidly moving from purple to red.[85] Members of both parties tacked right and Republican Ernie Fletcher won the governorship in 2003.

Polarization grew dramatically during the George W. Bush administration (2001-08) (Iyengar et al. 2019) and Kentucky Democrats ramped up voter mobilization efforts toward the

[85] Republican presidential candidates won sizeable majorities in Kentucky from 2000 on. In 2016, Republican Donald Trump trounced Democrat Hillary Clinton with 63 percent of the vote (AP 2016).

end of his term. In 2007, Democrat Steve Beshear won a hard-fought gubernatorial race, John Yarmuth (D-District 3) flipped a Congressional seat, and the party protected its state house majority. Barack Obama's candidacy was electrifying for many Kentucky progressives, and Democrats seemed poised to regain some ground. Candidate Obama devoted limited resources to the state, however, and lost the popular vote by nearly a 20-point margin in 2008. That year marked a significant turning point in the Kentucky political context as conservatives and the coal industry capitalized on the Great Recession to foment a 'grasstops' countermovement called the War on Coal (Walker 2010).

Coal has figured prominently in the history and cultural identity of Kentucky since its first commercial mine opened in 1820. It was also an important source of jobs in the early twentieth century. Coal employment in Kentucky peaked at around 785,000 during World War I, then steadily declined until the economic engine began to stall in the 1980s (CMD 2018). Over 20,000 workers – most of them unionized – were displaced by mechanization between 1979 and 2006, when coal accounted for less than a one percent share of all jobs in the state (MACED 2008, Marley 2016). The coal industry employed 16,900 Kentuckians in 2008 and only 5,800 when I conducted my fieldwork a decade later (FRED 2019).

Experts attribute the decline of Central Appalachia's coal economy to technological innovation (in particular the widespread adoption of mountaintop removal mining in the 1990s), neoliberalism, and the cost of coal extraction relative to other energy sources (Bell 2016, Marley 2016). Yet the coal industry's $35 million War on Coal propaganda campaign has been incredibly effective in obscuring the economic and structural forces eliminating coal jobs in Central Appalachia and pinning the blame on government regulation. The Sierra Club's national Beyond Coal Campaign, which took credit for blocking 170 of 200 new coal plants proposed

during the second Bush administration and began demanding the closure of existing coal plants in 2008 (Grunwald 2015), has been subject to virulent attacks along with President Obama and the Environmental Protection Agency. “The War on Coal is an ideological strategy to maintain control over coal communities […] The campaign became fervent with the election of President Obama, who the coal industry saw as a threat to its long-term profitability,” writes Marley (2016:10). Yet market forces are driving the decline of coal far more expediently than environmentalists or the now-defunct Clean Power Plan (Pollin and Callaci 2019). The U.S. coal industry lost 94 percent of its market value from 2010 to 2015 and half of the coal company debt was in default by 2018 (ibid:97).

Yet from 2008 to 2016, the War on Coal effectively exploited resentment toward President Obama and put Kentucky Democrats on the defensive. “Across the state, but especially in Eastern Kentucky, [you had] Democrats running as, I’m not Obama, and I’m a friend of coal,” said Lawson. “And Republicans running [on a message that] Obama is evil, and of course I’m the friend of coal, and this other one is a poser. And the Republicans – surprise, surprise – swept the field.” As the coal industry capitalized on the Great Recession to “incite panic among its workers about the future of their jobs” (KFTC 2009:4), politicians competed to establish their credentials as friends of coal. Climate justice activists in Kentucky found themselves in extremely challenging political terrain.

The next section situates my empirical case in the midst of this changing political opportunity structure. From KFTC’s founding in the coal fields of Eastern Kentucky to its ongoing Just Transition campaign, I trace the evolution of New Power in the context of KFTC’s campaigns to resist environmental injustice and build an economy beyond coal.

THE CASE: KENTUCKIANS FOR THE COMMONWEALTH (KFTC)

Roots in Resistance (1981-2001)

KFTC began in 1981 as a group of Eastern Kentuckians began coming together in response to a citizen science project that concluded multinational corporations weren't paying their fair share of property taxes (Scott 2008). According to the Appalachian Land Ownership Study, 25 landowners held more than half the land and mineral rights in Kentucky's twelve Appalachian counties but paid only a quarter of the property taxes (KFTC 2011:6). Twenty-six activists gathered in Hazard, the heart of coal country, on August 17 to officially launch the Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition (KFTC) and an ambitious effort to reform the state's tax laws (ibid:8).[86]

In 1982, KFTC adopted a chapter structure to encourage local organizing and autonomy within the larger organizational network. Four chapters with a total of 225 members in 35 counties formed that year (KFTC 2019a:13). Grassroots members of each chapter identified local concerns and took up specific campaigns that aligned with KFTC's statement of purpose:

> The Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition is a group of community-based organizations and individuals promoting more fair and efficient community services through a fair and equitable taxation system, throughout the state of Kentucky, with a particular interest in the coal counties (KFTC 2011:9).

Each chapter annually elected one representative to the steering committee, which also included at-large representatives elected by the entire membership. The steering committee was responsible for developing an overall program of work, facilitating collaboration between local chapters, and organizational development. The first issue of KFTC's newsletter, *Balancing the*

[86] The organization's acronym has always been KFTC but the full name changed from Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition to Kentuckians for the Commonwealth in 1987.

Scales, was published in September 1982. Seventy members attended the first annual meeting that October (ibid:15).

KFTC's most prominent early statewide campaign focused on Kentucky's broad form deed system, which gave mineral rights precedence over landowner rights and exempted coal companies from paying property taxes. The issue resonated strongly with activists and landowners across the state, mobilizing thousands of Kentuckians to the cause. Ten additional chapters had formed by 1984, when KFTC members successfully lobbied the state General Assembly to pass legislation restoring landowner discretion over mining on their property. The new law met fierce opposition from the coal industry, which successfully persuaded the Kentucky Supreme Court to declare the regulations unconstitutional in 1987 (KFTC 2019a). In response, KFTC organized an unprecedented grassroots effort to enact a state constitutional amendment that would protect landowner rights. Membership grew to 2,400 people and the referendum passed with 82 percent of the vote in November 1988, winning every single county in the state (KFTC 2011).

During and in the wake of the broad form deed campaign, KFTC also fought a number of battles related to strip mining and other forms of environmental injustice. Executive Director Burt Lauderdale described it as "a big body of work that can, I think, accurately be described as resistance." Local chapters won struggles to protect water quality, challenged proposed hazardous waste incinerators and landfills, and opposed oil and gas drilling. KFTC also lobbied the General Assembly for more aggressive regulation of the coal industry and co-founded a national coalition against mountaintop removal. In the process, the organization developed expertise in "action technologies" – Oliver and Marwell's (1992:255) term for constellations of "useful knowledge about how to do collective action" – related to protest, lobbying, and

litigation. It also expanded its program of work to a broader set of issues and rebranded as Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC) in 1987 to reflect members' increasingly diverse concerns (Scott 2008:243).

