

NINE PEACEFUL DEFENDERS OF HEADWATERS AT REDWOOD SUMMER:
TRUE FOR ME. GET IT DONE. WAS IT WORTHY? WHAT GOT IN THE WAY?

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Abstract

This study is an inquiry into the lived experience and personal meanings derived from long term commitments to justice towards better visibility and understanding of the community of nonviolence for activists, general public, and theorists of social change. Nine peaceful activists (five men and four women) took part in a series of actions known as the 'Redwood Summer,' intended to protect California's Pacific northwestern rainforest (c1989-2001). Using a modified grounded theory approach, indepth and semi-structured interviews yielded twenty two sub-level categories under one core category (Truth into Action), two main-level categories (Communion and Meaning and Agency and Efficacy), and four second-level categories (True for Me, Get it Done, Was it Worthy?, and Rock in Stream). The emergent model was compared to and contrasted with existing literature on pragmatism and generativity as related to engaged citizenship. Results suggest that for these activists there is a driving need to work towards environmental and social justice and sustainability for both human and non-human life, reportedly arising from their response to their understanding of world conditions. Acting accordingly, they then assess the worthiness of their actions and recognize obstructing forces. The outcome of this process changes their felt truth and resulting actions going forward. These activists demonstrate relentless intention, and related actions to contribute to positive change in the world; and they provide visible exemplars of nonviolence for those who may be interested or are considering engagement in environmental protection. Implications for clinical practice with activists and citizens struggling with effects of climate change, and proposed further research with nonviolent activists are discussed.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to departed, like-minded and -hearted comrades. These include: Judi Bari, Francis Macy, Bill Devall, and Arne Naess. I also devote this work to living relationships that support my commitment to peace and justice: David R. Walker, Harry T. Hunt, Kay Chornook, Sally Ludwig, Joanna Macy, Annie Symens-Bucher, and Peter Timmerman. I include in this assignation every participant in this study and every activist and change agent ever — living and ancestral — who have longed for justice and worked tirelessly towards that end. Apparently, once we wake up we do not go back to sleep. I am deeply grateful for that lived reality and place therein my hope and intentions going forward.

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Hope is not something that you have. Hope is something that you create with your actions. Hope is something you have to manifest into the world, and once one person has hope, it can be contagious. Other people start acting in a way that has more hope (Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez in conversation with Greta Thunberg, as cited in Brockes, 2019, p. 5).

It is clear that first of all they need to see the possibility of positive action before they can become actively concerned (Woodward, 1948, p. 11).

CHAPTER I: Introduction

Psychologists have regained interest in the scientific investigation of aspects of human experience that increase quality and meaning of life, relationships with other life, and empowerment to contribute to positive change (Breckler, 2007; Csikszentmihalyi, 1993; Oskamp, 2000a, 2000b; Peterson & Seligman, 2004; Scott et al., 2016; Weir, 2018). This is particularly important at this time in history considering that, in the face of current, pressing environmental and social crises it is apparent that humanity seems to be lacking the tools necessary to ensure sustainable solutions (Lovelock, 2010; McKibben, 2011; Pratarelli, 2012; Schmuck & Vlek, 2003; Uiterkamp & Vlek, 2007; Wilson, 2002).

Agential citizenship can be integral to positive change (Anderson & Christie, 2001; Bai, 2012; Bandura, 2006; Mayton et al., 2002; Wilson, 2002). At this moment in history, increasing numbers of citizens are seizing opportunities to move towards greater economic, social, and environmental justice and sustainability through the means of nonviolent activism. For instance, in 2011, there was a growing surge of global support for the Occupy movement. This economic, social, and environmental justice action meme was first ‘floated’ by the Canadian-based culture jamming group, AdBusters as a challenge for citizens to match the 2011 Arab Spring uprising and take up resistance to unjust corporate-economic-political structures in an occupation of Zucotti Park near Wall Street in New York City (Hedges, 2011a, 2011b; Kroll, 2011). Prompted by AdBuster advertisements in national media and their own published magazine (e.g., AdBusters #94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 2011) a large scale demonstration began on September 17, 2011 and was supported by similar nonviolent demonstrations in cities across North America, the

Middle East, and Europe. Occupy has been credited as achieving a breakthrough into corporate-filtered media, to capture the attention and inspire the imagination of would-be resisters – ordinary citizens – around the world (Korten, 2011). In his analysis of the unfolding events, cognitive scientist George Lakoff (2011) asserted the movement was based on the activists' values of compassion and obligation to society:

OWS [Occupy Wall Street] is a moral and patriotic movement. It sees Democracy as flowing from citizens caring about one another as well as themselves, and acting with both personal and social responsibility. Democratic governance is about The Public, and the liberty that The Public provides for a thriving Private Sphere. From such a democracy flows fairness, which is incompatible with a hugely disproportionate distribution of wealth. And from the sense of care implicit in such a democracy flows a commitment to the preservation of nature. From what I have seen of most members of OWS, your individual concerns all flow from one moral focus.

Since Occupy, the Black Lives Matter and Idle No More movements, among others have responded to historical racial trauma through collective intention and spiritual activism (Hopper, 2016). These intentions have been deployed as organized protests and longer term environmental and cultural protection efforts, e.g., Standing Rock Sacred Stone and Red Warrior camps (Sundeen, 2016), and the world-wide resurgence of Black Lives Matter with the killing of George Floyd by white police officer, Derek Chauvin on May 25, 2020 in Minneapolis, Minnesota (Hill, et al., 2020). Another example is the 2017 outraged response to the election of the 45th President of the United States of America, when an estimated 2.6-5 million people participated – around the world – in the Women's March on Washington (Przybyla & Schouten, 2017). Additionally, youth-led movements calling their governments to account regarding the climate crisis are gaining momentum, e.g., young Earth Guardians suing the United States government, led by

Xiuhtezcatl Roske-Martinez (Chang, 2016) and the 2018 worldwide, revolving student walk-out strikes against climate change lead by then 15-year-old, Swedish-born Greta Thunberg (Carrington, 2018). Closer to where I live, 17-year-old Autumn Peltier is an Indigenous young woman devoted to protection of Water as Life. As the Anishinabek Nation Chief Water Commissioner, Peltier has taken up great responsibility for leadership in her community (Becking, 2019). The efforts of these engaged and committed citizens have received widespread attention and support and this despite the historical dearth of mainstream media coverage and institutional validation. Additionally, there are well known, pervasive, and organized military responses to citizen protest, such as the violence against peaceful resisters in the form of blasting water cannons in freezing temperatures at the 2016 Standing Rock Dakota pipeline (Lafleur-Vetter & Klett, 2016). Activism may also be life threatening. According to Global Witness, an United Kingdom watchdog group, 164 worldwide environmental activists were murdered in 2018. As sobering as is this number, it is lower than that of 2017, a year that saw the violent demise of 201 environmental protectors around the world (Gunia, 2019). A resurgence of violence levied against this group in 2019 resulted in a record total of 212 deaths (Davidson, 2020). Finally, there is a high degree of mental health challenges in activist communities, including cases of reported suicidal ideation and completed suicide (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2005; Viviano, 2019). On the other hand, in addition to more mainstream media coverage, there are signs of growing institutional support for nonviolent protesters and the issues they stand for. For instance, ordinarily conservative organizations such as the American Psychological Association (APA) came out in

support of the Standing Rock water protection efforts (APA Monitor on Psychology, 2017) and more recently against systemic, structural racism (APA Monitor on Psychology, 2021). Even so, although more and more people seem called to oppose established economic, civic, organizational, environmental, and political models, engagement in grassroots citizenship demonstrated as nonviolent activism remains a relatively rare phenomenon in the larger population.

It is noteworthy that, although there are often widely visible, international protest locations, many social justice initiatives fade away after a few short years. Some analysts have explained this as due to a lack of leadership, clear messaging, and solid agenda for change (e.g., Ostroy, 2017). On the other hand, sometimes there are long term, radiating effect changes on culture and society. For instance, although Black Lives Matter arises directly from a recent, tragic event, it has historical roots in the civil rights movement (CRM; Morris, 2021). Many gains from the CRM have been documented (e.g., Zinn, 2003). More recently, the April 2021 conviction of Derek Chauvin as George Floyd's murder has been hailed as a turning point for systemic racism within police ranks (Kelly, 2021). Radiated response to Black Lives Matter includes a wider acknowledgment that racism is cultural and systemic, and that it is white people's sole responsibility to educate and change themselves and institutions accordingly (Andoh, 2021; Evans, 2021).

A specific example of this includes the APA's firm stance on anti-racism in the field of psychology – a white (84%) dominated discipline that is under-represented by black, Indigenous, and people of color (Andoh, 2021), an observation that is shared by critical community psychologists (e.g., Kagan, 2015; Melliush, 2014). In a recent special report,

Dismantling racism: Psychology's urgent need (Andoh, 2021), the APA not only asks the critical questions of what is psychology's opportunity and responsibility for action (Andoh, 2021), but includes concrete suggestions for how best to proceed using science-based approaches (e.g., change the level of the analysis, use an intersectional lens of reference, and shift inherent biases in the field; Evans, 2021). Although not credited by the APA, these changes have been directly attributed to the efforts of the Black Lives Matter actions since its inception in 2012, while at the same time acknowledging psychology's racist history (University of Toronto Psychology Students' Association, 2021). In terms of environmental protection, some youth activist efforts to take governments to court with respect to inaction on climate change are bearing fruit, such as with the recent wins in Germany and Australia, whose courts decided in favor of the youth who claimed their government is not doing enough and is placing undue burden on young people (Dyer, 2021; Morton, 2021).

From the perspective that activism has the possibility to enact change for the better, the engaged citizen's choice of nonviolence for social and environmental justice is viewed as a positive counter-balance to critical issues, an in-the-world tendency to make contributions to equitable and sustainable solutions to the apparently intractable environmental and social problems we face. In light of the organized, pervasive forces in opposition to activism, as mentioned above, an individual making such a choice means they are taking action that may be doomed to failure, and may also be met with extreme force, causing mental health disorders, bodily injury, or even death.

The main purpose of this study was to derive some understanding of the lived experience of a selected group of engaged citizens who — beginning decades before Occupy — called themselves out and stood for social and environmental justice in California’s Pacific northwestern rainforest — specifically the watershed known as Headwaters. Originally planned to be a few months long, the event referred to as Redwood Summer expanded to take place over more than a decade (c1989-2001), outliving its founder Judi Bari (1949 – 1997). My intention was to acquire an accurate understanding of how some individuals who participated in Redwood Summer view their engaged citizenship, at that time and subsequently, in terms of prior life events and internal and external supports and barriers they face in light of a long-term commitment to nonviolence. To make as much sense as possible of their lived experience, I draw directly from the participants’ interview responses — preferentially presented in their own words — according to themes discovered in the analysis. My end purpose from the outset has been to allow this information to be seen by these and other nonviolent activists so that they may recognize something of their own experience in the final presentation. The other purpose was to offer a sketch of a little known population of engaged citizens to social scientists, policy makers, and the general public. Finally, the intention was to lend support to committed activists and other citizens who may be considering the undertaking of active environmental protection.

In this work, I summarize existing debates and research findings relevant to current issues of environmental sustainability and nonviolent citizen resistance. I then describe the research situation, including my own involvement and investment therein. I build a

case and present research for the inquiry and describe the underlying methodology and method employed to address the research questions. Next, I present the results as told from the perspective of the research participants, all of whom have given long term, deliberate service to social and environmental sustainability and justice. The results are discussed in terms of implications for clinical practice and in relation to relevant, existing evidence and developing psychological theories. It is hoped that this work may inform clinical psychologists in their emerging work to support citizens who struggle with growing awareness of the climate crisis and activists acting on behalf of social justice and environmental sustainability, towards the realization of these for the benefit of all.

Literature Review

For the first time in its 3.5 billion years of existence, the planet has an intelligent, communicating species that can consider the whole system and even do things about it. They are not yet bright enough, they have still to evolve quite a way, but they could become a very positive contributor to planetary welfare (James Lovelock, co-author of Gaia theory, as told to G. Vince, 2009, p. 31).

Environmental sustainability.

In the last century there has been growing concern over the impact of humans on the environment, the ability of industrial societies to grow within sustainable limits, and the effects of climate change (Clayton & Manning, 2018; Masson-Delmotte et al., 2018; Solomon et al., 2007; Worldwatch Institute, 2017, 2005). Perhaps most surprising, Pope Francis incorporated concern for the environment into his Encyclical letter, *Laudato Si'* (May 24, 2015), a document that resembles and/or draws on the Earth Charter drafted by the Club of Rome (UNESCO, 2003). Before this historic Roman Catholic document and the gathering storm of environmental deterioration, the rights of

nature were given scant attention in the Neoliberal model that defines contemporary economics. Overall, the needs and rights of nature continue to be ignored at large.

Almost three decades earlier, the United Nations undertook a long term plan to define and approach worldwide sustainable development. Emerging from the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the United Nations Education, Science, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) initially defined sustainable development as that which “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland Commission, 1987, p. 37). Subsequent conceptualizations of sustainable development have engaged citizens associated with over 300 international voluntary partnerships, involving governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and businesses. These efforts resulted in a clarified definition of sustainability with four principal areas of concern: 1) respect and care for all life, 2) maintenance of environmental integrity, 3) social and economic justice, and 4) peaceful conflict resolution with full participation by multiple stakeholders (UNESCO, 2003).

Peaceful conflict resolution: Nonviolence.

Citizen participation in nonviolent, sustainable change is reflected in key UNESCO documents. It is not surprising, therefore, that many North American NGOs at UNESCO sustainability meetings arrived with a specific commitment to nonviolence. The eminent biologist and social theorist, E. O. Wilson (2002) views such NGO contributions as valuable to the social change process. “The immediate role of the NGOs is therefore that

of an emergency task force: defining the problem, devising strategy, and taking local action when adequate resources can be marshaled” (Wilson, 2002, p. 183).