Although environmental justice remained a central pillar, by the mid-1990s KFTC was also tackling campaigns related to severance taxes, concentrated animal feeding operations, money in politics, and more. "Every time we were quoted in the newspapers [it was], 'Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, an environmental organization,'" said Lawson. "And we had to really train journalists in the state. No, actually, a social justice organization." As local chapters and issue areas proliferated, Lauderdale said, these "isolated, episodic campaigns" became increasingly difficult to tackle in a comprehensive way.

In 1997, KFTC formed a new internal committee to improve coordination between campaigns related to economic justice. The following year, it co-founded the Kentucky Economic Justice Alliance (KEJA) along with the Democracy Resource Center, Community Farm Alliance, Kentucky Youth Advocates, and Appalshop to improve coordination between SMOs working "to advance policies affecting low-income Kentuckians" across the state (KFTC 2011:55). KEJA initially focused on reforming corporate subsidies, industrial agriculture, education, and welfare. The alliance focused on insider tactics such as conducting research, publishing reports and policy proposals, and lobbying for state and local regulations (Ford Foundation 2000).

KEJA represented KFTC's first foray into "high road" economic development – strategies that "emphasize high quality jobs, environmental sustainability, and broad access to opportunities for diverse businesses and workers" – and articulating concrete policy alternatives to the status quo (Meyers 2015:1). Although KEJA increased the role of institutional advocacy in

KFTC's collective action repertoire, participation in the Alliance complemented rather than crowded out resistance-oriented tactics (Clemens 1993, Clemens and Cook 1999, Clemens and Minkoff 2004, Minkoff 1994). These experiences would soon set the stage for a similar shift in KFTC's work on coal extraction.

From Enforcing the Law to Envisioning an Economy Beyond Coal (2002-2003)

In 2002, KFTC hosted a series of six workshops in Central Appalachia called the Coalfield Survival Schools. The first focused on the nuts and bolts of federal surface mining law – how to navigate regulatory structures and exploit legal loopholes – in order to ensure that laws governing existing and proposed mines were properly enforced. Facilitators also invited participants to help craft the agenda for workshops to come. The conversation focused on members' desire to go beyond reactive local campaigns. "We were very good at helping local citizens fight when a permit was proposed, or fight after mining had begun – fight to get laws enforced," said Lawson, "[but] our members started to say, you know, we're fighting mine-by-mine and there's really a much larger arc here that we need to be taking on." For decades, KFTC had sought to mitigate the worst harms of mining without alienating communities whose livelihoods and identities were wrapped up in coal. Coaching members to start with a disclaimer that KFTC is "not against mining, we just want you to do it right," was one way to criticize the methods of extraction rather than the people engaged in it. This rhetorical strategy recognized "residents' tendency to […] express support for mining in order to honor family members who worked in the mines" and mining as a source of "moral worth" in coal communities (Lewin 2017:52). But the result was that "we had sort of self-censored down to this lowest common denominator."

Members' call for a more systemic theory of change prompted Lauderdale, newly appointed as Executive Director, to embark on a statewide listening tour. Over the course of a year, he engaged in dozens of conversations with members across the state and a strategic dialogue with the KFTC steering committee. "We had the realization that in our coal work, we had won scores of battles and we were losing the war," he said. This process coalesced into a new ten-year organizing initiative called the Canary Project. The metaphor signaled a bolder message that King Coal had no future in Kentucky. "Like a canary in the mines," organizers wrote in a 2003 project overview, "coalfield residents are warning of danger ahead." The Canary Project proposed that KFTC shift from mine whack-a-mole to building an economy beyond coal.

KFTC officially launched the Canary Project with a public event called the Flyover Festival on June 14, 2003. Over 500 people attended despite scattered thunderstorms. KFTC transformed the Perry County Airport near Hazard – not coincidentally the site of a former strip mine – into an experiential critique of coal extraction. In between torrential rain, a North Carolina nonprofit dedicated to "conservation through aviation" provided free flights over the mountainous terrain (Southwings 2019). "You can live right next to a mine and really never have an understanding of just how massive it is, or how close to home," said Lawson. "People who had lived in Eastern Kentucky their whole lives but had not had the opportunity to grapple with the scale of the destruction [were in tears]." Over 100 attendees experienced mountaintop removal firsthand in this powerful way.

Meanwhile, a circus tent housed exhibits making the case that it was time to move beyond coal. A hall of fame display featured local leaders who had stood up for labor rights, public health, and the land. County-by-county profiles overlaid statistics about coal extraction, poverty rates, and unemployment, posing the question: "If coal was going to be our future,

wouldn't it have arrived by now?" As a sign of the event's success, the head of the Kentucky Coal Association set up his own table as a one-man counter-protest. As participants circulated among the information booths, KFTC leaders gave speeches laying out the Canary Project's four goals: "1) Force the coal industry to obey the law; 2) Work for new policies that will protect our health, environment, and economy; 3) Design, win, and implement new economic development policies that can create quality jobs for coalfield residents; 4) Support the development of sustainable, alternative energy sources" (KFTC 2003).

Goals one and two escalated KFTC's ongoing organizing around enforcement and regulatory reform. The Canary Project initiated a new campaign to ban mountaintop removal mining using a combination of insider and outsider tactics targeting authorities at the state and national level. In contrast, goals three and four focused on building alternative sources of energy and jobs. Although KFTC had dipped a toe into economic development policy through KEJA, the Canary Project marked a significant shift in KFTC's environmental justice strategy. As an April 2003 project profile explained, "Instead of just trying to hold the line against the destruction, we are beginning to work for an accountable industry, a sustainable economy, and a survivable energy source." By positing that Kentucky could have a better future beyond coal, KFTC articulated a novel – albeit tentative – theory of change. As Lawson said:

> The interesting thing was, we didn't actually have any idea how to do [goals] three or four. You know, we still were an organization that had, for a couple of decades, kind of become specialists […] in the 'enforce of the damn law' side of things. So we had to grow into learning about energy – what's possible, what are the options, what are the policies. And that took a number of years.

Growing into this learning required learning new kinds of action technologies from strategic partners. For example, the Canary Project team drew on lessons learned from KEJA's process of drafting a proposed tax plan for the state (KEJA 2005). "It wasn't 900 pages or whatever the

revenue cabinet has," said Lauderdale, "but it was a comprehensive proposal that was much more [about] what the tax system should look like." The plan became "the reference point for our tax work so that it wasn't so episodic" and template for a similar approach to goals three and four. KFTC also began to collaborate more intensively with the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED), a nonprofit community development finance institution that has served Kentucky since 1976 (MACED 2019), to give substance to Canary Project aspirations in concrete policy proposals.

Mapping the High Road with MACED (2004-2007)

In 2004, KFTC and MACED successfully lobbied for Kentucky's first net metering law to incentivize investment in solar arrays (Van Velzer 2019). This was a major symbolic victory in a state that had long been dominated by King Coal and was gradually shifting to Republican control. The win encouraged KFTC and MACED to begin developing additional policy proposals for creating clean energy jobs in the coalfields. Simultaneously, KFTC leaders recognized that the erosion of Democratic political power threatened their environmental and social justice campaigns.