Nonviolent activism also has a long-standing history of efficacy for change in the North American political process, with outstanding examples in the civil rights, anti-nuclear, anti-war, and social justice movements (Lynd & Lynd, 2002; Radkau, 2014), and resistance against human destruction of environmental systems (for a review see Radkau, 2014). This distinguished history dates back to Quakers standing against the displacement and genocide of Indigenous Peoples, the tyranny of slavery, and the injustice of war (Lynd & Lynd, 2002; Zinn, 2003). According to peace psychologist Daniel Mayton II (2001), sociologist Bill Devall (1982), nonviolent theorists Gene Sharp and Robert Holmes (e.g., Sharp, 1993), and environmental philosopher Arne Naess (1974), one important pattern of resistance emerges from this social history: nonviolence.

Probably the best known nonviolent response to injustice comes from Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948; Gandhi, 1973), who developed nonviolence as Indian resistance against British colonization, technology robbing people of dignity and purpose through work, social injustice as racism, and the inhumane Indian caste system (Brown, 1972). Gandhi’s approach was fundamentally a religious resistance. He named this process *satyagraha* (truth force) — the struggle for the truth in the public realm, a common struggle of all together, including both supporters and opponents. Grounded in his own version of Hinduism, Gandhi defined many of the essential dynamic elements for resistance events (Gandhi, 1996a, 1996b; 1973). Central to the process was the willingness to put one’s self in the flow of the struggle so as to use one’s sincerity and

commitment as a gift to the forces of truth. In addition to the earlier influence of Tolstoy, Gandhi acknowledged the influence on his work of American thinkers: e.g., Quakers: William Penn and John Woolman; conscientious objector: Jane Addams (Lynd & Lynd, 2002); abolitionist: William Lloyd Garrison; transcendentalist: Henry David Thoreau (Lynd & Lynd, 2002; Bhavsar & Lindley, 2011); British socialists/vegetarians: Annie Besant and Edward Carpenter; and progressive philosopher: William James (Bhavsar & Lindley, 2011).

Martin Luther King Jr., who is a touchstone for American activism, and a follower of Gandhi, often said that he was as much about transforming white people as about leading black people (King, 1963). This contrasts (for example) with the views of Malcolm X, who was not influenced by Gandhian nonviolence, and was primarily interested in strengthening the power and identity of his black constituency (Zinn, 2003). To the nonviolent activist, violence is counterproductive — it allows the powers-that-be to accuse protestors of criminal behaviour, terrorism, and worse; and generates a polarization between ‘good citizens’ and ‘evil people.’ A vital element in the spiritual aspect of nonviolence is to see violence as giving up on the possibility of changing another’s mind and resorting to force instead. Because activism is active (by definition) nonviolence in aid of activism can seem passive and cowardly. Environmental activism goes back and forth across this nonviolent/violent divide — various protest groups have taken different positions and different strategies on this question over time (Radkau, 2014). Yet, part of the dynamic of nonviolent protest is to use the sincerity of one’s actions to bring out into the open the sometimes disguised or officially acceptable

violence that props up the system. For an example directly applicable to the current study, see the following section, ‘The Research Situation; Headwaters; The debate about nonviolence.’ In that section, the bombing of Redwood Summer leader, Judi Bari is an example of what can be exposed by the dynamics of nonviolent processes, and why crossing into violence is counterproductive for advocates of nonviolence — violence gains the very legitimacy the process is designed to reveal as untruth.

Some psychological and theoretical groundwork has been laid for the empirical investigation of nonviolent activism. To avoid undue bias in interpretation of results from this study, the existing literature was scanned only briefly prior to commencement of data collection in 2008. Highlights include Oskamp, Bordin, and Edwards (1992), who found that peace activists described strong family influences and they became involved in one key event based on a moral imperative propelling them to act. Furthermore, they found that the activists tended to remain motivated and involved over time and declared optimism for a peaceful future (Oskamp et al., 1992). Corning and Myers (2002) developed the Activist Orientation scale to investigate developmental influences on activist self identity. Drawing on the extant literature, they focused their construct range on influences of initial engagement in and sustainability of activism. They suggested the final 35-item scale would be useful as a screening tool in studies measuring high versus low propensity for activism and for studies measuring this construct over time in activist populations (Corning & Meyers, 2002). Three large *n* studies of activism were found: Marwell, Aiken, and Demerath (1987, *n*=233 in 1965 and *n*=145 in 1985); McAdam (1989; *n*=333); and McFarlane and Hunt (2006; *n*=3052). Of these research studies, one

was also longitudinal (Marwell, et al., 1987). Based on their investigations of activists from the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer project, Marwell, et al. (1987) and McAdam (1989) found that engagement tends to persist long term. In the one large *n* study specifically targeting environmental activists, McFarlane and Hunt (2006) examined social-psychological, social-cultural, and contextual effects and outcomes for forest activists. Findings from this study can be found in the next section.

Nonviolent activism towards environmental sustainability.

The exercise of individual and collective agency is contributing increasingly, in virtually every sphere of life, to human development, adaptation, and change. At the broader social level, the challenges center on how to enlist these agentic human capabilities in ways that shape a better and sustainable future (Bandura, 2006, p. 177)

Bandura (2006) asserted that the primary human challenge for long-term environmental sustainability is any process that enlists human *agency* towards a future with which we can all live. Agency was defined first by Bakan (1966) as comprising a range of motivational constructs that contribute to a sense of self-mastery in terms of the influence an individual has in the world. In the original analysis, there is a presumed dichotomy between agency and communion, whereby agency is defined as individual efficacy and communion is defined as the forming of connections with others (Bakan, 1966). Agency and communion are sub-constructs in the theory of generativity, which is the tendency to care for and provide benefits for future generations (Mansfield & McAdams, 1996), a main goal of activism. In his updated theory of agency, Bandura (2006) posited an integration of personal agency and collective social engagement (i.e., communion) with implications for such political activism. As explicated there

(Bandura, 2006), agency encompasses self-mastery and autonomy in addition to a sense of expanding individual achievement and scope of influence in the world, for both self and the collective. Thus, 'new agency' is dependent upon individual members' personal moral code and actions and their ability to join with others towards collective social change goals (Bandura, 2006). If true, the choice of violent versus nonviolent activism would be a matter not of tactics, but of the personalities, values, and worldviews of individual activists (Bai, 2012).

Chawla (1999) completed an investigation with committed environmental activists in Norway and southern USA and concluded that these highly committed activists demonstrate unique early (positive and negative) influences that fuel their commitment. These impacts include commitment to justice demonstrated by family members, early connection to nature and sorrow for the destruction of beloved places, indignation at the senseless exploitation of resources, an understanding that humans do not hold special rights over other living beings, a drivenness to act according to what is known to be true, and a commitment to contributing to a better future (Chawla, 1999). These findings are generally in accord with Horwitz (2000, 1996), who focused on the development of environmental ethics. Patterns of influence emerging from that analysis of survey data included people within and external to family of origin and early roots in nature connection leading to development of strong environmental ethics, linked with personal identity and an intention to contribute to a better future. Other influences were historical and spiritual, cultural, and/or religious in nature (Horwitz, 2000, 1996).

In addition to aspects of the person of the activist, there is some indication of variation in how social justice/political versus environmental activism is viewed by the public. For instance, when environmental concerns were introduced into a psychology of social justice course, Mannarino (2015) observed a difference in student attitudes towards political-social as opposed to environmental activism. While openness and curiosity were prominent in student responses to social and political issues, dread and avoidance were evident when discussing environmental topics – including climate change – and students held lower esteem for activists engaging in environmental issues (Mannarino, 2015).

In terms of utilizing nonviolence towards environmental sustainability, Norwegian deep ecologist and Gandhian scholar Arne Naess (1974) summarized *satyagraha* principles for environmental activists committed to nonviolence in their approach to social change:

1. Announce your case and the goal of your campaign explicitly and clearly.
2. Bring conflicting groups into personal contact.
3. Turn your opponent into a supporter, but do not coerce or exploit him.
4. You provoke your opponent if you deliberately destroy his property.

While Naess (1974) does not embrace the spiritual aspects of Gandhian nonviolence, self-reports from peaceful environmental activists indicate that their ethics, values and identity, and spirituality are all essential components of the action they take (Bari, 1994; Burdge, 2006; Gomes, 1998; Ingalsbee, 1996; Shepherd, 2002; Starhawk, 1993). Specifically, nonviolent environmental activists reveal a worldview in which their values are embedded in i.e., not-separate from nature (e.g., Hill, 2001; Macy, 1995; Starhawk, 1993). Naess (1974) concludes that this intimate experience of the world compels activists to make a personal commitment to nonviolence — under the

assumption that one would not normally do violence to oneself, a greater connection to nature means one would also not do damage to other-than-human life (Devall, 1982; Gomes, 1998; Horton, 2004; Horwitz, 2000; Naess, 2000/1989). By extension, the embrace of such a worldview could mean that tending the wounds of the world would arise as naturally as one would tend to one's own bleeding body. Evidence for this worldview is available through mainly qualitative research and environmental activists' biographical writings (e.g., Bari, 1994; Bragg, 1996; Hill, 2001; Macy, 2007; Starhawk, 1993). In one large *n* study, McFarlane and Hunt (2006, *n*=3052) supported the view that environmental activists operate from nature-based ethics (in this case 'biocentrism'). They concluded that these activists become socialized into a nature-affirming worldview, which in turn serves as the basis for involvement in issues of sustainability and in sustained activism (McFarlane & Hunt, 2006).

Interconnection of humans with other life has long been a foundation of Indigenous Peoples' worldview. For instance, "land is not a thing in itself but a social relationship between all living and non-living beings" (Gouldehawke, 2020). Likewise, the social-political theory of bioregionalism eschews land ownership/exploitation and political boundaries, and instead calls for division of land according to natural elements, such as watersheds, mountain ranges, and human and non-human communities (Metzner, 1998). An excellent descriptive account of environmental self, directly related to Earth First! activists who also endorse bioregionalism in California can be found in Ingalsbee (1996). He notes, "EF!ers perceive the natural world as ontologically interconnected, as a sacred living whole they call Mother Earth" (Ingalsbee, 1996, p. 268). Accordingly, Ingalsbee

(1996) proposes that Earth First! activists, who also embrace connection with nature as ecological self, are searching for and forming their own identity through protection-activism on behalf of wilderness and biodiversity, while at the same time calling for a cultural shift away from the exploitation of life for human benefit alone. These activists' expression of ecological self is intended to benefit life beyond human, for the sake of all life, with the basic premise that all life has an inherent right to be (Ingalsbee, 1996). Interconnection, respect, and responsibility for sustainable biodiversity and healthy human culture are also essential tenets of deep ecology (Naess, 2000).

Among NGOs and others concerned for environmental sustainability, e.g., bioregionalists (Metzner, 1998); deep ecologists (Seed, Fleming, Macy, and Naess, 1988); and by environmental activists' own accounts (Bari, 1994; Hill, 2001), the worldview described in the foregoing is known variously as environmental consciousness (Devall, 1982), ecocentrism (Kortenkamp & Moore, 2001), biophilia (Wilson, 1984; 2002), and biocentrism (McFarlane & Hunt, 2006). Often exemplified by the metaphor, 'thinking like a mountain' (Devall, 1982; Seed et al., 1988) – designating a deep connection with nature. For the purpose of the present study, the worldview described will be referred to as environmental consciousness, specified by theory drawn from deep ecology (Naess, 1974) and with direct applications to environmental, social, and nonviolent activism (Devall, 1982).

In social science investigation, the environmental consciousness worldview has been operationalized for analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. For instance, in a qualitative investigation of individuals who depend on natural resources for their

living, Elizabeth (Eshana) Bragg (1996) drew on theory derived from deep ecology (Naess, 2000/1989) to develop a coding scheme that she subsequently utilized to analyze projective responses to 20 open-ended sentence stems for content related to environmentally embedded self (Cousins, 1989). In terms of nomenclature, this worldview has been operationalized in psychology with scales to measure ‘ecopsychological self’ (St. John & MacDonald, 2007), ‘connectedness to nature’ (Dutcher et al., 2007; Mayer & McPherson Frantz, 2004), and ‘nature relatedness’ (Nisbet, Zelenski, & Murphy, 2009) to name a few, with content domains exploring experiential and cognitive dimensions of the human-nature connection. These scales contain items drawn from theories of ecocentrism, ecofeminism, biophilia, deep ecology, and biocentrism.

Summary of Previous Research and Purpose

I have argued thus far that nonviolent activism is an historical, positive, and collective, but mostly invisible agent for social change. Mayton (2001) suggests that most of what engaged citizens do in their lives is outside the recognition of citizens who are not so engaged. He posits that because only the most radical (and collective) aspects of activism are presented in the media, people do not get to know activists as individuals. However, Anderson and Christie (2001) have suggested that research into the psychological substrates of nonviolent conflict resolution can inform and influence a radical, potentially just public policy, most powerfully by example. In an historical, comparative study Dillard (2002) concluded that nonviolent activists are influential in

shaping citizen participation through demonstration of their willingness to suffer for beliefs and to live a life that includes public scrutiny.

There is a power in the public nature of civil disobedience. This power comes from the intensity of conscience that civil disobedience allows the public to see on the part of the activists. Civil disobedience can be an empowering activity for both activists and the general public. Activists join together and publicly advocate their position. The general public witnesses commitments and challenges to the system that extend beyond the voting booth and individual consumer choices. When civil disobedience is truly effective, it can change society's relationship to animals and even revitalize our public sphere. (Dillard, 2002, p. 61).

Reflecting Bandura (2006), economic analysts (e.g., Korten, 2011), psychologists (e.g., Lakoff, 2011), ecopsychologists (e.g., Adams, 2006), sociologists (e.g., Devall, 1982), and theorists of nonviolence and nonviolent resistance (e.g., Naess, 1974) have all asserted that, considering human behavior, the environmental crisis is one of culture, character, and conscience. Ecophilosopher Naess (1974) concurs with this position, especially in terms of environmental consciousness. Germane to this study is that the available evidence from activists converges with theoretical classifications of activism. For instance, Salazar and Alper (2002) concluded that certain activists adhere to a values system of 'civic communitarianism' — conceptualized as the communal and spiritual dimension of citizen engagement — a worldview shared by activists and described by Mayton (2001) and Nordlund and Garvill (2002). In broader theoretical terms, Bandura (2006) has identified a similar worldview in the general public as 'moral agency,' with implications for individual, group, and environmental justice — and thus for nonviolent environmental protection actions.