That summer, KFTC steering committee members and leaders participated in a series of workshops about the changing state and national political landscape. They determined that growing the organization and KFTC's electoral work was key to fighting back against a conservative political agenda. The ambitious organizational development goals that emerged from this process – dubbed "Option A" – required doubling KFTC's membership and tripling annual grassroots fundraising within three years.

KFTC continued pursuing Canary Project goals one and two in this period. For example, in 2005 members helped introduce a bill in the Kentucky legislature prohibiting mine waste

dumping into streams and sued the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers and Environmental Protection agency to enforce existing laws (KFTC 2005). In 2006, 150 people protested mountaintop removal at an "I Love Mountains Day" rally at the state capitol. I Love Mountains Day soon grew into an annual protest that drew over 1,200 participants at its peak in 2008. As renowned Kentucky writer and environmental activist Wendell Berry said that year, "If your government will not rise to the level of common decency, if it will not deal fairly, if it will not protect the land and people, if it will not fully and openly debate the issues, then you have to get in the government's way. You have to forbid it to ignore you" (KFTC 2008b:13). Berry's call for mass disruption through nonviolent civil disobedience eloquently captured the spirit of resistance that infused much of KFTC's early work.

Simultaneously, the Canary Project team launched a collaborative project with MACED that sought to rally bipartisan support around an economy beyond coal. Adapting language from KEJA, they announced the High Road Initiative in 2006 to build on their success with net metering legislation by crafting additional clean energy policy proposals for the state. They began by soliciting ideas from KFTC members about their vision for Kentucky's economy. These ideas became the basis of the Initiative's mission to increase prosperity through a "new philosophy of economic development" focused on green jobs, transparency, and public participation (KFTC 2008b:15).

Kentucky politicians, however, quickly disabused the High Road team of hopes to establish a bipartisan consensus around sustainable economic development. In the summer of 2007, the General Assembly took up a so-called "energy independence" bill to spend millions of taxpayer dollars to incentivize the construction of polluting coal-to-liquid plants (Andrews 2007, Owens 2007). The bill gave KFTC "a concrete example […] as to why we need to go deeper fast

in knowledge about economic development and concrete alternatives" (KFTC 2007:7). By the end of the year, KFTC and MACED had published a suite of competing policy proposals in a report titled "Turning onto the High Road in Kentucky: New Directions for State Economic Development Policy." KFTC also mobilized thousands of members against "low road" development through protests, public testimony, letters to the editor, and other contentious tactics.

Although Republican Governor Ernie Fletcher ultimately approved $250 million in coal-to-liquid subsidies for Peabody Energy (Ridgeway 2008), outrage over the deal (and organizing to oust Fletcher) helped KFTC far surpass the goals of Option A. By the end of 2007, it had over 5,100 grassroots members and a budget of over one million dollars (KFTC 2007:1). With a new Democratic governor in office on the eve of the 2008 presidential contest, many members were hopeful that Kentucky's political winds would shift back toward environmental justice.

Yet rallying around policy proposals to build the "high road" proved more difficult than mobilizing resistance to the state. With the exception of nominal public outreach (a website, newspaper ads, KFTC newsletter articles, etc.), most High Road Initiative tactics focused on institutional advocacy rather than grassroots organizing. As KFTC's 2008 annual report noted, the High Road Strategy Team "injected progressive alternatives [to coal] into the [policy] conversation" and lobbied for renewable energy in the General Assembly. Yet the initiative was powered by policy wonks rather than grassroots constituent pressure. Industry political influence prevailed. Although some rural legislators privately worried that mountaintop removal was a decelerating economic engine in their districts, renewable energy was a non-starter with legislators addicted to coal corporation largesse (Bell and York 2010, Bell 2016). KFTC leaders

determined that creating the space for a public dialogue about what comes after coal was the prerequisite for policy change.

Building New Power for a Just Transition (2008-2018)

In 2008, KFTC leaders began to revisit their analysis of "the political landscape in Kentucky and KFTC's place in it" (KFTC 2008b:4). As staffers and steering committee members took stock of lessons learned since 2004 – and growing momentum around presidential candidate Barack Obama's message of hope and change (Prysby et al. 2009) – they discussed shortcomings of KFTC's reactionary approach. Over the next decade, KFTC's shift from what interviewees called "oppositional" to "visionary" organizing that would coalesce in New Power, a framework that deliberately foregrounds the constructive in three dimensions: "a more authentic democracy, a just and sustainable economy, and a clean energy future" (KFTC 2019a).

Leaders unveiled an early version of the framework at KFTC's October 2008 annual meeting. New Power initially focused on growing existing campaigns and knitting them together more intentionally. It also dedicated additional resources to strategic communications and leadership development (KFTC 2008b). KFTC also launched the New Power Leaders program in 2009 to systematically recruit and train "a network of 1,000 community leaders […] who will be active members while leading clusters of members in their communities" (KFTC 2009:11).

In another silo of the organization, KFTC worked with MACED to evaluate the High Road Initiative and develop its next iteration. Although the Initiative had gained limited traction with legislators and grassroots members, it did inspire some local KFTC chapters to begin exploring green economic development options. For example, members in Harlan County and renewable energy experts from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Community Innovators Lab conducted a wind feasibility study for the cash-strapped municipal utility in

Benham, a former company town in Eastern Kentucky (KFTC 2007:4). The fact that this kind of collaboration took root in the proud home of the Kentucky Coal Museum (Brown 2018) hinted at the potential to broach conversations about what comes next after coal.[87]

KFTC and MACED phased out the High Road Initiative and launched a new Appalachian Transition project in 2009. Its stated goal was to open up a public conversation about transitioning Kentucky from an extractive economy of "coal and poverty" to a "more just, sustainable and prosperous future." In contrast to the High Road Initiative, which led with policy proposals, Appalachian Transition led with listening (KFTC 2009:7). Creating space for dialogue took many forms. Between 2009 and 2010, Appalachian Transition sponsored a regional essay contest about the changing coal industry and published interviews with Eastern Kentuckians in a booklet entitled "Visions from Black Mountain." It also hosted two conferences that invited coalfield residents to share firsthand experiences of the industry's decline and learn about job opportunities in environmental remediation, sustainable forestry, eco-tourism, and local agriculture (KFTC 2010). Concrete opportunities for local action soon emerged. For instance, the Appalachian Transition team learned that Benham families spent a disproportionate share of their limited income on utilities. Most still lived in homes the Wisconsin Steel Company (a subsidiary of International Harvester) had hastily constructed during World War I (Brown 2018).[88] The dated and drafty housing stock meant that residents racked up astronomical heating bills and Benham had the highest per-capita residential electricity consumption anywhere in the state. In

[87] In 2017, the Benham Community Energy Initiative that grew out of this collaboration made national "solar keeps the lights on" headlines when it convinced the Kentucky Coal Museum to install solar panels on its roof and significantly reduce utility costs (Andrews 2017).