An environmental consciousness worldview is included in the public mission statements of many North American NGOs with environmental protection foci (Radkau, 2014; Zakin, 1993). For instance, it is the worldview/value system enacted recently by individuals in the North American environmental activist community in northwestern California who protested corporate liquidation forestry practices in the Headwaters forest watershed (Bari, 2002; Devall, 1982; Ingalsbee, 1996). As exemplars of nonviolent activism and individuals who report feelings of intimacy with the natural world (Devall, 1982; Ingalsbee, 1996), these activists offer interested social scientists an opportunity to enter into the lived experience of a selected sample of agential, engaged citizens committed to nonviolence. At this point, we know little about such individuals. However, they can offer us much-needed wisdom in terms of how activists might maintain a long-term commitment towards finding nonviolent solutions for critical dilemmas of environmental and social justice and sustainability.

Despite the potential benefits, nonviolent activism is under-reported by corporate-owned (mainstream) media. This makes sense, since corporations have the most to lose in terms of injustices placed under scrutiny and protest. The activities more often reported in mainstream media are of the minority, violent splinter groups and police provocateurism designed to vilify the actions of the majority of nonviolent protesters, such as those seen in the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization protests (Zinn, 2003). Accordingly, Schwebel (2006) asserts that nonviolent activists can provide citizen leadership through nonviolent conflict resolution. He posits that, if activists can attain better visibility in the general public, they can help other citizens and leaders become so engaged. Specifically,

if community leaders and citizens can see that some among them advance democratic and sustainable change based on nonviolent protest arising from world views supporting solidarity, peace, freedom, and justice, they may work for a more sustainable future for all (Schwebel, 2006). These findings support Singer, King, Green, and Barr (2002), who suggest that new theoretical and empirical knowledge will lead to greater investment in volunteerism and – by extension – citizen engagement through activism. Singer et al. (2002) concluded that, with more data, a new generation of professionals, managers, public servants, and other citizens may see that they can integrate their sense of self with their sense of civic responsibility. Given our current environmental state of crisis, a psychological understanding of citizen engagement through nonviolent activism will be important in the interest of attaining sustainable and just solutions. It is surprising that scant empirical research has been completed with individuals who do engage in such behavior (Curtin & McGarty, 2016).

In summary, countless individuals have philosophized about, inspired in others, and/or lived a life of nonviolent activism. One expression of nonviolence will be investigated in this work: nonviolent activism for environmental and social justice, and sustainability. This will be illustrated through an analysis of self reports of lived experience, drawn from members of a selected group of engaged and nonviolent activists who directed their attention over more than a decade in redwood logging country, northwestern California. The main purpose of this study is to derive some understanding of the lived experience of a group of nonviolent environmental activists from a selected

bioregion in northwestern California, towards better visibility and understanding of the community of nonviolence for activists, general public, and theorists of social change.

The Research Situation

Headwaters and Redwood Summer.

History.

The Headwaters in northwestern California is an important North American watershed ecosystem. In many ways it is seen as a last stand for the geographic bioregion known as the Pacific northwestern rainforest (see Appendix A). This watershed runs along the coast, from roughly the land area fringing Alaska's southern coast to the northern boundary of Mendocino County, CA. Geographic bioregions can contain many watersheds and in the case of the Pacific northwestern rainforest, Headwaters is located mainly in Humboldt County, California at the southernmost point of the bioregion. Although much attention has been paid to the commanding presence of the remaining stands of majestic, original redwood forest — with its economic, social, and political implications (Chew, 1992) — this bioregion is also the only surviving northern temperate rainforest in the world, with its rich and mostly undiscovered biodiversity (Dunning, 1998). Additionally, it is the traditional territory of Indigenous Peoples (e.g., Yuki, Pomo, Wappo, and Coast Miwok). Finally, the area is sociologically and psychologically important for generations of logging and mining families; and for multiple forms of citizen activism and engagement in grassroots initiatives for environmental and social justice (Chew, 1992; Devall, 1995).

Headwaters watershed encompasses multiple stakeholders, including whole ecosystems, individual- and sub-species of plants and wildlife, domestic livestock, ranchers, local agriculturalists, loggers, local and multi-national lumber companies, federal and state agencies, individual politicians and law agents, recreational users, residents, scientists, educators, students, and activists (not all nonviolent). Because of the key location of this watershed in relation to the larger bioregion, activist and NGO groups with interest in Headwaters include, for instance the Environmental Protection Information Centre, Trees Foundation, Native American Coalition for Headwaters, Klamath-Siskiyou Wildlands Center, InterTribal Sinkiyone Wilderness Council, California Wilderness Project, Campaign for Old Growth, Campaign to Restore Jackson State Redwood Forest, Bay Area Coalition for Headwaters, Oregon Wild, and Ancient Forests International. According to Bari (1994), Chew (1992), and Manning (1991), these groups had co-existed peacefully with local and commercial interests until 1985, when Texan multi-billionaire, Charles Hurwitz forced a takeover of local Pacific Lumber for his corporation Maxxam. He paid for this purchase with an enormous loan and began to liquidate the redwood forest (and the southern portion of the Pacific northwestern rainforest geographic bioregion) to pay off the interest on the loan, leaving the principal untouched. These corporate activities were supported by government subsidies once it became apparent the loan could never be repaid. As keen, self-appointed observers of economic, political, and social pressures on the fragile local ecosystem, activists were predicting by the 1980s — with terrifying accuracy — the short and longer term economic, social, and environmental effects of these unsustainable logging practices.

Increasingly, these predictions are proving true. For instance, once contained to a few summer and early fall months, the forest fire ‘season’ in California is now year-round. Hectares of land are burning at any given time, affecting individuals, communities, and all life in those areas, one example of which is the recent Woolsey fire in Malibu, which forced the evacuation of greater than 200,000 residents (Newberry, 2018).

A suffering local economy was (and is) a key issue for citizens of this region. Local Pacific Lumber employees — for the most part generational loggers — and their families began to suffer the effects of the clear-cutting of mountainsides that had been previously logged sustainably for generations. With the 1997 mudslide at Stafford, CA, entire homesteads of logging and ranching families were swept away, leaving behind devastation, poverty, and mental health problems such as post-traumatic stress disorder and depression. This made for a strange camaraderie among members of the worker and activist communities. The forced entry of a corporate giant into this fragile watershed meant inevitable disruption of the balance between preservation of local ecosystems on the one hand and natural resource extraction for then-thriving local economies on the other, in addition to illumination of the larger issue; long term sustainability of the Pacific northwestern rainforest (Bari, 1996).

Earth First!

It is not surprising that Maxxam’s entry into Humboldt and Mendocino counties occasioned the entry of Earth First! activists (Zakin, 1993). Earth First! is a long standing North American environmental activist collective, with a history of taking direct action for change, supported by a commitment to sustainability and biodiversity. Although

historically comprised of mainly white settler leaders and members, Earth First! activists have organized and participated in a range of protest events dating back to the struggle in the 1960-70s regarding coal mining in Arizona's Black Mesa desert, traditional territory of the Hopi and more recently the Navajo people. Earth First! leaders and action groups arise out of local issues and necessity, taking a decidedly bioregional approach to what each threatened site needs in terms of action, resources, and leadership (Zakin, 1993).

In the '70s and '80s, northern California was home to multiple forms of activism (with and without Earth First! involvement). For instance, The American Indian Movement occupied Alcatraz towards the return of land to Indigenous Peoples (PimaLib ManyNations, 2019). One example of nonviolent activism can be found in the intention and implementation of many of the events that unfolded in the timeframe of Redwood Summer (c1989-2002). Redwood Summer was first intended by Earth First! and union organizer, Judi Bari as a summer-long series of protests against liquidation forestry in Headwaters in Humboldt County. Events were based on nonviolent, intentionally Gandhian principles and modeled on the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer actions of the civil rights movement (Bari, 1994). Concurrent with the arrival of Earth First! and Maxxam in Humboldt county — and essential to the rationale for selection of the current sample of participants — was the emergence and development of an ideological 'split' among local members of Earth First! concerning theories and practices of nonviolence towards social and environmental justice and sustainability.

The debate about nonviolence.

Keeping in mind there were multiple forms of citizen engagement in response to environmental and social issues occurring in the bioregion at the same time and to tell a complex story as succinctly as possible, the two main sides of the issue relevant to Headwaters and Redwood Summer emerged in terms of individual Earth First! members' commitment to nonviolence. On the one hand was the rigorous nonviolent approach led by Judi Bari. On the other was a more radical, not strictly nonviolent strategy led by Dave Foreman. Despite differences in preferred tactics (especially on the issue of 'tree spiking' in the event of Redwood Summer), both divisions of Earth First! activists maintained a "no compromise in defense of Mother Earth" position in their commitment to protection of the sustainability of forest biodiversity — for its own sake — in accord with deep ecology (Bari, 1994). Of the two leaders, Judi Bari saw the necessity not just of nonviolence, but also of working directly with community members, 'green' environmentalists, and 'blue' natural resource workers involved in the struggle (Bari, 1994; Zakin, 1993). Organizers expected that all who participated in Redwood Summer actions would agree to an explicit commitment to nonviolence and understanding of the real potential for violent response from the authorities (e.g., pain compliance, legal fines, or imprisonment) that the choice implied (Bari, 1994).

Redwood Summer activists experienced harassment and physical violence exacted by corporate, government, forest workers, and local law enforcement agents. One example was 15-year-old David (Gypsy) Chain, killed by a falling Redwood tree, by all reports cut down deliberately by a logger in his vicinity (Hill, 2001). Another

unfortunate, spectacular example happened on the eve of Redwood Summer. Key organizers Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney were traveling by car in Oakland, California when Judi's car was torn apart by an explosive device hidden under the front seat (Bari, 1994). Bari suffered multiple life-threatening injuries, from which she recovered only partially. Awakening the next day in a hospital room surrounded by FBI agents accusing her of carrying a concealed weapon did not stop Bari. She and a group of dedicated activists and lawyers worked for years, proving finally that the bomb was planted by FBI agents in a cynical attempt to discredit Redwood Summer leadership and collective nonviolent intention — resulting in a 2002 settlement of \$4.4 million awarded to Bari and her colleague (Pritchard, 2002). The violence towards leaders on the eve of Redwood Summer strengthened the resolve of those involved. Additionally, Bari rose to folk hero status. For example, on the 25th anniversary of Redwood Summer, Mendocino County announced May 24 — the anniversary of the day of the attack — to be 'Judi Bari Day' (Daily Journal Local News, May 23, 2015).

Research questions.

The main purpose of this study is to derive some understanding of the lived experience of a group of nonviolent environmental activists from a selected bioregion in northwestern California. I acquainted myself with these people as individuals and attempted to develop an accurate understanding of what meaning they derive from their lived experience of nonviolence. How does their engagement inform who they are as individuals? How does it motivate them? Give their lives purpose? How do their personal histories and worldviews intersect with broader social concerns and the activist

community? Additionally, I attempt to understand what prior life events may be influential to them and what internal and external supports and barriers they have encountered as long-term engaged citizens committed to nonviolence. Three main research questions have been addressed.

1. What does it mean to individual research participants to be a nonviolent engaged citizen and/or activist in North America, both in principle and in action?
2. What, if any prior life events, relationship dynamics, and/or conditions do these engaged citizens attribute to their current commitment?
3. What barriers and supports are relevant in terms of long-term commitment to engaged citizenship and/or activism and how do these factors affect that commitment?

CHAPTER 2: Methodology and Method

Rationale

Environmental consciousness presupposes a participatory science in which the observer is not alienated from the observed. This consciousness is found in John Muir, Aldo Leopold and some of the contemporary ecologists who move beyond the narrow confines of quantification into a phenomenological understanding of organic unity (Devall, 1982, p. 180).

In the quotation above, sociologist Bill Devall (1982) was referring to the same research population (in ideology and geography) from which I recruited participants for this investigation. Given that activists from Redwood Summer probably uphold a worldview that is fully embedded in the surrounding world, possibly affording a more sensitized attunement and reaction to the pain of that world (Bragg, 1996; Devall, 1982; Naess, 1974), a methodical hermeneutics methodology, modified grounded theory method (GTM), and an embodied categorization strategy for text analysis (Rennie & Fergus, 2006) are all logical choices for approaching narratives offered by this group of engaged citizens.

Methodology

Methodical hermeneutics.

The late David Rennie formulated methodical hermeneutics as a philosophy of method, a meta-methodology for qualitative research that “lines up all the ducks in a row: ontology, epistemology, methodology, method, and procedure” (personal communication, March 26, 2010). In his formulation, Rennie argues that methodical hermeneutics qualitative research draws on subjectivity *and* logic in the process of scientific discovery. He specified the subjective and logical procedures of methodical

hermeneutics to account for what qualitative researchers actually do. Very briefly, these include the hermeneutic interpretation of an actual, lived reality under study according to basic principles of participant selection, in-depth interviews, and analysis and interpretation of the text (Rennie, 2000a, 2000b, 2012). The current investigation is consistent with Rennie's methodical hermeneutics. For further information, the reader is referred to: Rennie, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2012, and Stern, 1994 (as cited in Watson, 2008 pp 55-57 footnotes) and Rennie and Fergus (2006).

Method

Grounded theory.

Grounded theory method (GTM) approaches are useful in the development of theory from data drawn from those who have direct experience with the phenomenon or phenomena of interest. Explicitly counter to positivistic social science, grounded theorists place a premium on theory *generation* as opposed to theory *verification* (Glaser & Strauss, 1968; Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Rennie, Phillips, & Quartaro, 1988).