[88] As Brown (2018:21) describes, neighboring Lynch was another model coal town owned by a subsidiary of U.S. Steel. Competition between the two industry giants prompted them to offer better amenities and relatively more freedoms in Benham and Lynch than in most company towns at the time, but they also colluded and "used sheer force and domination" to crush unionization efforts.

response, MACED partnered with the local KFTC chapter to organize a 2009 workshop on conducting local energy audits (KFTC 2009:5) and pilot a residential energy retrofit in 2013.[89] Over the next two years, this effort grew into a program called Benham$aves that creates jobs, cuts energy waste, and reigns in utility costs through residential energy retrofits.

The most dramatic pivot took place in organizing to stop a proposed coal-fired power plant in Clark County. Since 2006, KFTC's Stop Smith campaign had been fighting the construction of a new coal-burning unit at the East Kentucky Power Cooperative's (EKPC) Smith Station power plant (KFTC 2010). EKPC is a generation and transmission cooperative that sells wholesale energy to sixteen rural electric co-ops that distribute power to consumers in 87 counties. Given that 97 percent of the energy it produced came from burning coal (Sanzillo 2009), EKPC was a prime target for the Sierra Club's Beyond Coal campaign. Activists decried the carbon impact of the proposed Smith plant and argued the deal would saddle 511,000 Kentuckians with a 50-year, billion-dollar bet on the carbon bubble (ibid). Along with KFTC, the Sierra Club and Kentucky Environmental Foundation organized protests, petitions, letter-to-the-editor drives, litigation, and administrative complaints targeting state agencies and EKPC. Yet "showing up in a community in Eastern Kentucky with a big 'Stop Mountaintop Removal' sign," KFTC staffer Pete Sorensen explained, was "just shutting people down at a time it was super contentious and sometimes dangerous to be opposing the coal industry in Eastern Kentucky." By 2009, this repertoire of contention had reached an impasse with the War on Coal.

In April 2009, KFTC hired Sorensen and tasked him with reinventing the Stop Smith campaign. Fresh from a workshop on public narrative (Ganz 2011) and a native of Central

[89] MACED funded and implemented the pilot retrofit on local resident Lacey Griffey's home in December 2012. In the following year, Benham endured a polar vortex and a 42 percent increase in energy costs while Griffey's utility bill declined 56 percent (KFTC 2019).

Appalachia, he began seeing his neighbors' yearning for solutions to economic struggle through the lens of New Power. "I remember one the very first things I did as we were getting prepared for [the Stop Smith] fight was […] a webinar," he recalled. One slide was a Venn diagram "connecting energy power with the latent Democratic potential – the people power – of these institutions" i.e. rural electric co-ops. "I don't think we were using the language of New Power, but it was making these connections." Sorensen also connected the dots between New Power's visionary orientation and studies the campaign had commissioned to evaluate EKPC's proposal (Sanzillo 2009). The studies found that changing energy markets were driving up the cost of coal relative to renewables so dramatically that investing in sustainable power sources made the most economic sense for EKPC.

KFTC organizers seized on these findings and started "developing the framework for what the rural electric co-op organizing could look like in a way that was about the vision of what we're building," said Sorensen. Initially, they continued to lead with the problem but worked with the Appalachian Transition team to articulate the projected impacts of diverting capital from the Smith plant to investments in renewable energy, residential efficiency retrofits, and weatherization. Their core message was that green economic development would not only avoid the negative externalities of a new coal-fired power plant but also boost EKPC's bottom line and create jobs in the region. It resonated with leaders and consumer-members of EKPC's sixteen distribution co-ops, and the campaign continued to shift gears from resistance to building. "We worked at [the Stop Smith campaign] with other allies, national and state, sort of to a stalemate," said Lauderdale. "And then, with [Appalachian Transition] sort of informing and influencing ourselves, pivoted to […] here's what we could do instead." Concretely, this pivot took the form of a new approach called Renew East Kentucky.

KFTC launched Renew East Kentucky in 2009 to persuade EKPC to adopt a five-year plan to help coal workers and communities make a "just transition" from coal to sustainable energy sources. In lieu of constructing the Smith plant, it proposed taking advantage of low-interest federal financing to expand renewables and residential energy efficiency programs that would employ displaced coal workers in EKPC's service territory. KFTC borrowed the language of "just transition" from labor leader Tony Mazzocchi of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (now merged with the Steelworkers), who popularized the term in the 1990s in his proposal for a "superfund for workers": "We need to provide workers with a guarantee that they will not have to pay for clean air and water with their jobs, their living standards or their future. Until recently, the environmental movement has failed to take such employment issues seriously (Mazzochi 1993:40)." Like many environmental justice groups, KFTC incorporated and expanded the idea of just transition to encompass entire communities impacted by extraction (Harvey 2018). Organizers detailed the Renew East Kentucky plan in a 2010 article for *The Solutions Journal*:

> The plan not only has tangible energy, economic, and job creation benefits, but can also begin to shift public perception toward transition, offer a proactive plan that all but the most fearful or coal-captive politicians can promote, and launch a new, growing sector of the national economy right here in Eastern Kentucky (Pennington and Wilson 2010).

Sorensen also led a "New Power narrative framework" session at the 2010 KFTC annual meeting coaching members to develop relationships around common values by "flipping" the traditional activist "problem-solution-action" narrative to lead with solutions instead.

Renew East Kentucky represented a turning point KFTC's process of strategic reconfiguration as Stop Smith organizers realized that foregrounding the constructive was a powerful grassroots organizing tool. Even communities that had long been loyal to King Coal

were receptive to a plan to Renew East Kentucky in the wake of the Great Recession, increasing the size and geographic diversity of KFTC's membership base: "We've learned some lessons along the way […] being vision-centered is critical. As our campaigns evolve and new members come on board, our vision keeps us connected around a common direction" (KFTC 2011:3). In November 2010, EKPC announced it would abandon the Smith plant and explore energy efficiency and renewables in collaboration with KFTC and allies. "Thanks to a powerful and growing New Power grassroots movement," reported the *Huffington Post,* "a broad alliance of Kentucky activists sent an electrifying message across the nation today: A just transition to a clean-energy future, even in the heartland of coal country Kentucky, is possible" (Biggers 2010).

Yet the Smith victory was sharply juxtaposed with the results of the 2010 midterm elections. Despite intense voter mobilization efforts by KFTC[90] and other left-leaning grassroots SMOs, Kentucky voters installed newly empowered members of the Tea Party in state and federal office. KFTC's New Energy and Transition team adapted to the contracting political opportunity structure by incorporating the future orientation of Renew East Kentucky and Appalachian Transition more strategically into their work. Their challenge leading up to Mitch McConnell's 2014 reelection campaign was to "create the space so that candidates could embrace a vision that was constructive," said Lawson, rather than a "defensive and weak" competition over who was the best friend of coal.

KFTC sought to create the space for a constructive vision during an April 2013 conference in Harlan called "Appalachia's Bright Future: A Conversation on Shaping a Just Transition." As the conference website explained, "Eastern Kentucky's economy is changing fast, but our future is unwritten. It won't be easy, but we can have a bright future here, if we

[90] In order to support its growing work around nonpartisan integrated voter engagement (Han 2014:4), KFTC launched the New Power Political Action Committee in September 2010.

build it. Our goal is to develop opportunities for our people, for eastern Kentucky, to thrive" (KFTC 2019c). The program featured speakers from communities around the world that had successfully moved from extractive to generative economies, art and music celebrating the region's resilience, and workshops to identify and explore ideas for moving beyond coal.