According to Rennie (1998), GTM was introduced as a way to discover and develop theory in sociology. Data can comprise various forms of text (e.g., interview transcripts, news stories, research artifacts, investigator's theoretical memos, and/or photographs). GTM came to be applied beyond sociology, such as in the clinical study of psychotherapy process (Rennie, 1994), teaching of psychology (Rennie & Brewer, 1987), and other social science research. Some broader applications of GTM include investigations of domestic violence (e.g., Briones-Vozmediano et al., 2018) and transgender issues in the workplace (Brewster, Velez, Mennicke, & Tebbe, 2014). With

respect to engaged citizens, GTM has been deployed to study activist development (Horwitz, 2000, 1996; Martínez, Pilar, & Valenzuela, 2012), factors in activist effectiveness (Dillard, 2002), and the intersection of activism and management (Peattie & Samuels, 2018; Waldron, Navis, Karam, & Markman, 2020). The main goal of GTM is to build an understanding of the phenomena or phenomenon under study. It has been suggested that GTM is a relevant approach for tackling especially complex or intractable issues and problems (Rennie, et al., 1988). Since the lived experience, as well as the psychological underpinnings of nonviolent activism are relatively unexplored to date, this investigation lends itself naturally to GTM.

Despite their divergence in philosophies and approaches, GTM researchers share basic procedural strategies. Modified GTM was utilized in this investigation. In terms of determining how GTM has been modified for this study, I draw from Weed (2009), who completed a macro- *and* micro-level analysis of various GTM approaches (Glaserian, e.g., Glaser, 1992; Straussian, e.g., Straus & Corbin, 1990; and Constructivist, e.g., Charmaz, 2000). In his micro-level analysis Weed (2009) identified eight core elements common to GTM: iterative process; theoretical sampling; theoretical sensitivity; categories, memos, and concepts; constant comparison; theoretical saturation; fit, work, relevance, and modifiability; and substantive theory. This investigation included all of these elements with the exception of strict iterative process in selection of participants.

In this community-based study the northern Californian participants often lived far apart and were interviewed within short periods of fieldwork. Practically speaking, the first participant was introduced by a respected elder activist (who served as

gatekeeper) and the second by referral from the first. The first interview was in Arcata, northwestern California and the second in canyon country outside Berkeley (a six hour drive apart). Thus, in terms of selecting new participants based on emerging concepts in a concurrent analysis of existing data, there was no strict adherence to iterative process. However, as Weed (2009) and others (e.g., Corbin & Strauss, 2015) stress, GTM analysis is throughout an iterative process, both in terms of selection of participants and in the emergent conceptual understanding of the text and developing theory, if any. In this study, participants were often selected long before a field trip. However, when in the field, I listened to each previously recorded interview before entering into the next. I thought reflexively about the text offered in terms of what knowledge, theory, and assumptions I brought regarding environmental and social activism (i.e., the extant literature and my own experience). One example of such was my assumption that activism arises from morality. On the other hand, Burdge (2006) completed a phenomenological investigation of peace activists in Israel and concluded it was spirituality – not morality – that was the study participants' most driving concern. Towards managing my assumptions, I wrote many theoretical memos and field notes during data collection and analysis. While I had not planned this to the extent it actually happened, the fieldwork meant long stretches between interviews with essentially nothing else to do. As a result, emerging insights did not specifically inform selection of the next participant. However, these new understandings did influence how I listened to and what questions I asked of the next interviewee.

Criteria to assess credibility.

Rennie, et al. (1988) cite Glaser (1978) in describing four criteria for good GTM analysis: 1) the reader experiences the interpretation as believable; 2) comprehensive representation of the data; 3) appropriate utilization of GTM; and 4) promotion of further scientific inquiry in the area of interest (Glaser, 1978 as cited in Rennie et al., 1988).

In terms of the first criterion, reliability of interpretation means that researcher understanding of the interpreted meaning must also arise in the mind of the eventual consumer of the text. The main approach to credibility in this study is the process by which I set about utilizing my own grounding in this research topic, primarily through disclosed reflexivity, an important element of GTM. As in clinical interviewing (Sullivan, 1970/1954), in qualitative inquiry the person of the researcher is, to a large extent, the *tool* of inquiry (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Rennie (2000a; 2000b) suggests that, as researchers establish categories of meaning they must remain close to their own lived experience of their participation in the process. Utilization of disclosed reflexivity lends the credibility required for an interpretation that may be found to be convincing from the point of view of those with a vested interest in the phenomenon or phenomena of interest (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

The GTM use and disclosure of reflexivity as an approach to promoting the credibility of the interpretation is in accord with social science literature addressing researcher insider/outsider group status in other qualitative research (e.g., Berger, 2015; Campbell & Clarke, 2019; Edmonds-Cady, 2011). Berger (2015) identified three ways a researcher could identify in terms of insider/outsider group status: fully sharing

participant experience; moving from outsider to insider over the course of research; and having no direct experience at all of the phenomena of interest. There is some agreement in the field that there are no set boundaries regarding insider/outsider status, due to researcher and participant intersectionality of social positioning based on, for instance, race, class and gender; and social determinants of health such as socio-economic status, housing, health, and physical and neurological ability. Practitioners suggest intersectionality can be both a detriment and a strength in the work (Berger, 2015; Campbell & Clarke, 2019; Edmonds-Cady, 2011).

Some perils of insider status suggested are: researcher approach from entrenched assumptions; projection of biases; and tricky ethical issues in terms of boundaries and relations (Berger, 2015; Campbell & Clarke, 2019; Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Edmonds-Cady, 2011). Campbell and Clarke (2019) add to this the caveat that researchers may also automatically assume that their participants are telling the truth, a view that is countered by others who claim that determining the veracity of report is not the researcher's role and that what is offered up front by participants is sufficiently informative (e.g., White, 1952; White, et al., 1982).

Researchers and methodologists also appreciate the strengths of researcher insider positioning including ease of access, deeper level of participant disclosure of experience, and habituated researcher understanding of participant-implied content during interviews (Berger, 2015; Campbell & Clarke, 2019). Edmonds-Cady (2011) suggests that starting with good understanding of researcher position, privilege, and oppression in their own life allows for a perspective that is “a prism versus a single lens” (Edmonds-Cady, 2011,

p189). Corbin and Strauss (2015) add that researcher personal experience in the field of interest means beginning with more grounded familiarity with issues in the research population (as opposed to a more abstract interest). They suggest that these researchers often conduct studies relevant to and intended to contribute to change for the better in the field of interest – towards “efficacy, efficiency, humanity, and equitability” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 31).

In terms of knowing if a good balance between subjectivity and objectivity has been achieved, there is agreement that self-awareness and active reflection are fundamental to determining the merit of qualitative research (Berger, 2015; Campbell & Clarke, 2019; Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Edmonds-Cady, 2011). In GTM the main tool to approach this equilibrium is the constant comparative process whereby codes become categories in an iterative strategy, leading to higher order categories through refinement of theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Corbin and Strauss (2015) remind us that the person of the researcher cannot help but be influenced by their biases, however GTM suggests use of a research journal to track reactions to the research process from the start as the preferred strategy to foster self awareness throughout. The ultimate goal of qualitative research is to produce believable and applicable results. This goal is approached through a balance of scientific and creative process, tempered with the understanding that insights derived are only one possible interpretation of the phenomena under study.

If it fits and it is useful because it explains or describes things, then rigor and vigor and truth and everything else must have been built into the research process or the findings would not hold up to scrutiny, would not explain situations, and would be invalidated in practice (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 346).

In my experience, engaging in this ‘dance’ between close association with the community of nonviolence and my need for an objective approach to the investigation of same has been rich fodder for reflection. One of my most satisfying experiences in this project was offered by the late David Rennie, who wrote: “Often what they are talking about is assumed and, amazingly to me, as an interviewer you indeed often did know what they were referring to” (personal communication, December 2011). The experience of self reflection has been an eye-opening, not-always-comfortable, and yet satisfying way to approach the scientific rigor and ethical criterion I aspired to in this investigation.

In my research journal and through the process of theoretical memo-writing during data analysis, I have attempted to bracket my own subjectivity whenever possible. Knowing this to be impossible and to avoid undue personal influence on the emerging understanding of the text, I have constructed a reflexive account of my own experience of participation in this study, including the writing of theoretical notes while formulating research questions and field notes when performing interviews in the field. During analysis of the text, I utilized these existing notes and wrote theoretical memos during initial coding and while forming the hierarchy of categories. In this way, I could convey some part of my subjectivity that has bearing on my understanding and incorporate it intentionally into the interpretation of the text as a whole. I have also – to the best possible extent – fully engaged and honored my participants’ contributions, by checking back with them during the interview itself using empathic conjecture and, in some cases after transcription. As such, in the establishment of categories for discussion, I have made every attempt to take under consideration my participants’ sense of the meaning of the

text according to their responses to my empathic conjectures along with reflection on my own experience of being with them, individual transcripts and research questions, in addition to the text as a whole. To this end, I have incorporated theoretical memos, field notes, and in-the-field feedback from research participants into my understanding.

Aside from initial discussion and input from the committee member best acquainted with theories and practices of nonviolence (Professor Peter Timmerman), I have been the arbiter of coding and formation of categories. From the outset, my final goal was to reach with interested nonviolent activists (as best we can), a *shared* understanding of this account of a selected group of comrades, i.e., the lived experience we could all recognize as authentic to our own felt sense of a life of nonviolent engaged citizenship. If this goal is achieved, the narratives of nonviolent resistance can intentionally be told and recognized by like-minded others in support of the community of engaged, nonviolent citizens and yet remain accessible to scholars and other interested individuals.

Disclosed reflexivity.

The scientist never completely succeeds in making himself into a pure spectator of the world, for he cannot cease to live in the world as a human among other humans, or as a creature among other creatures, and his scientific concepts and theories necessarily borrow aspects of their character and texture from his untheorized, spontaneously lived experience (Abram, 1996, p. 33).

Investment in research situation.

Given the claim that this is an empirical undertaking in social science, I must make explicit some aspects of my perspective with respect to this subject of interest. My curiosity arises from longstanding fascination with social justice, environmental sustainability, and cultures of peace. As a child born in southern Ontario, living within

one hour of the border, 1960s American civil rights issues and events shaped my initial desire to contribute to a just and peaceful society. I had always believed that this was a citizen's right and obligation. However, I was affected deeply by the 1970 murders of four students at Kent State University and compelled by the steadfast resolve of student and faculty peace activists there (e.g., Michener, 1971). At the same time my family experienced the threat that a beloved visiting professor and American family friend could be drafted into the Vietnam War. As I witnessed brutal police response to peaceful anti-war protests, I realized that I did not live on a continent that encouraged freedom of voice or tolerated citizen nonviolent protest. On the other hand, my childhood afforded ongoing immersion in nature, fostering my faith that in North America our natural resources were boundless. However, with the advent of the first Earth Day (also in 1970), I became aware of limits to natural resources, projected our problems forward to when I would be an adult, and realized we were responding poorly to environmental problems. The existential angst arising from these insights had a significant, direct effect on my decision to drop out of high school in grade 11. However, I did not stop reading, experiencing, and learning. A 1977 pilgrimage to the province of Kashmir in northern India laid bare my ignorance of issues faced by other nations and cultures and helped me become aware of the role justice plays in social and environmental sustainability. During my time in Kashmir, I shared cultural experiences and made friends with local people who were, soon after my departure engulfed in decades-long war that would ravage their land and destroy their homes, families, cultural artifacts, and way of life (Guha, 2000).

These and other experiences of my early years fostered my conviction that we as individuals have an ethical obligation to contribute actively to a peaceful society and environmental sustainability, but this was tempered with a growing understanding that this is not an easy life path to choose. Curiosity compelled me to read conservation and nature ethics (e.g., Leopold, 1949), Henry David Thoreau (e.g., Thoreau, 1849), civil rights leaders (e.g., King, 1963), and finally Mohandas K. Gandhi (e.g., Gandhi, 1973) for their contributions to the theory and practice of nonviolence. With my growing commitment to nonviolence and sustainability, in 1989 I participated as observer–reporter in a peaceful action to call for Indigenous land rights of the Teme-Augama Anishnaabe People and to protest logging road access to old–growth red and white pine in Temagami, Ontario. To my delight, I formed a rapport with divergent stakeholders in the action and established several lasting relationships on multiple sides of the debate. This event was a turning point in my development and mobilized mid-adult entry (and first in my immediate family) to university studies.

At university, I shifted focus from action to academic pursuit of my current research program. There, my intention became to bring to light some of the lived experience and personality of selected groups of nonviolent activists, to offer discovery-based information regarding exemplary, committed, long term engaged citizens working peacefully towards change, and – if relevant – contribute to theories of sustainability and nonviolence (Hollis-Walker, 2000). As a next step in the research program, this study was intended to find out something about the lived experience of nonviolent activism from a selected group of Californian activists and engaged citizens who committed to

saving the remaining stands of ancient redwoods and the Pacific northwestern rainforest bioregion known as Headwaters.

The foregoing is offered as exemplification of that, since 1989 certainly and arguably since 1970, I have been a part of the community of nonviolence in which my research participants are situated. By this, I mean that I am familiar with the worldviews and approaches taken by the research population from which I solicited participants. Additionally, since 1989 I have participated (in various roles) in a range of engaged citizen initiatives, online and in-person grassroots communities, local organizations, social networks, and as a direct action affinity group member in protest of forms of injustice, mainly in Canada, but elsewhere as well (e.g., during a 2008 field trip to Berkeley, CA, I stood briefly for the ancient oaks on campus). Important, too is that I live by a professional and personal commitment to furthering my own understanding of sustainability and nonviolent conflict resolution. Accordingly, I adopt increasingly sustainable and nonviolent patterns of behavior for myself and seek to provide others with opportunities for learning about relevant social and environmental concerns. For example, I constructed and have taught multiple offerings of a university course entitled *Psychology of Sustainability: Ecopsychology*, most recently at Lakehead University, (2018). Thereby, I acknowledge that to a large extent, prior to engagement in this study, I had already ‘bought in’ to the importance of the narratives my participants would be sharing. I had also formed opinions of my own regarding these issues. My opinions and experiences during this study certainly had an impact of my ‘horizon of understanding’

(Gadamer, 1989) of the research participants and situation, stories drawn as data, and analysis undertaken.