Appalachia's Bright Future marked the culmination of KFTC's shift from resisting mountaintop removal to exploring the high road to building a just transition by fully integrating the New Power framework into organizing around climate change. For example, as Sorensen explained, the planning team spent months debating how the visuals could best convey the forward-looking, visionary, inclusive spirit of the gathering:

> We wanted it to feel bright and airy and hopeful, but grounded in people and rooted in place. So we had mountains. And we didn't want it to be […] generic and stereotypical, [so] the mountains were made of maps of the region and there were members – diverse [in terms of] age, gender, race – facing it, like, this is what this Appalachia looks like. And it's bright […] All of that was really intentional about this is the projection of what this work means and what the potential and possibility means.

Over 200 people attended, and the conference came up in almost every one of my interviews as a key turning point in KFTC's pivot from a contentious to constructive approach. It "connected many people, projects, and ideas [for just transition] that are already at work in the region" and "lifted up promising opportunities and next steps for families and young people of eastern Kentucky." (KFTC 2013a).

In 2014, KFTC organized a follow-up conference and began planning Empower Kentucky, its next statewide climate justice campaign. Drawing from the success of Renew East Kentucky and Appalachia's Bright Future, Empower Kentucky responded to politicians' refusal to detail how Kentucky would comply with the Clean Power Plan's emissions reduction requirements by 2030. As the campaign website proclaimed:

> If the politicians won't do it, it's up to us […] the Empower Kentucky project invites Kentuckians from Paducah to Pikeville to share your vision for a bright energy future, one that is good for all of us. We will listen. We will learn from the wisdom of experts and everyday people. Together we will develop homegrown solutions to create tens of thousands of new jobs for Kentuckians, protect our health, generate affordable and reliable power, and do our part to halt climate change.

In spring 2016, KFTC hosted "A Seat at the Table events" that invited a total of 750 stakeholders – from union organizers to artists to utility CEOs – to articulate their vision for a just transition. The campaign culminated in a September 2016 summit where 250 participants came together and drafted their Empower Kentucky Plan. The final document incorporates input from 1,200 people and professional analyses of environmental justice and energy economics in the state. The plan "demonstrates that a Just Transition to a clean energy economy" is not only "possible" but also "produces more jobs, less health-harming pollution and lower average bills than Kentucky's business-as-usual scenario over the next 15 years" (ibid:2). Although the Clean Power Plan is now defunct, the Empower Kentucky Plan remains a powerful organizing tool by offering a concrete alternative to state climate policy.

So far, I have traced KFTC's process of strategic reconfiguration through significant changes in the political opportunity structure. The following sections distill KFTC's repertoire of construction into three key elements – changing the conversation, building connective tissue, and visionary opposition – and examine their broader implications for scholarship on movement continuity and outcomes.

FINDINGS: ELEMENTS OF KFTC'S REPERTOIRE OF CONSTRUCTION

Visionary Opposition

The New Power framework represents an ideologically-saturated constellation of constructive strategies and tactics. Its first element is **v**isionary opposition, an ideology that

foregrounds the possible and treats resistance and building as a dialectic. KFTC began developing an ideology of visionary opposition in response to the changing political landscape in 2008 and continued to refine it throughout the War on Coal. It is evident in KFTC's framing activities, strategic priorities, and tactical choices. For example, in 2008, leaders secured a grant from the Ford Foundation to begin developing a strategic communications plan around the New Power framework, including increased digital and video content production (KFTC 2008b:5). In 2009, KFTC adopted "communicate a message of what's possible" as an explicit organizing goal (KFTC 2009). In 2010, it geared up for the midterm elections by launching a New Power media campaign website along with radio, web, and print ads (KFTC 2010:4). By 2013, visionary opposition was integrated into every aspect of KFTC's messaging, including a new statement of "Who We Are":

> Kentuckians For the Commonwealth is a community of people, inspired by a vision, working together to build New Power and a better future for all of us. We organize for a fair economy, a healthy environment, new safe energy and an honest democracy (KFTC 2013b).

The pivot from Stop Smith to Renew East Kentucky in 2010 exemplifies how KFTC integrated an ideology of visionary opposition into its theory of change for Appalachian Transition and then other environmental justice campaigns. As Lauderdale said:

> Appalachian Transition was a context and framework then for some of our other organizing, which was more in the resistance tradition – in particular trying to stop the Smith coal plant that was being proposed by East Kentucky Power. [Renew East Kentucky] was oriented towards what could we do instead. Not, "This is going to kill you" […] It was not an attack. It was, "you can have a better future than this," […] just posing those different futures.

KFCT's New Power narrative framework is another example of visionary opposition. Starting in 2010, KFTC systematically coached members to share their stories in a way that led with vision and values to "establish an empathic connection," then introduced solutions to create "the sense

of possibility that change could happen," and then finally, "therefore, we have to stop mountaintop removal." According to Lauderdale, visionary opposition is powerful because its "future orientation" provides a hopeful "North Star" that brings people together. Visionary opposition makes solutions more relevant than problems and interpretes grievances related to the coal industry's decline through the lens of just transition (Snow 2004b).

Building Connective Tissue

The second element of KFTC's constructive repertoire is strategies to build connective tissue: fluid relationships among actors in the field rather than rigid coalitional structures. These strategies are evident in KFTC's approach to informal regional networks, strategic partnerships, and national alliances that helped KFTC expand beyond its traditional membership base and enabled others to engage in the climate movement on their own terms.

Benham$aves is a prime example of building connective tissue. The program brought together SMOs like KFTC and Appalshop (a radical Appalachian arts center), traditional community groups like COAP, Inc. (a local faith-based affordable housing nonprofit), and elected officials from the Benham city government. As Lauderdale explained, KFTC's "particular history of being confrontational with the coal industry makes us alarming for some folks to be in some sort of relationship with." Yet shifting into a more constructive stance allowed KFTC to find common ground with more conservative organizations around reducing Benham's energy costs:

> If you're the village leader and you're trying to grapple with keeping the lights on there was recognition that actually this might work. Right? Here's a potential solution. We've got to lean into this new source of energy. We've got to think about it. But we didn't go in with an ultimatum of, 'You've got to sign off on our mountaintop removal campaign,' or something like that first.

Whereas rigid coalition structures often mandate that members agree to a shared analysis of the problem, building connective tissue simply requires a shared commitment to exploring solutions. "I think that we have to maintain an initial focus on what it is we're trying to build because that enables us to bring more people into the fray," said Lauderdale. Benham$aves helped KFTC establish inroads in a coal community beyond its traditional activist membership base.