Based on prior social science experience with activists (Hollis-Walker, 2000), I found that my personal involvement did help to put my participants at ease as I conveyed my own authentic concerns for justice, sustainability, and nonviolence and interest in understanding their stories and sharing their experience with others. However, I also took into account that my personal investment could also serve as a hindrance, if I failed to consider critically the content of this text as it was told to me. For instance, I could have drawn too many parallels between my own history and that of my participants and failed to follow-up with questions, or check frequently that my understanding of their meaning was indeed in accord with their understanding during interviews, and/or to meta-communicate the processes of relationship- and understanding-building. I made a conscious effort to avoid these pitfalls when soliciting and analyzing the text. Theoretical memos written throughout the research process have been put to empirical use, as I attempted to bracket my inevitable subjectivity with regards to involvement in this project and, through fieldwork and persistent curiosity, my immersion with this population. It is important to note, too that this is a scientific pursuit. My interest and enthusiasm are based on personal involvement and life experiences, but these are also tempered and guided by empirical rigor, thanks to my advisors and the systematic GTM deployed.

Research participants.

Engaged citizens.

Most members of the selected group live and work in Humboldt and Mendocino Counties, California, with some living in the San Francisco Bay area (San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, and surrounding townships) and the northern west coast (Oregon and Washington states). This geographic area is home to a longstanding, immense, vital, and diverse activist community. Observation in the field informed me that, in this place it is more difficult to find someone who is *not* an activist or committed engaged citizen than it is to find someone who *is* (Betsy Watson, personal communication, July, 2007). To focus my selection of the research group of interest, only adult (i.e., 16–85 years old) activists who have made a commitment to nonviolence (2+ years) and who participated in at least one of a series of protest actions associated with Headwaters and/or Redwood Summer (c1989–2002) were selected as participants.

The selection process yielded five men and four women participants, ages 34 to 62 years. A brief demographic profile has been constructed for each research participant (see Table 1) as well as an overview of their engaged citizenship (see Table 2). To protect their anonymity, personal information and interview quotations have been attributed to a pseudonym. According to alphabetic order and in order of participation, I randomly chose and assigned last-name pseudonyms from a Fort Bragg, Mendocino County telephone number directory. Participants chose their own first-name pseudonym.

I should note here why an American sample was selected, when clusters of nonviolent activists exist also in Canada. The main reason is that I know personally

(or am known by, through networks of peers) many Canadians who met the age and nonviolence criteria, all of whom could have been potential research participants.

To avoid this influence, it was thought best to approach a group of individuals completely unknown to me. The second reason is that, already having gathered similar data from Canadian activists (Hollis-Walker, 2000), the American sample offers a comparison group from Temagami, Ontario, a different area of the North American bioregion.

Thus, the results from this study could, where relevant, inform American, Canadian, and International practitioners of nonviolence, policy-makers, and other interested parties.

Procedures

Field visits.

This research study is supported by discoveries made during my undergraduate thesis research with nonviolent activists in Temagami, Ontario (Hollis-Walker, 2000). Through my fieldwork there, I learned how essential it is to gain a sense of the historical, local, individual, and community forces that shape a series of events such as the Redwood Summer protests in northern California. Therefore, I planned a community-based project with several field trips in mind. Seven fieldwork trips were completed (2007-2009), ranging in time from 5 days to 3 months. The longest trip was completed by road, 5175 km from Grimsby, Ontario to Arcata, California and back (see Appendix B).

To begin, in summer 2007 I established contact with a senior host academic at Humboldt State University (HSU) in Arcata, California. I laid the groundwork for approaching the selected group, beginning in 2008 and met my host, Elizabeth (Betsy) Watson, Ph.D., professor of sociology and conflict mediator in the community.

Professor Watson was most accommodating: she arranged for a research associateship during my terms of field research (September, 2008 – December, 2011) and pledged support for funding applications. From her, I learned about relevant stakeholders and issues regarding people's mobilization around and participation in attainment of sustainable solutions to the dwindling supply of harvestable lumber and ecosystem degradation due to aggressive liquidation of the Headwaters forest in northwestern California (e.g., Chew, 1992; Devall, 1995; Manning, 1991). In addition, on August 21, 2007, I met with Dr. Joanna Macy, an elder and recognized leader in the California activist community. During the initial trip, I laid the groundwork for the fieldwork phase of this study. In addition to establishment of contact with my host academic at Humboldt State University, I met several community members in Arcata, attended the annual Humboldt County Oyster Festival, and found affordable accommodations for future trips to Arcata and Berkeley.

Ethics approval was awarded March 28, 2007 and renewed in 2008, 2009, and 2010. Nine interviews were conducted. A development in the field informed me that anonymity is of limited perceived value to the research group. From the first interview, participants requested that I accept historical artifacts (e.g., photographs, printed articles, and memorabilia from Redwood Summer) and that their actual names be available to the end reader. This appeal was not surprising in that it is a repeat of similar requests made by the Temagami activists in my undergraduate study (Hollis–Walker, 2000). More important, given that Gandhian nonviolent activism demands and stipulates transparency, i.e., the act is declared clearly and the actor publicly known (Devall, 1982; Naess, 1974),

it makes sense that both groups of activists spontaneously requested this condition. Since this occurred from the first interview, a solution arose on that date — to offer the pseudonym to protect anonymity of interview data, should quotations or any identifying information be cited, but to publish an appendix with actual names and pictures at time of protest (c. 1989-2002). At the time of interview this suggestion was raised informally with each new participant. All participants agreed to this solution in principle. Under the new ethics protocol, previously interviewed participants were asked to sign a new informed consent form. Pictures and historical artifacts were collected at the time of interview or afterward according to availability. However, due to the time that has ensued since the original contract (2008 in some cases) and also to a flood in my basement in 2014 (signed agreements and some pictures, printed as they were on an inkjet printer, were destroyed by water damage) – not to mention the radical nature of this condition in social science dissertations – the original ethics agreement stands. Pictures and real names have not been published in this work. Should the opportunity arise to present or publish these findings beyond the dissertation defense, I will return to participants to obtain updated approval to reveal their real identities, prior to presentation or publication.

Recruitment and data solicitation.

Initially, I sought one referral from Dr. Macy, who offered a contact she knew to have made important contributions to nonviolent actions in the Headwaters forest debates over the decade 1989-2002. Mid-way through data collection, on the demise of her spouse (who had agreed to participate and was ready for the interview), she introduced another activist using the same criteria. Through a chance meeting on a Mendocino

County beach with a local filmmaker–activist, two other participants were recommended for contact. Since then, using snowball sampling (Davis & Wagner, 2003), participants were selected as suggested by other interviewees and others were chosen for demographic and/or geographical reasons. Participants were initially contacted by email or telephone, followed by a personal visit. I sought verbal agreement via telephone and/or email for the initial interview. At the interview I informed participants about the procedures and had them sign the written informed consent form (see Appendix D for final version). Upon completion of the interview I asked the participant to supply at least two other referrals into the study. More often than not participants provided me with a list of referrals for new participants in addition to a list of important books and reports to read, films to view, and/or maps to consult. Participants were offered a handmade gift with token value upon completion of their interview.

Interview: Lived experience of nonviolence.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews designed to address the research questions were conducted at a location chosen by the research participant. Please see Appendix D for the interview protocol as initially conceived for this study. The interview was intended as a discovery–oriented tool of inquiry, i.e., it was expected that the questions would change according to feedback from participants and emergent meaning derived from an iterative analysis of meaning of the text. Nine interviews in total were completed and transcribed: surprisingly, all utilized and adhered closely to the initial interview protocol with no emergent alterations. Once an interview was complete, I listened to each within 24 hours, writing reflective theoretical memos and field notes while in the

community. Upon return home, the recordings were transcribed verbatim by a student assistant. I then went through the transcripts line-by-line, correcting errors and inserting words, names, and locations unknown to the transcriber, who had not attended field work visits and was unfamiliar with activism culture, history, community members, and terminology. Finally, I listened to each interview several times, flagging especially emotionally ‘alive,’ poignant and/or ‘telling’ passages.

Analysis

Strategy for analysis of the text.

I utilized the software package, Atlas.ti (V 5.0) to analyze the text. Use of this software allowed for easy and intuitive theory development, from initial reading of transcripts, creation of open coding, to combination of codes into refined categories. The software also allowed for theoretical and self-reflective memos to be attached directly to codes and categories within the analysis, making the process of reflexivity relatively straight forward.

I first parsed the text into meaning units (MUs) — the objective subject of an utterance, varying in length from a single sentence to several pages. MUs were assigned descriptive labels. Next, I read the text of the MU with the question foremost in mind: “What does this *mean* to the originator of the text?” Using the model of embodied categorization described in Rennie and Fergus (2006), I searched for the subjective, ‘felt meaning’ of the text (Gendlin, as cited in Rennie & Fergus, 2006) to identify initial codes through an open coding process. To do this I allowed images, emotions, and felt senses to flow through my mind and body as I read, trusting that therein lay a meaning that could

be recognized as also 'true' by others who are also nonviolent activists. I approached MUs in other transcripts in the same way. This process gave rise to more selective codes, which were integrated and refined into working conceptual categories. Working categories containing similar concepts were combined into sub-categories, which were then assigned brief labels capturing the 'pith' of my subjective response to the emerging concept. As new categories emerged, I returned to previously analyzed text until no new categories were found.

In this constant comparison process, clusters of higher order categories converged on working categories. During the reading of the eighth transcript, no new categories emerged and so it was deemed that saturation of the text had been achieved. For the purpose of generating descriptive statistics in terms of frequencies of categories, I then analyzed the final interview, refining but making no substantial change to categories. Finally, I returned to already analyzed text with the refined categories in mind. In the end, the categories were assembled into a hierarchy in which two main-level, four second-level, and twenty two sub-level categories serve to define and refine the one core category of which they are all part. Theoretical memos, field notes journal, and other sources (e.g., artifacts provided by participants) were all considered in light of emergent categories throughout the process of analysis. My goal for this analysis was to determine a core category that would consolidate and organize the findings for final discussion, yet remain fully grounded in the text (Rennie, 2000; Rennie & Fergus, 2006).

Sample analysis of the text.

The following example from the second interview illustrates the approach. I asked the participant to discuss a significant or personally meaningful action (the MU).

Bracketed numbers indicate three descriptive codes found and square brackets indicate inserted text for clarification.

It was just before dawn. We scrambled down the hill and lined up across the – (1) it was this fresh road cut, which was just this horrible *wound (emotional vocal tone)* in this beautiful old growth forest. (2) [We] lined up across the road, linked arms. When we heard he was just getting into his [bulldozer], he started it up and started to come. Then he saw us and – it just comes back to me! We had a banner, ‘America’s Wilderness. Love it and Leave it Alone.’ When he saw us he started cursing and he turned off the motor and climbed down from his bulldozer. (3) That moment, I understood the power of direct action. I said, “We just stopped a bulldozer from proceeding with this road cut!” I knew that’s what we were there for, but to see it was really like a religious experience.

From this section of text, through open coding I detected three initial codes, including (1) Emotional response to place; (2) Effective action; and (3) Interpretation of action outcome. Using the embodied approach, from these three descriptive codes I derived the sub-level categories (in order) as *Life is sacred*; *It really works*; and *Beyond the self*.

To summarize, using the interpretive and iterative method of constant comparison, I established a hierarchy of categories under one core category, two main-level categories, four second-level categories, and twenty two sub-level categories. Under the core category **Truth into Action** were two main-level categories: **Communion and Meaning** and **Agency and Efficacy**. The main-level category **Communion and Meaning** incorporated two second-level categories, *True for Me* and *Was it worthy?* and the main-level category **Agency and Efficacy** incorporated two second-level categories

Get it done and *Rock in stream*. In terms of the example text given, sub-category *Life is sacred* fell under main-level category **Communion and Meaning** and second-level category *Was it worthy?*; sub-category *It really works* fell under main-level category **Agency and Efficacy** and second-level category *Get it done*; and sub-category *Beyond the self* fell under main-level category **Communion and Meaning** and second-level category *True for me*.

CHAPTER 3: Results

In this chapter, I will introduce the nine participants with individual narratives and demographic and activist-specific information organized into tables (see Table 1 and Table 2). Specifically, I will introduce the research participants by providing an overview of their personality and the story of their activism as a whole, presented as brief personologies (Murray, 1981; White, 1952). I will then present the categorical model derived from the grounded theory analysis. To do that, I will provide a description of the core category, followed by portrayals of the main-, second-, and sub-level categories. Each category is illustrated with quotes in the activists' own words.

Table 1

Participant Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Birth	Age	Sex	Marital	Occupation
Hank Aaron	1964	44	M	Married	Community organizer
Sally Blumenfeld	1949	59	F	Divorced	Community organizer
Jay Caldeira	1946	62	F	Separated	Filmmaker
Dits Davies	1950	59	F	Single	Nonviolent trainer
Annabella Ensign	1969	40	F	Married	Field medic
Amigo Favia	1958	51	M	Single	Community organizer
Vern Gallagher	1974	35	M	Married	Handyman/carpenter
Monster Huss	1964	45	M	Single	Professor
Ignatio Ivey	1967	42	M	Married	Educator

Participant brief personologies

To introduce participants, I follow the lead of Henry Murray (Murray, 1981), Robert White (White, 1952; White, Riggs, & Gilbert, 1982), and the seminal research teamwork in empirical, multi-method approach to ‘personology’ (i.e., the study of whole persons) emerging from the Harvard Psychological Clinic (1927-1945; Hilgard, 1987; Triplet, 1992, & White, 1992). In addition to methodological innovation (e.g., Thematic Apperception Task, Morgan & Murray, 1935; study of whole persons (White, 1952), and advancing the integration of qualitative and quantitative inquiry (e.g., Hermans, 1988; Dunedin longitudinal cohort studies, Caspi & Moffitt, 1993; Caspi, Sugden, Moffitt, Taylor, Craig, & Harrington, 2003), the multi-method studies conducted at the Harvard Psychological Clinic gathered and seeded important investigators and theories in personality and clinical science. To name a few, these include Allport (1962), Erikson (1963, 1969), Hermans (1991, 1998), McAdams (1997), and Tomkins (1947, 1981). Although I do not pretend to offer personologies as indepth as those developed out of Murray and White’s rigorous clinical-science approach, based on that model I will provide a brief personology of each of my participants’ described experience of influences on their person and their activism, finishing with advice they offer to newly engaged citizens. As a way to present each activist as unique, and following their practice of claiming animal, plant, or other nature-inspired ‘forest’ activist names, I intuitively sought a representative animal avatar and accompanying quotation, in order to encapsulate my overall impression of the ‘gist’ of each person as I came to know them

over the course of this research project (i.e., first approach and contact, interview situation and setting, listening to recorded interviews, reading and analysis of transcript).