KFTC also built connective tissue through strategic partnerships, most obviously in its work with MACED in the High Road Initiative and Appalachian Transition. In contrast to informal regional networks like Benham$aves, KFTC and MACED have a "shared analysis" and their relationship is "longstanding. It's deep. It's aligned," said Lawson. Joint activities include fundraising and programmatic work around green economic development. For example, both KFTC and MACED are Anchor Organizations for the Chorus Foundation's ten-year just transition grant program in Eastern Kentucky.[91]

KFTC and MACED also share an understanding that each organization plays a different role in the field. Whereas MACED has expertise in insider tactics like policy research[92] and advocacy, KFTC excels at outsider tactics like protests and civil disobedience.[93] As MACED's Appalachian Transition Director Brianna Isaacs said, "We, as MACED, are not going to go sit in in the governor's office. We are not going to write statements that are in opposition to

[91] The Chorus Foundation has been a vocal critic of philanthropic emphasis on reducing carbon emissions rather than a just transition approach to climate change. In 2013, it made a significant ten-year funding commitment to KFTC and MACED as part of its anticipated spend-down in 2023 (Williams 2016).

[92] MACED houses the Kentucky Center for Economic Policy, a think tank founded in 2011 that is affiliated with the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and the Economic Analysis and Research Network (KCEP 2019).

[93] For example, in February 2011 a group of fourteen KFTC members occupied the governor's office to "protest the governor's submissiveness to the coal industry" and call on him to host a conversation about just transition in Eastern Kentucky (Beshear acquiesced to this demand and participated in a KFTC-organized tour of Eastern Kentucky that April) (KFTC 2019d). This "Kentucky Rising" action was concurrent with Appalachian Transition but KFTC presented it as a Canary Project campaign.

mountaintop removal. We just have a different strategy around how to accomplish those goals than KFTC does." These distinct repertoires mean that KFTC and MACED project very different organizational identities and have access to different organizational networks. According to KFTC volunteer and former MACED staffer Chris Porter, MACED is able to sit at tables about economic development and be "seen as legitimate" because they have a track record of developing small businesses and aren't threatening to a conservative constituency. In contrast, "KFTC would never, ever be invited to those tables and would never be seen as legitimate." Isaacs echoed this sentiment:

> MACED [is] seen as a progressive organization … but we're seen as pretty moderate in that progressivism. So because of that, we oftentimes will be contacted by certain politicians or candidates, for instance, who want to come to us and ask us about economic development in Eastern Kentucky. And they would not go to KFTC and do the same because KFTC is seen as way more polarizing and way more radical and progressive and extreme than MACED is. But because of that, on the flip side, with KFTC, they have this huge membership that we don't have access to […] So we're able to go to [KFTC] and say, "Talk to your members, tell us what they're thinking," or, "How can we share this message with your members?" and that kind of thing. So it's sort of complementary, the things that we have strengths in and they don't.

In other words, the division of labor in KFTC's partnership with MACED is a strategic asset.

Finally, KFTC enacts the strategy of building connective tissue through participation in movement formations like the Climate Justice Alliance, a national network of 67 environmental justice SMOs founded in 2013 to "create a new center of gravity in the climate movement by uniting frontline communities and organizations" using a "translocal organizing strategy" to both "fight the bad" and "build the new" (CJA 2019). As Lauderdale explained, KFTC actively contributed to the development of the Alliance's just transition framework with the understanding that each member would adapt that framework to their local context. This fluid network relationship allows KFTC to take different policy positions than the Alliance as a whole,

for example by including a modest carbon tax in the Empower Kentucky Plan.[94] Yet participating in the Climate Justice Alliance also provides opportunities for KFTC to enrich connections with the climate justice movement writ large. As Lauderdale said, "We are pleased and honored to be in a partner or support role as a part of this organization that is led by people of color and women, that is really trying to build a new economy."

Changing the Conversation

The third element of KFTC's repertoire of construction is tactics to change the conversation from resisting environmental injustice to building a just transition in frontline communities. "We needed to drag a public conversation into view," said Lawson. Appalachian Transition "was really was a deliberate attempt to create a different conversation […] and not just engage in the fight around mountaintop removal mining. It didn't mean leave that fight, but it really did mean, can we create a different conversation with a different starting place?" Weaving the New Power framework into KFTC's climate justice campaigns represented tactical innovation in response to the War on Coal. As one staffer explained, for years KFTC members had eloquently testified about the environmental impacts of extraction at public hearings – but were at a loss for words when asked how KFTC would help communities displaced by the coal industry's decline. As the political winds shifted to the right in Kentucky and nationally, KFTC leadership determined they needed better answers to hard questions about the social impacts of moving beyond coal.

KFTC implemented three primary building-oriented tactics to change the conversation: 1) building demonstration projects, 2) leveraging data to articulate the possible, and 3) gathering

[94] For example, the Empower Kentucky Plan acknowledges that KFTC's endorsement of a carbon tax scheme was controversial among peer environmental justice SMOs: "Along with many of the groups working for environmental justice and a Just Transition, we have deep reservations about carbon trading proposals and some approaches to carbon taxes" (KFTC 2017:45).

hopeful stories about the lived experience of transition and creating welcoming public spaces for dialogue.

First, demonstration projects like Benham$aves helped change the conversation by diverting attention and resources from resisting the coal industry to building concrete alternative sources of economic, energy, and democratic power. Rather than simply demanding that the Benham Power Board replace coal with cheaper, renewable energy sources, KFTC elicited strategies to reduce residents' energy bills through collaboration. Residential energy retrofits turned out to be a win-win solution for skyrocketing local energy costs that yielded immediate, tangible benefits for homeowners and utilities alike. Carving out spaces for just transition programs in the interstices of a coal-based economy expanded imaginations and thus the horizon of what was actually possible (Wright 2010, Wright 2019).

Second, Renew East Kentucky exemplifies how KFTC leveraged data to articulate the possible and change the conversation from resisting the construction of a coal-fired power plant to building sustainable sources of energy and jobs. The first phase of the Stop Smith campaign emphasized contentious tactics – protests, petitions, litigation – that led with the problem and failed to gain much traction with EKPC or distribution co-ops and grassroots members in its service territory. After KFTC commissioned reports with hard numbers about the relative costs of coal vs. renewables investments, however, it became more difficult for EKPC to credibly argue the project would boost its bottom line. Detailed financial projections showing how the Smith plant would burden EKPC's sixteen member rural electric co-ops with risky debt provided cover for them to reject new investments in coal. Leading with convincing data on Renew East Kentucky's projected benefits for job creation and regional economic development also brought a more diverse set of stakeholders to the cause.

KFTC's third tactic for changing the conversation was gathering hopeful stories about the lived experience of transition and creating welcoming public spaces for dialogue. The Appalachia's Bright Future conference, for example, featured speakers who shared inspiring stories of transitioning from extractive to generative economies in communities around the world. It also brought together a diverse set of stakeholders to construct and critique imagined futures, an example of what Mische (2014) calls a "site of hyperprojectivity." The Empower Kentucky campaign created dedicated public forums to develop alternatives to state climate policy (or lack thereof). "By design," these events were "welcoming and inclusive spaces attended by participants from many diverse backgrounds" (KFTC 2017:2) that helped shift the focus of conversation from opposition to the Clean Power Plan to concrete economic and health benefits of transitioning from coal to renewable energy sources.