In summary, brief personologies are a way to portray each activist as a whole person, providing the reader with a representation of their individual narratives. These also serve as an introduction to influences on these engaged citizens. Finally, the personologies are meant to illustrate that activists – even those committed strictly to nonviolence — are probably not a homogenous group and are not assumed to be such in this work. As expected, the participants ranged in the degree to which they reflected upon, understood, and conveyed what they know about the roots and meanings of their activism, from underlying philosophies and theories to the places, life forms, and people that inspire and support their engagement.

Hank Aaron.

Wolf

When shepherds quarrel, the wolf has a winning game. *German Proverb*

Hank was referred through a chance meeting with another activist on a beach near Westport. He informed me that, when I first requested an interview, his inclination was to decline, and rudely. On reflection, he accepted the invitation. This was important to me, since committee member professor Timmerman (a seasoned activist) had advised me that “they will have decided if I’m a waste of time by the end of the first two interviews.” For the first interview in this study, we began at his office in downtown Arcata. After about an hour, he invited me to his home in Bayside, a fenced, 1/4 acre mini-farm with vegetable and herb gardens, chickens, goats, and a “mean little dog,” Rosa, who spent most of the time herding the other animals. Hank is a self described, “pack animal,” so it

made sense that this was also the interview location for two other participants (Annabella and Vern), who share interest in the property. There, Hank and I met outside until it was too cold, when we retired to his comfortable, farm-style kitchen. Hank's office and home are both piled high with books that overflow the shelf space. His demeanor was intense and serious and he gave the impression it was important that I hear and understand the details and history of the issues under discussion.

Hank's first action was in 1989 at age 25 years. Eschewing the label 'activism,' he preferred firmly to call his citizen engagement his 'work.' Post-college political engagement was claimed as personally meaningful, specifically his involvement in the 1988 Oregon primary election, the Michael Dukakis campaign and a Democratic win.

We ran, I think what were the most effective phone banks in the country for the campaign. Because of our work and because we siphoned a bunch of resources out of the national campaign to run phone banks that we wound up focusing on state legislative raises, we managed to hold the Oregon house for the Democrats for two cycles.

According to him, the event was personally meaningful because it worked and built his understanding of his efficacy as an engaged citizen. Hank explained, "I learned something there. I learned that I could be effective."

Early influences included his father, uncles, and grandfather. He clarified how their place in family history was also a source of support.

The core stuff is what I got as a kid, from the ideals about the importance of acting on your beliefs, of working for the greater good. My father's father was an architect, who after World War II, helped to found a group called Veterans for Peace. They lived in Houston, Texas, which at the time was a one-party state run by the Democrats, Segregationists, Conservative Democrats. Grandfather started the Republican party there ...because he believed in democracy.

By report, Hank's primary adult influence was his first mentor. "He is a consummate strategist and a lifelong activist who has not stopped now."

As a barrier, Hank named himself the maker of his own undoing.

I have spent a lot of time struggling with this, since I *need* to make a difference and I am not sure that I have. I mean, I would like to say that those evil people out there have been in my way, but... No, I think it's my own inability to translate my dreams into an effective model of action.

Hank offered several successes and one wish as outcomes, "the crying need is, in *our* generation to create a human culture that's worthy of staying on this planet." He cited individual, significant achievements for local ecosystems, but failure in the overall narrative, reporting of injustice and moving towards saner collective goals.

It's the absence of stories. It's not so much the killer reporters, it's the fact that they don't exist anymore! That most of my heroes in journalism are out of the business, and the stories that made so much difference to me as I was starting out *don't get told!*

Hank nominated Schnebly Hill overlook in western Arizona as a personally significant place.

I remember going out there as a kid (*tearful*). It was, I think, the earliest memories I have ...My parents met when they were working in a summer camp near there near, the Woods Ranch, and so there is this sense of this place being kind of being where my people come from and incredibly beautiful.

He explained his emotional reaction:

- H: It's not so much that particular place, but that whole complex of stuff around Foxboro and Woods Ranch, and Clay Park. Clay Park is this giant meadow next to Foxboro where we used to ride, and the fact that it used to be ours and it isn't [anymore].
- L: I see. So, it's where your people come from. That connection to the land?

- H: Yeah, but we lost it. We destroyed it. Kell Fox, my great-uncle was a state senator who arranged to have the interstate run through the middle of all that, across the top of (*rueful tone*) Wood's Canyon creek.
- L: Your own kin destroyed the place.
- H: Yeah.
- L: And that feeds your commitment doesn't it? (*Hank nods*).

Hank's advice to new activists was that they pay attention and learn from mistakes made by previous generations, towards becoming more effective change agents, emphasized by him as primary goals for this work. He encouraged inclusion and tolerance, towards a broad community with shared values. "You know, we got to change the bigger systems." He also emphasized safety in community.

I think we need to create a social movement, and actions, and processes, and institutions, to which people feel attracted, where they feel comfortable, where they can bring their kids. I think we need to make it *easy* for people to change, not hard!

Sally Blumenfeld.

Bee

The bee is more honored than other animals, not because she labors, but because she labors for others. *Saint John Chrysostom*

Sally was the first of two participants introduced to the study by Joanna Macy, who advised me she was a unifying and sustaining force during the Redwood Summer decade. Located in canyon country east of Oakland, Sally was the point person in the San Francisco bay area for Earth First! activists heading north to participate in Humboldt County actions. Our interview was conducted outside, in a small Redwood grove on the grounds of the local public school. I described the setting and Sally's interview behavior in my research journal.

Listening to Sally's interview and hearing the children in the background playing brings me back to the day – the morning – and how beautiful it was there sitting in folding beach chairs among the second growth Redwoods. Sally's house was there, somewhere in the community surround. The children (July summer camp) had made small tokens to leave in the woods. Sally explained that these children were educated to know what to make crafts of, if they are to be left outside, i.e., to make them of non-toxic, biodegradable, natural materials, best if when the item begins to break down it provides something the animals can use... Later in our meeting, Sally talked about caring about the Earth and how everything is one with very large trucks whizzing loudly and close by and she does not falter in her thought or her speech. This is focus!

Sally informed me she began activism at age 26 (1976). She grew up in the country.

Both of her grandmothers were early influences, but for different reasons. According to Sally, one grandmother was the “original recycler,” who showed by example how to take care of the environment and to demonstrate responsibility for one's actions towards making the world a better place. The other grandmother was “feisty” – a young-at-heart woman who showed the neighborhood children how to leap over back fences, one-handed. Both sets of values and approaches were reportedly important for Sally as a developing activist.

As internal supports, Sally suggested that she has a practical nature and work ethic.

A “results-oriented, worker bee,” she tends to identify issues and get a lot done. She also credited nature and community:

Having my spiritual and philosophical base in biocentrism has everything to do with my staying power, because everything that I do, ultimately is out of love and not because somebody's making me do something or because I should do any of those things. It comes from me and I feel that it's worthwhile.

External supports mentioned were the influence and inspiration drawn from “strong women who went before,” including environmentalist, Rachel Carson and anarchist, Emma Goldman. The main barrier reported was lack of health care and other essential life resources (e.g., full-time activism equals no medical insurance coverage).

Fellow activists who were models of engagement, and who noticed and encouraged her strengths, have influenced Sally. Judi Bari was named first among these.

Certainly Judi is a good example of that. She once told me – well, ‘cause she needed somebody – this was after the bombing and she needed somebody to help with doing this tremendous amount of work putting the lawsuit together... So, she was asking me to do something and made this pretty offhand comment that she said, “Well, you’re the most competent person that I know,” and I, it’s like, “Thank you. I love you!” You know, that’s something that helps me, because I remember it when I’m feeling like “Oh man, you know, all these people doing all these things and I can’t do this and I can’t do that. But, Judi said!”

Sally also credited iconic environmentalist and Sierra Club first executive director, David Brower (1912-2000) as an adult influence. In collaboration with him on a Blue-Green (Union-Environmental) alliance project near the end of his life, she remembered a meaningful interaction.

I had said something about, “Well, we gotta just keep coming back and pushing on this” and he said to me that, “But your middle name is perseverance.” And, again I said, “Thank you. I love you!” Because, once again it was just this comment that stuck with me, that means a lot to me.

A personally significant action reported by Sally was the 1983 Earth First! road blockade at the Bald Mountain Forest Service Road in the Kalmiopsis Wilderness Area, Siskiyou National Forest, southwest Oregon. The intended road would have opened 150,000 acres of wilderness for clear-cutting, one of the last road-free areas in an

environmentally important ecosystem. To add insult to injustice, despite the appearance of lush diversity of the forest, much of the area was, in fact sparsely forested due to highly mineralized soils, which are susceptible to destruction if disturbed. For her, unconditional support from the activist community made the event significant.

We drove, like ten hours or so to finally get up there in the campground where we were meeting people from Oregon. And they met us, and we didn't know them before, and they welcomed us, and they were really wonderful, and they said, you know, "We're gonna be your support people, and we're gonna hike in with you". ...I ended up falling in love with all our support crew because again, I hadn't experienced anything like that before. I mean, they were just *there* for us in a way that was really amazing because we didn't know them, and we knew, I mean we felt safe. And, to instantly feel safe with somebody that you don't know is really something.

As personal outcomes for her activism, Sally recognized her effect on her family. Grateful they are still close, she nevertheless countered, "I probably feel more alienated from them than I would if I'd gone down the middle class path and had kids, and worked at the kind of job that they could relate to." She explained that her relationships are limited to Earth First! or other activists for practical reasons: "nobody else would understand the way that I order my priorities."

Canyon, California, was reported as Sally's personally significant place. She told me that, behind her home there is untouched wilderness. She emphasized this, ironically so, because public water utility land cannot be further developed due to restrictions on septic beds. Sally also recognized that her love of place emerges from childhood.

I'm not a city kid and have always felt that I needed to be in a place where I could put my bare feet on the ground, make that kind of contact, without concrete to be in-between. I feel like I need that to survive, to be alive.

Reportedly, her relationship with land is spiritual, translated into real-world action: she lives just south of ‘redwood country’ (Headwaters) and single-handedly formed and still runs a splinter group to help protect it.

Sally offered her own experience as advice for new activists. She stated that she doesn’t get along with everyone and that no one can, so she doesn’t try. She is not interested in changing others, because there are “so *many* different skills and personalities in the community and we need every single one.”

Jay Caldeira.

Hummingbird

The hummingbird in flight is a water-spark, an incandescent drip of American fire. *Pablo Neruda*

Jay wore an Earth First! sweatshirt with the iconic raised fist. She insisted my character be approved by her dog before agreeing to the interview. After reading the project description she declared me to be ‘not’ an FBI agent. We met at her home inland on the northern coast of Mendocino County. In my research journal, I described the setting as “wondrous, stuffed with radical left and hippy things.” Set on several acres in a second growth forest with a large garden, the huge home is a retired ‘Playboy’ style mansion from the 1970s, featuring a sunken living room, with flagstone fireplace and the original shag carpeting, and all the space and amenities for large social events. Jay has turned this structure into an eclectic museum of American activism and the Redwood Summer, with original poster artwork and protest street art structures (e.g., the six-foot-long papier-mâché salmon carried in Redwood Summer protests). Running along the top of the kitchen wall is a collection of seemingly every American protest bumper sticker

ever created: Jay admitted these are plastered 2-3 deep in places. Throughout the home, in bookshelves and on every available surface is an extensive, diverse library, and various brick-a-brack. We met outside on her sleeping platform above the septic bed. During our interview she plucked a hummingbird out of the air, holding it lightly by a single claw, the other hand cupping the bird's body. The bird regarded her calmly and slowed down its wing speed to barely a hover. She released it within 30 seconds and the bird remained in the area for the entire interview. In terms of interview behavior, Jay laughed readily, talked fast, and told many stories, including one about her participation at Woodstock (1969) as member of the 'security' team. She explained, "our job was to keep people from talking politics." Jay was happy to tell me she was "on the bus" (Ken Kesey's bus 'Furthur,' used to carry the counter-cultural, ever shifting membership of the Merry Band of Pranksters). Jay also told me about her adventures in clown training and development of her subversive clown character. At age 62 years, Jay was the oldest participant.

Jay stated that she began activism in 1965 – the year after the Selma to Montgomery civil rights march. At age 19 years, she joined a Quaker group trip from Ohio to Washington DC, where she attended another civil rights action. Jay reported attendance at several 1960s protest events. She stated she has been committed to nonviolent activism nonstop since initiation in 1965.

When asked about personally meaningful actions, Jay offered the northwestern California 1990 Osprey Grove protest. Despite its protected status, Osprey Grove was logged illegally that year. The event marked the first ever recording of an ancient redwood being chain-sawed to the ground by a logger. Videographer Jay captured the

event on film: the footage was shown around the world and included in several documentaries. For her, it was important because she understood from that action that she could contribute to change by combining her passions for creativity and activism. “That was one of the early things that got me hooked on carrying a camera and getting out into places where people don’t necessarily go and try and bring it back and show it to people.”

Jay asserted her mother was an important early influence. She credited her as demonstrating practical and life skills. “She was a master gardener, even though she smoked cigarettes.” Main adult supports claimed were her son and the beloved community of activists. With typical humor, Jay named food first, then got to the point:

Vegetables. Ice cream (*laughing*). My son, but he’s actually had the biggest criticisms and I rarely agree with him (*laughing*) about them. He’s been my harshest critic. Ultimately, he’s been a support. That’s a good question. The communities. The community has been the biggest support – as flawed as it is. You know, my son would sit here and point out chapter and verse of times when the community didn’t support me and wasn’t there for me, but that is kind of his job. People have been there, for better or for worse. And, the vision of community. That’s what I meant by all its flaws and virtues. We have this idea of community and sometimes the community actually fits the idea and sometimes it doesn’t. Sometimes it’s a long way away.

Additionally, Jay credited ginger root and chocolate as mainstay adult supports.

In terms of barriers to her engagement, she named lack of funds and inability to develop a hard-nosed head for business. Not dwelling long on the barriers, Jay suggested an alternative economic model.

I have always maintained that the ideal economic system would be a synthesis of communism and capitalism, because they both have the same limitations. There are some elements of brilliance to Free Market Theory and some inevitably important. I mean, you’ve got to collaborate. You’ve got to have consensus. You have to do that, and you have to learn how to do it effectively. Cooperation is much more gratifying than competition.

When asked about adult influences Jay did not hesitate to nominate Judi Bari.

“I would say Judi, knowing Judi, hands down and Earth First! I mean, she got bombed for Earth First!.” It was Judi’s ability to communicate and bring together disparate factions in logging country, prior to Redwood Summer that Jay admired.

The fact of the matter was she had the kind of genius that pulled all that common sense together, in ways that the rest of us were just kind of... Judi was going out and getting. I mean, if the bomb had not gone off, who knows if we would have had an effective [Blue-Green] coalition; a working coalition.

For Jay, effective activism outcomes are lived in day-to-day life through community and action. She used Headwaters and Redwood Summer as example:

I mean, where things are cooperative. Where we can get past just having a theory and *do* it. The nice thing about Headwaters and the activism here for a while was that we did function by consensus... anybody who didn’t want to do that could go do something else.

When asked about a place of significance Jay offered the most inclusive answer of all participants. “Well, this planet is really all I know. The planet is special to me.” When pressed, she endorsed all remaining forests and wild places. Describing her participation in a personally significant event Jay demonstrated her environmental consciousness, while at the same time filming the end of an ancient redwood life so that others could also witness. “They took down a tree that was probably close to a thousand years old, ten feet away from me. ... It’s horrible!”

As advice for a new activist, Jay emphasized developing the ability to ground and recover from toxins of living. “You have to have a meditation routine, or you have to have something that gets you to grounded. And, you have to have a way to detoxify if you’re going to make it in the long run. Otherwise you can flame out pretty fast.”

Dits Davies.

Moth

The Moth don't care when he sees The Flame.
He might get burned, but he's in the game.
And once he's in, he can't go back, he'll
Beat his wings 'til he burns them black...
No, The Moth don't care when he sees The Flame...

The Moth don't care if The Flame is real,
'Cause Flame and Moth got a sweetheart deal.
And nothing fuels a good flirtation,
Like Need and Anger and Desperation...
No, The Moth don't care if The Flame is real...

Aimee Mann

Dits was referred to the study by Sally Blumemfeld, who suggested she would offer valuable perspective as a trainer of nonviolent process for activists. She wore a t-shirt printed with a graphic and text, "Actions speak louder than words." We met in Oakland, a few blocks from the place where the pipebomb exploded in Judi Bari's car on the eve of Redwood Summer. Dits suggested we go for a walk past the site of the explosion. We then settled into her shared house in downtown Oakland for the interview. Dits told me she has two rooms in the eclectic, spacious home, a bedroom and a den. We sat on the floor in her den, surrounded by a substantial library. Her demeanor throughout was quiet and thoughtful and she appeared to choose her words carefully. A keen observer of group dynamics and the politics of activism, Dits inquired several times regarding the confidentiality of sharing the names of other activists.

Dits first began activism in 1986 at age 36 years. As early influences, she credited her father and family, who modeled and shaped nonviolent thought and behavior. Dits recalled that children in her family were trusted with adult-level privileges at school and

public libraries, trained to question everything, treat others with dignity and respect, and take responsibility for their own actions.

Adult influences for Dits included anti-nuclear and peace activists and groups.

A trainer of nonviolent practice, she credited her comrades for providing a mirror for her, reportedly of critical importance for maintaining equilibrium as she undertakes work that demands a high degree of personal integrity.

The influences are calling me on my shit, holding on to a sense of reality about what they see in me, and I know that these are people who do not sleaze and tell you what you want to hear, reminding me that I have the capabilities that I'm questioning in any given moment, knowing that they're watching my back. But, also just sitting me down and saying, "You are flat wrong on this and I'm disappointed in you." And also model both the good things [and] the things I can learn from and I wish I were better at... and model not being frickin' perfect.

Dits claimed her main internal support to be the self respect these influences have empowered her to muster and maintain, using the esteem of her colleagues as a measure for herself. She explained that she has learned to treat herself with due regard because those colleagues she respects have respected her right back.

As a personally meaningful action, Dits recalled the Miami 2003 Free Trade Association of the Americas (FTAA) meeting. Emerging from this event, the 'Miami Model' response to protest is regarded by activists as representative of the shift in North America, from treatment of protest as an enactment of citizens' right to free speech, to a redefining of protest against state and corporate activities as terrorism. This ordinance made illegal activities commonly utilized in nonviolent protest, such as the sit down, the lock-down, and the presence of groups of two or more attempting to interrupt corporate activities. Following this organized response, activists reported and

filmed police brutality and illegal detention without charge, while skewed media reports showed activists as depraved criminals who performed the violent actions undertaken by provocateurs. For Dits, such portrayal of what she knew to be nonviolent intentionalities was demoralizing and she expressed gratitude for the chance to set the record straight.

I just appreciate the opportunity to be able to say these things for people who don't know about this, who are not interested particularly in these issues or this community to understand that there is another side to who we are and how we live. But, also the people who are reading this who are activists will know that we don't always go home diminished.

Dits recalled good outcomes from the 2003 event:

The people who stayed with our legal team, we had zero percent convictions. We had 96 hours of exculpatory video that came mostly from the community – just folks filming their friends. Nobody ever hears these things. We're winning lawsuits and nobody ever hears these things. This is important to me; that we can actually go out and say to people, yes you can get recognition that you were abused. Yes, you are not suing out of greed, but they're going to think twice before they do this again. And the image that we have of rock dwelling, urine bottles and fecal matter, and all of those lies, that gets out. But nobody says in a follow up story that everybody who went with this particular legal strategy and stayed with it, that none of them were convicted. Those who chose to file a lawsuit with the city, or the county, are winning their lawsuits. This is a far cry from [debauched activists] "throwing fecal matter."

Personal outcomes for her activism include her influence on young family members. For instance, her niece at age five years remembers pinning a map following the route of Dits's nine month cross-country peace walk. The same niece, as a youth, wrote a letter expressing gratitude for the alternative model Dits offered in living a life according to a commitment to a better world. Similarly, her nephew donated money from his Bar Mitzvah. "He and his friends understood that what I was doing, I was doing for

them to have a good world. He couldn't think of a better place to put his gift money than into the safety and viability of their planet."

Dits spontaneously talked about a significant place, describing her attachment to Headwaters. She suggested that, when Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney were bombed in their car on the eve of Redwood Summer, it was the connections afforded by the place that inspired the community to action. She explained:

Because of whoever – whatever – attempted to assassinate two of the principals of [Ecotopia] Earth First!, it became necessary for us to step in and do more. Our house was taken and we were all in it. Of course, the longer you work with it, the more the place becomes a part of your life, the more you have a personal attachment to it.

As advice for a new activist, Dits indicated that activists must understand early and attend to the fact that activists are hard on themselves and their communities. She evoked Gandhi's teachings of nonviolence, advising new activists to: 1) consider if they are willing to suffer for their beliefs; and 2) use their own voice according to their own Truth. She clarified:

It's not the being beaten up. It's not the stuff you did wrong. It's that you chose to do this and you didn't think you were being a martyr, because you have your eyes on the goal. That's very important. And the second really important thing, we get tired of always having the 'no' position: this is bad, this is wrong. We get tired of losing campaigns. We get tired of having new campaigns pop up, and sometimes it's just so overwhelming and there's nothing you *can* do. You feel like there's just no point (*LHW sighs*). I want you to remember the importance of 'no' – because if no one says 'no' then nobody remembers what the 'yes' might have been. When that happens – then just keep that reminder — it *doesn't* have to be this way. It *isn't* always this way. Use that 'no,' because without your 'no' that candle's blown out.

Annabella Ensign.

Lioness

I was the shyest human ever invented, but I had a lion inside me that wouldn't shut up! *Ingrid Bergman*

Referred to me by Hank Aaron, Annabella's interview was the second in the Bayside location on the outskirts of Arcata. We met outdoors at the picnic table on the fenced-in property. She explained her essential role in the design and implementation of the permaculture approach to the extensive garden filled with herbs, flowers, and vegetables. Annabella presented herself as grounded, calm, mature, and serious. She served homemade lemonade. Her two children under the age of 10 years were present throughout our time together. Annabella appeared to have no problem balancing her responses with spontaneous, gentle interaction with her children as they asked questions, brought her flowers, and 'bunny eared' her during our photo-shoot time.

Annabella reported that she began citizen engagement at age 10 years (1980). A third generation activist, she credits her mother and grandmother as early influences. As the only child and grandchild in a family that valued social analysis and philosophical discussion, Annabella claimed the early American land ethics and ecofeminist movements as strong initial influences on her development. She described growing up in environmentalist Aldo Leopold's daughter's home and remembered how her mother took her to activism gatherings as a child.

I grew up stuffing envelopes. More importantly I think as an activist, that act of going to meetings with her and, you know, they couldn't afford child care. So I would just go with her, sitting under tables at conferences and meetings. Sort of listening (*a rooster crows*), and hearing what was going on, and being invited to speak sometimes.

Annabella connected those early influences with an integral understanding of the importance of the movement's frontline workers and of incorporating a balanced lifestyle for sustainable, long-term commitment to social change and protection against burnout.

I think we have a responsibility to the earth to *not* burn ourselves out – the “endless pressure endlessly applied.” It's those people that have that ability to structure their day and integrate their activist routine into a healthy daily life that have the most effect.

In terms of the effects of ecofeminism on her activism, Annabella cited a compilation, *Healing Sacred Wounds*. She explained,

It firmly set me in a really rooted sense of – well, self-worth as a woman. It just gave me a really clear vision and ability to be clear and stay strong and connectedness to past warriors, I guess, women who've been very powerful agents of change.

In answer to a question about a significant, personally meaningful action, Annabella described the first Earth First! sabotage of the buffalo hunt in Yellowstone park, Montana as pivotal to her development as an activist. She admitted, too that it was also the first time she faced death for her beliefs. “Defending life directly, that's what really got me in the trenches.”

I was between a high-powered rifle and a buffalo, and I was ready to lay down my life to her.” She also described feelings of agency arising from the experience: “I'm powerful, I can do something.”

She credited her youthful training in Olympic Nordic skiing for the fitness, determination, and courage it took to put herself so close to the line.

Annabella reported that inspiring agency for change in her immediate and extended family are meaningful outcomes for her activism. For instance, she is teaching her

children to be engaged citizens. “I think that if they can learn how to grow food and things like that, they’ll be more sustainable individuals on this planet.”

When asked about supports, she first named the healing plants of the forest.

They’ve supported me physically. They’ve given me a really strong connection to – well, to the plant world. You know to, first the trees and then the medicine plants that grow in the forest. They’ve also given me a source of income, which has allowed me to be an activist, to sustain my activism through being able to wild craft and from doing plant rescues in front of the [bull]dozers so that I can make medicine to give to the activists, to being able to create a non-profit organization that can get donations from tincture manufacturing companies that I can then give to activists.

When asked about support for her life as an activist, she credits her family for financial support. She also conveyed gratitude for the openness of her family and their trust in her instincts. The only barrier Annabella could name was lack of time.

When asked about a place of significance Annabella offered a broad endorsement of wilderness:

- A: Any place that’s unrestrained wilderness. I draw on those places as a source, just for survival right now, too. Yellowstone, the Headwaters, the redwoods, the pure, untouched lands that remain.
- L: And what do you draw from it for yourself?
- A: Prajna. Life source – juice... I have the places I go to. Hot springs have been a great touchstone for me for personal rejuvenation. Also, to connect with the wild forces and wild things. That’s important.

In terms of advice she would offer to a new activist, Annabella emphasized self-care and connection with place.

Make sure that you take the time to play. Get out and take good care of yourself, and connect regularly with the place that inspired you to become an activist. Go back to that place and plug into it, and ask for guidance from whatever that force was that drove you to want to protect it. Find that source and keep seeking it and look for others too, because the one you found might get trashed.

Amigo Favia.

Badger

I beg. I call. I badger. I cajole. Part of the secret is everyone has fun and that's really motivating. *Katie Couric*

Amigo was referred by Joanna Macy after the demise of her husband Francis Macy, who was scheduled for an interview two months after his death. We met at Amigo's colorful wooden frame house set in the dunes on a narrow peninsula between Arcata Bay and the Pacific ocean. He explained that his activist-oriented bookshop occupied the downstairs section with his residence above. We settled into the comfortable, unpretentious loft, using a ladder to climb to the upper level. Amigo served herbal tea and a snack. We enjoyed a leisurely and circuitous interview, yet Amigo remained focused and informative throughout. He was relentless in his return to the activist community's longstanding and inadequate focus on "single-issue activism," (e.g., Save Carmanah Forest). He explained in detail the larger and comprehensive assault on environmental and social sustainability, i.e., the devastating effects brought about by the interaction between corporations and politics. Amigo presented as gentle, self-effacing, sensitive, and thoughtful. We ended the interview by taking a walk in the dunes behind his home.

Amigo told me that he began activism at age 13 (1971), crediting his father as earliest influence, followed by the negative influence of vicious bullying during primary and secondary school years. Emerging as he did from a Jewish family affected directly by the Holocaust, his father was described as a socialist, "visionary" intellectual with a reportedly traumatic childhood. Amigo explained that the bullying sparked in him an inner fire against injustice from the age of 10 years that was just awaiting ignition.

He admitted, that emergent anger drove his early entry into a life of activism but, as an adult with better emotional intelligence, he described awareness of the sorrow for a world-going-down that lies below the surface of his anger.

Similarly, in terms of adult influences, Amigo credited Joanna Macy. Dr. Macy and her colleagues developed the Despair and Empowerment group process (now known as the Work that Reconnects and/or Active Hope) as a response to emotional reactions to world conditions. “I was somehow using the breath work that I learned through her to stay alive, to stay in my feelings, to stay not overwhelmed, to stay connected.” He also offered his father’s socialism as influential, since it forced him to examine and reject capitalism and to embrace nonviolent anarchism.