Table 2 summarizes the ideology, strategies, and tactics that constitute key elements of KFTC's repertoire of construction. The final section discusses how centering repertoires of construction created new opportunities for KFTC to take action on climate change in the midst of the War on Coal. I conclude by examining broader implications of strategic reconfiguration for movement continuity, outcomes, and providing a more comprehensive account of social change visions in movements for environmental and climate justice.

Table 2: Elements of KFTC's Repertoire of Construction

Element	Description	Examples
Visionary opposition	An ideology that foregrounds the possible and acknowledges the interplay between resistance and building	Pivot from Stop Smith to Renew East Kentucky, New Power narrative framework, We Are Kentuckians rally
Building connective tissue	Strategies to establish fluid relationships among actors in the field rather than rigid coalitional structures	Informal regional network around Benham$aves, strategic partnership with MACED, membership in Climate Justice Alliance
Changing the conversation	Campaign tactics like building demonstration projects, leveraging data to articulate the possible, and gathering hopeful stories about the lived experience of transition and creating welcoming public spaces for dialogue	Benham$aves energy efficiency retrofit program, Renew East Kentucky just transition plan, Appalachia's Bright Future conference

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Although the constructive dimensions of social movements have been largely overlooked in extant research, tracing how KFTC de-emphasized overt resistance to coal and foregrounded a framework to build New Power demonstrates that strategic configuration was central to its response to a challenging political opportunity structure. KFTC's repertoire of construction is composed of three elements: 1) an ideology of visionary opposition that foregrounds the possible and treats resistance and building as a dialectic, 2) strategies to build connective tissue: fluid relationships among actors in the field rather than rigid coalitional structures, and 3) tactics to change the conversation from resisting environmental injustice to building a just transition in frontline communities. Increasing the relative weight of constructive practices has had important impacts on the continuity and outcomes of KFTC's climate justice campaigns.

First, the New Power framework helped sustain morale – a key ingredient of activist recruitment and retention. It is impossible to disentangle the various factors that contributed to KFTC's dramatic growth from 5,000 to 12,142 members between 2008 and 2018 (KFTC 2008a, KFTC 2018b). Yet the political opportunity structure is a key determinant of which diagnoses, critiques, and calls to action will resonate at a given moment (Wilson 1973). In a period when coal employment in Kentucky dropped to its "lowest point since 1898" (KFTC 2017:12) and the industry poured millions of dollars into an ad campaign to blame environmentalists, many people in KFTC's target audience were unreceptive to the "traditional activist problem-first messaging," said Sorensen, "particularly when folks, either individually or regionally or culturally, believe that their livelihoods depend upon the thing that you're trying to stop." A well-established link between feelings of efficacy and optimism (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2004) implies that KFTC's inclusive ideology of visionary opposition may have been particularly resonant in

contrast to the polarizing frames of the War on Coal. By leading with building yet acknowledging that resistance has its place, it focused potential activists on KFTC's positive vision and transformed 'anti' into 'for' (Snow 2004b). Echoing previous studies, several staffers also remarked that focusing on proactive solutions helped them cope with burnout (Bunnage 2014, Roth 2016). As Sorensen said, "people are going to get demoralized and fatigued and lose hope after a while with the resistance." He explained that KFTC's emphasis on building a better future made him more emotionally resilient in the midst of the daily grind.

Second, strategic reconfiguration fostered novel opportunities for inter-organizational collaboration. Many previous studies in the contentious politics tradition assume that identifying a common enemy is a prerequisite to collective action (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004). This may be true in the context of movements with well-defined targets like state officials or corporate leadership. The case of KFTC indicates, however, that the strategy of building connective tissue was particularly well suited to the polarized political context of the War on Coal. Since a formal relationship with KFTC was a liability for certain organizations in the field, informal partnerships allowed them to work toward a just transition without calling it that per se. In the process, KFTC's theory of change diffused more broadly than it might have had they led with the problem of mountaintop removal. "Vision-based and solution-oriented strategies [have] allowed people to come into that arena on their own terms," said Lauderdale. "And their terms have moved, right? They've come closer and closer to our analysis and our strategies." For example, KFTC's strategic partnership with MACED – a relatively traditional community development financial institution – encouraged MACED to adopt a more explicit justice lens. The inverse was also true, i.e. MACED provided an external perspective on why anti-mountaintop removal campaigns had alienated potential allies. As Isaacs recalled:

> When I first got involved with KFTC, they were really very much about ending mountaintop removal […] I don't think they ever really put out a message that they were anti-coal or anti-coal miners. They were always saying, 'We support these communities' […] But I think the biggest thing was recognizing that we couldn't just demonize coal.

In other words, the MACED partnership opened up new opportunities for collective action by teaching KFTC to utilize insider tactics in a more sophisticated way and indirectly bringing KFTC into relationship with small business owners, elected officials, financial institutions, and coal communities beyond its activist membership base. Expanding its repertoire into arenas like green economic development and renewable energy also brought formerly antagonistic organizations – and their resources – together in working toward a common goal. For example, the pivot from stopping the Smith plant to proposing a just transition plan to Renew East Kentucky resulted in EKPC abandoning the proposed coal-fired power plant – and then committing $125,000 toward the formation of a collaborative with KFTC and other environmental groups.

Finally, foregrounding the constructive bolstered KFTC's legitimacy in Eastern Kentucky coal towns. As successful programs like Benham$aves deepened trust and relationships in places like Hazard County, residents came to see tangible benefits of a just transition in their everyday lives. For instance, Benham's municipal utility became the first in Kentucky to establish a "pay-as-you-save" financing mechanism to cover the upfront costs of insulation and other efficiency investments and allow residents to pay them back through energy bill savings over the next fifteen years. This immediately and dramatically impacted residents' quality of life – and their pocketbooks. As chairman Danny Quillen said at the Benham$aves launch celebration, "The way our Power Board has come together around this project really shows we are looking towards the future instead of just sitting and living in today" (KFTC 2019d). Collaboration between the

Benham Power Board, KFTC, MACED, city government, and a number of local nonprofits was an unprecedented example of local goodwill.

Taken together, these impacts on morale, inter-organizational collaboration, and legitimacy suggest that strategic reconfiguration opened up opportunities for collective action on climate change despite the unfavorable political opportunity structure KFTC faced after 2008. Although changing energy markets and the Great Recession were actually responsible for the decline of coal, the industry effectively demonized environmentalists who opposed mountaintop removal and coal-fired power plants. KFTC recognized that "this strategy of just 'anti-' is only going to carry this work so far," said Lauderdale, and that "targeting and demonizing such a large swath of the political landscape was going to be counterproductive." As Porter said:

> The whole focus of [the Sierra Club Beyond Coal] campaign is shutting down coal-fired power plants, which, if your whole strategy is built around carbon, that's a logical thing […] But they have no – at the time, they had zero, absolutely zero lens around what happens to these communities when you take away the thing that provided all the jobs.

In contrast to many environmental justice groups that lost momentum during the War on Coal, changing the conversation helped KFTC build political will in the midst of the "environment vs. jobs" debate (Pollin and Callaci 2019) by presenting green economic development as a win-win solution for Kentucky.

Strategic reconfiguration also helped provide political cover for elected officials interested in learning more about green economic development options. Although "the idea of having a conference about Appalachia's bright future [in April 2013] was pretty audacious and very politically fraught," said Lawson, Democratic Governor Steve Beshear and Republican Representative Hal Rogers established a bipartisan "platform for the people of Appalachia Kentucky to be engaged, embrace new ideas, leverage resources, and build capacity to create a

21st Century Appalachia" a mere six months later (SOAR 2019). Over 1,500 people attended the first Shaping Our Appalachian Region conference in Kentucky's top coal-producing county in December 2013. KFTC members showed up in force with a 14-point just transition policy proposal. "They would never say that it was informed by the conference, or that the work that we've been doing," said Lawson. "But I think there's more than a dotted line." The case of KFTC shows that foregrounding repertoires of construction has the potential to sustain or even expand opportunities for collective action on climate justice when the political opportunity structure contracts.

This study contributes to debates about the role of a solutions agenda in movements for environmental and climate justice by demonstrating that resistance and building often go hand in hand. Taking the constructive seriously implies questioning the notion that protest is the only mode of collective action that matters. My findings suggest that collectively building institutions to meet immediate needs in frontline communities need not crowd out resistance or signal co-optation (Harrison 2015). Reconfiguration may be especially strategic in the climate movement given the urgency of the crisis (Adam 1998, IPCC 2018). I propose a more comprehensive account of collective action repertoires that critically examines why, how, and to what effect movements are utilizing less visible strategies and tactics to meet this moment. A more ecumenical view of what counts as collective action – from advocacy to adaptation, institutionalization to mitigation – may broaden our horizons and recognize more diverse pathways to achieve social change.

The case of KFTC also contributes to the literature on abeyance by challenging the assumption that increased emphasis on repertoires of construction always portends movement decline. In contrast to previous studies (see e.g. Jacobsson and Sörbom 2015), I find that the turn

toward building connective tissue and changing the conversation represented the continuation rather than conclusion of a movement cycle. I also find limited evidence of marginalization, co-optation, depoliticization, and other signals of "missed opportunities" and decline (Sawyers and Meyer 1999:193).

We need additional research to explore the prevalence, implications, and dynamics of strategic reconfiguration in diverse movements and political contexts. This process is not linear or uniform. How does strategic reconfiguration impact movement continuity and outcomes when actors increase the relative weight of contentious versus constructive repertoires? Under what circumstances does increasing emphasis on building social-relational infrastructure undermine instead of further movement goals? Comparative studies that examine cases of strategic reconfiguration within and beyond environmental movements would enrich our understanding of generalizable features. Examining the constructive in varied geographic, organizational, and cultural in empirical settings would also help demonstrate what's possible when communities pursue different pathways to climate, racial, and economic justice.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Acronyms

EKPC	East Kentucky Power Cooperative
KFTC	Kentuckians for the Commonwealth
KySEA	The Kentucky Sustainable Energy Alliance
MACED	The Mountain Association for Community Economic Development
SMO	Social movement organization

Conclusion

The interplay of contentious and constructive repertoires is central to the struggle for a new economy. I have argued that taking a more expansive view of what counts as collective action provides generative opportunities to examine movements for economic democracy and climate justice in a new light. My findings in each paper address part of a larger set of questions about the constructive over time and in the context of alternative economic institutions. As a whole, this dissertation contributes to conversations in political, economic, and environmental sociology and lays the foundation for my future work.

I offer two new concepts to extend theories of civic spillover and contentious politics.

First, *civic enrichment* lays the groundwork for a new conceptual model of the relationship between workplace and civic participation. In Paper I, Kristinn Már and I find that workers in cooperatives are more civically engaged than those in conventional firms and that workers who self-selected into economic democracy volunteer at significantly higher rates if they are also active in workplace governance. Rather than simply attributing this to a spillover effect, however, we bring motivation, trajectories of engagement, and boundary crossing to the fore and show that the social processes underlying this trend are much more complex. We argue that future research needs to more clearly explore the permeability of the boundary between economic and civic spheres and will pursue this line of inquiry beyond the unique context of worker cooperatives using new data that will become available next year. Thanks to a collaboration with AmeriCorps, the 2021 wave of the Current Population Survey Civic Engagement and Volunteering Supplement will include two new questions about how people opt into or create workplaces that more closely embody their civic ideals.[95]

[95] Now I'm going to read you a list of statements that might or might not describe your main job. Please tell me whether you [strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree] with each of these statements.

Second, the concept of *repertoires of construction* provides opportunities to extend contentious politics theory beyond protests and other public, disruptive modes of resistance to uncover less visible varieties of collective action that are just as vital for social change. In Paper II, I find that repertoires of construction are widespread yet largely overlooked in extant research. My hope is that this concept will inspire more systematic study of the implications of constructive action for resource acquisition, tactical innovation, movement continuity, and other questions of interest to social movement and environmental justice scholars.

This dissertation also offers several empirical contributions. In Paper I, utilizing an original dataset about worker cooperatives across the U.S. allows us to account for firm-level variation, leverage a measure of self-selection, and use a mixed-methods approach combining life history interviews with original survey data on a national scale. In collaboration with DAWI, I have made the de-identified Worker Co-op Census data available for other researchers who also wish to explore outstanding questions about these unique firms.[96] Similarly, per NSF guidelines, I will make the original ethnographic data Papers II and III are based on available by archiving de-identified interview transcripts, field notes, and documents at ICPSR. To my knowledge, these studies represent the first in-depth case studies of the reinvest side of the Divest/Reinvest Campaign and the evolution of KFTC's New Power framework and thus could be valuable

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- I am proud to be working for my employer
- My workplace contributes to the community
- My main satisfaction in life comes from work
- I contribute to the community through my work

In the past 12 months, has your workplace or employer asked or encouraged employees to volunteer or contribute to a specific cause, for example by participating in an employer-sponsored volunteering day, providing pro bono services, or donating to a charity? [yes, no]

[96] My 2020 report with DAWI's Olga Prushinskaya outlines key takeaways from the data regarding the impacts of economic democracy for workers, firms, and communities and methodological details and is available at https://institute.coop/resources/census-individual-workers-worker-cooperatives. The application to access the data is available at http://institute.coop/censusdataaccess.

sources of primary data for the field. A third empirical contribution is my articulation of more general features of constructive collective action scholars can look for in other settings: a solutions-oriented ideological position, collective action that seeks to affirmatively build a movement's material and symbolic power, and concrete examples of social-relational infrastructure to meet collective needs such as cooperatives and non-extractive loan funds. My investigation of three historical and two contemporary cases begins to lay the foundation for a new research agenda on repertoires of construction that invites scholars to examine the transferability of insights from my cases to other movements.

Finally, this dissertation offers two contributions on the practical level. Each study included an action research component. My findings have informed DAWI's efforts to make economic democracy more accessible during the COVID-19 crisis, communications materials for the Seed Commons Community Wealth Cooperative, and reflections among KFTC staffers about how to navigate an extraordinarily challenging historical period. In lifting up modes of collective action that have been largely ignored by the academy, I have also sought to follow Monica White's (2018) example of honoring those who do the work of building a better world from the ground up.

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