Amigo nominated visceral rejection of injustice as his greatest internal support to enable his citizen engagement. He also credited his father for political, emotional, and financial support in his adult years. Finally, Amigo credited people providing financial assistance in his unpaid work, delivery of workshops, and facilitation for municipalities intending to eliminate corporate influence in local politics. He highlighted one funder.

It was a radical person in Minnesota that decided to give me and Democracy Unlimited – \$20,000, \$30,000, something like that. And she said, “I just trust that what you’re doing is important enough, that whether you spend it on yourself to keep you alive, or on organizational development it’s fine.”

Amigo delivered this information with an expression of gratitude, his response to this person’s generosity and trust in his integrity of character. In terms of barriers to engagement, Amigo reported longstanding struggles with depression and disconnection, exacerbated by his chosen social isolation.

As a personally significant action, Amigo offered the 1989 summer-long protest at Clayoquot Sound, BC. The period 1980-1994 included a major nonviolent protest in this Vancouver Island wilderness rainforest each summer. Over this period of time, more than 12,000 protesters trekked to the remote base camp. Greater than 1,000 people were arrested for the cause, namely to stop clearcutting of the Pacific northwest coast rain forest and find resolution of the long-standing Tla-o-qui-aht and Ahousaht First Nations' land claims. Those who were arrested and wanted legal help were assisted. Amigo was resident at the wilderness blockade site and a member of the 1989 base camp organizing and training team. He reportedly was most impressed by the consensual nature of the collective group approach. Although there was always the core group of organizers from Friends of Clayoquot Sound, everyone attending evening meetings was considered part of the community. He explained, "the earnestness of those people. Having that much patience to do the right thing, together, in a fundamentally democratic way." The organization team joined Amigo in his response to how well collaboration can work in practice. "The ten of us were pretty blown away by what people living in a clear-cut could do." For Amigo, the experience was significant for its affirmation of his commitments to nonviolence and peace.

We're shifting fundamental culture through democratic mass action. To me, there isn't anything more exciting. Right here in front of my eyes and I was a part of it.

In terms of personal outcomes for his activism Amigo referred to his sister, who "encouraged her three kids to engage with me politically because she knows that they'll learn a lot." Regarding broader outcomes, based on his direct experience of nonviolence

for change, Amigo emphasized the power of the collective. He said: “Mobilized citizens can do anything, absolutely anything.”

A: Democratic uprising is what the current leadership of Democracy Unlimited uses, which I really like a lot. They’re trying to organize democratic uprising. It’s positive. It’s not rebellion. Rebellion scares people. Rising up is just about people power.

L: It’s clean.

A: That’s what it feels like.

L: Yeah, it feels clean.

A: The words seem right to me.

As an example of a place holding personal meaning, Amigo mentioned South Forks Trinity, a wilderness watershed and one of the last remaining wild salmon rivers in the western U.S.A. He described his sense of mourning for the loss of real wilderness in most of the northwestern rain forest, and his longing to be present in a place where the full chain of life is demonstrated by wildness, biodiversity, and observable evidence of both predator and prey populations. “The web is still functioning there. Clearly less than historically, but it’s still there.” For Amigo, it is an example of a place that is worth defending. He acknowledged that the Headwaters and Redwood Summer protests emerged from the same source, a connection to nature and the land. “So much of what’s happening here in Humboldt and this whole area seems to be very place-based. The action that’s coming out of this area is rooted.”

When asked about advice he would offer a young activist, Amigo emphasized getting to the heart of the encompassing issue. For him, corporate hegemony over ordinary citizens is the cause of all sources of injustice we see in the world today.

Figure out what the causes are and work on root causes. Challenge the root causes. For more than a decade I worked on clear-cutting, anti-nuclear power, anti-nuclear weapons, forest activism, forest protection – all symptoms of

corporate rule. We've been in an emergency for a while. Don't waste your time on symptoms.

Vern Gallagher.

Chimpanzee

Chimpanzees have given me so much. The long hours spent with them in the forest have enriched my life beyond measure. *Jane Goodall*

Vern's was the third and final interview, outside at the Arcata Bayside location.

He told me his responsibility on the property was 'handyman.' He readily identified several projects he had designed and built single-handedly and several others in progress or at the planning stage. Our interview was interrupted by a visit by the Arcata Sheriff, who wondered why a car with an Ontario license was parked in front of the house. As one of only a few ground crew members who stayed for the entire 738 days at the Luna tree sit with Julia Butterfly Hill, Vern described a sense of being born to the role he undertook during Redwood Summer. "A total monkey in the trees... I would say my love of climbing trees got me involved." His job was important: getting Julia's visitors up and down the 150 foot climb safely, which included harnessing and training mostly unseasoned climbers (e.g., Winona Ryder for her 6 day stay in Luna; and Julia's father). Vern appeared engaged and enthusiastic throughout the interview and expressed gratitude for his continuous friendship with Butterfly. At 35 years of age, Vern was the youngest participant.

Vern began activism at age 23 years (1997). Reportedly, early influences include his mother and the fact that he was bullied in school, followed by engagement in martial arts. As a personally significant action, Vern nominated Julia Butterfly Hill's Luna tree

sit (1997-1999), situated on an almost clear-cut ridge near Stafford, California. After a 1996 mudslide (caused by another clear-cut) that buried most of the community up to 5 meters and destroyed 8 homes, activists found and scaled the tree, erected the platform, and established a basecamp using scavenged and donated materials. Several individuals sat in the tree before Julia Butterfly Hill began her solo 2-year stand. Vern was ground crew for the duration of her action, taking care of logistics and holding responsibility for the people ascending the 1000 year-old tree for interviews and visits with Julia.

I took a lot of pride and responsibility and I really focused down. These people's lives were in my hands because I'm sending them 200 feet up a tree to see somebody and anything can happen. I have to set safeties on safeties on safeties, because these are non-climbers and you have to make it as simple as possible. That was one of the things a lot of people told me is that they would have never climbed a tree, but because I made them feel comfortable that they were able to.

Vern also provided personal support to and received the same from Julia and other core group members. He reportedly learned "big life lessons," including humility and confidence. Vern explained, "I believed in myself enough, like, I can do this. I want to do this. They need me. Julia needs me."

As adult influences and supports, Vern emphasized ongoing relationships with the action team. "The group that most inspired me was the close-knit group of friends and people that I met while I was in the basecamp. Seeing how these people had dedicated their lives and given up so much to be involved inspired me to do the similar."

He nominated Julia Butterfly Hill as his most important adult influence.

I would definitely say that she inspired me the most in my life, probably of any figure, to be better person and to live my life to the fullest. Seeing what one person can do – speaking out and stuff – it was really inspiring and gave me a lot of motivation.

Vern credited his mother for unwavering, non-financial support, recalling her comment during the tree sit: “I’m really proud of what you’re doing, I read about it in the paper.”

When asked about outcomes, Vern emphasized what others have told him. “I’ve inspired people.” It was important for him to be involved in an action that brought the struggles of the Pacific northwestern rainforest to the minds of those who had never thought about the issues before. “There’s people that never even knew what a redwood is or had [never] seen one. Then they’re like, “What? They can cut that stuff? They shouldn’t be allowed to cut that stuff.”” Reportedly, it was also vital for him to see that real change happens – that it is possible to win – and that the event had lasting effects on the engaged community of action.

The nice thing about the Luna tree sit for me and other people that are involved is that I actually started seeing results and hearing from people. We did save a little small grove of trees with the little buffer zone around Luna. The impact on people, because it goes beyond. We all need to – all need to be involved to change things.

Conversely, when asked about barriers, Vern emphasized discouragement after losing a battle. “Seeing what was going on and not being able to do much. A month before you’re walking through this beautiful grove of trees, ferns and everything, and then all of a sudden next time you see it’s a clear cut.”

Vern nominated the Luna tree sit site as a place of personal significance. His residence there for 2 years made it special enough, but the tree was threatened again after the action was won. In 2000, a chainsaw attack on Luna cut her trunk one third of the way through. Knowing that such a wound, even if skillfully tended, most redwoods would not survive reportedly caused great personal pain for the activists who had fought

so hard to save the tree. Vern revisited the site a decade later, feeling the magnetic pull of Luna, the site, and all it represents for him personally.

When we went up there two months ago I raced ahead of the group so I could be the first to the base of [Luna] and have my own moment and just kind of give a big hug to the tree. It was the first time I had touched the stitches and all the cables and stuff like that. But then, looking around and seeing how everything is starting to grow back – ferns and everything – was just like (*makes sound of explosion*). All the stumps that were around there, the trees are 20 feet high, when they were all just sprouts, because they do their fairy rings up off the tree. So, they were just all these little sprouts coming up and now they're all big and everything's green and lush.

As advice to a new activist, Vern suggested self-trust and involvement with the right people.

Listen to your heart. If you trust your feelings, follow your feelings. Try to make sure you surround yourself with people that you trust, because you don't want to get involved with stuff with the wrong people, because they can lead you down the wrong path.

Monster Huss.

Raccoon

When we realize that brother or sister raccoon is acting as a messenger spirit for us, we are asked to contact our inner warrior and to become a protector and generous provider for those in need. *Native American totems*

Monster's working name was 'Union guy,' in my regard. We met in Olympia, WA, the day after the annual Procession of the Species (POS), described to me by another activist as their "high holy day" (Rachel Goethe, personal communication). I witnessed the POS from my 7th floor hotel room balcony overlooking Sylvester Park, with corner views down two of the parade route roads. The Procession was dazzling, a moving assembly of more than 300 human-propelled floats and characters, with individual and group representations of the diversity found in the non-human world. Our interview had a

laid back, leisurely quality. Monster was soft spoken, with a gentle demeanor, sparkling eyes, and ready humor. He told me he is a college professor by day and “DJ at a pirate radio station [by night]. I’m one of the more ‘out’ DJs, because it is a felony, and I don’t really give a rip. I want them to (*haha*) arrest me sometimes. Like, ““okay let’s have a big court trial and let’s talk about freedom of speech.””

Monster’s first citizen engagement, at age 24 (1987) was also the event he offered as a personally meaningful action. He was in the U.S.A. Navy, crew member on USS Iowa, one of four WWI warships placed back into action during the Reagan administration. During a training mission, a gun turret exploded, killing 47 sailors. According to Monster, officers and family of the deceased were invited to the memorial service, but not enlisted personnel. While he could accept his own exclusion,

...there [were] so many people, officers and people that weren’t part of the command, admirals and generals and everybody else showed up because they wanted to rub elbows with the president, [so] that the families couldn’t even get into the tent. So, I started realizing that holy cow! They’re totally dehumanizing me and they’re wanting me to dehumanize other people.

Deciding this behavior was unacceptable, Monster began – within the military – to distribute subversive educational materials, leaving eventually to finding another way to earn money that he could live with in good conscience. His activism has continued unabated since 1987, mainly through providing guidance for college students and activities in labor and protest events organized by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, commonly known and referred to by Monster as the ‘Wobblies’).

When asked about early influences on his activism, Monster described ambivalence in his family of origin, with a German Republican father who later voted for Obama and

a Chinese mother who fled from Communism. Monster relayed conversations in which his parents questioned his radical activities and his response.

Where did I come from? Dad, you are white... you marry my mom who's Chinese. You do this in 1963. Mixed race couples and mixed race families, totally unheard of. You come from a neighborhood in New York City in which you hung out with black kids and Italian kids and Jewish kids and German kids. You have the multicultural and you basically taught us about this sort of thing. You taught us about like – don't agree and then fighting authority. It's like, Dad, you were in the army – and you made Sergeant three times because you were busted two times for punching officers. So, you might be conservative but you also are somebody that rocks the boat sometimes. So, I get that too. My mom, coming from an upper-middle class, not traditional but conservative Chinese family that comes over. They were nationalists. They were running away from the Commies. They end up in New York City. My grandfather's a very well respected surgeon and mom drops out of high school and hangs out in Greenwich Village with the Beats. "Dad you were a greaser. Where the hell do you think I 'get this' from?"

As adult influences on his activism, Monster credited comrades who endorsed celebrations of life and connection as constructive 'love in action,' relating that clearly to nonviolence as artistic and cultural creation and demonstration.

What we have to do, too, is you're creating culture and you have to make it. Although we're tackling really serious things, we have to make it that you love what you're doing, and that you're there because of love, to pull out a little Che Guevara. You have to – you're motivated by love. You're not motivated by, "I fucking hate those cops." No! You have to love what you're doing. You have to love *why* you're doing it. You're there to save things. You're not there to like, "I'm going to destroy that building, and I'm going to destroy the WTO [World Trade Organization], and I'm going to destroy Maxxam Corporation." You're there because you love the trees and you love the community.

For Monster, the most positive outcome of nonviolent activism is intentional engagement in the creation of a culture of peace, demonstrated through artistic

expressions of protest. He cited community as his greatest support and lack of people his own age as his main barrier.

In describing a place of significance Monster talked about a local wetlands park that reminded him of the beaver pond on his great grandfather's farm. He recalled childhood trips to the pond with his father and brother. His current enthusiasm for the park centred mainly around amazing animal encounters, such as an annual spring display of thousands of floating salamanders on a pond. Regarding the effects of these places on his activism, Monster connected it clearly to his first awareness of environmental destruction, when the beloved stream from his childhood wanderings was disturbed to run a natural gas pipeline underneath. For him, this event fuelled his sense of injustice at the decimation of a place with personal meanings for family, solitude, peace, and natural beauty.

In terms of advice for a new activist, Monster emphasized that mentors must influence through nonviolence, including nonjudgment for ignorance and inexperience and acceptance that each citizen has their own source of inspiration for action. For him, the most effective activism emerges from the personality of the individual and this should be nurtured and guided by experienced comrades and mentors.

Ignatio Ivey.

Crow

I saw a crow building a nest, I was watching him very carefully, I was kind of stalking him and he was aware of it. And you know what they do when they become aware of someone stalking them when they build a nest, which is a very vulnerable place to be? They build a decoy nest. It's just for you.

Tom Waits

Ignatio was recommended by Monster Huss. We met outside Olympia, WA, on his rambling, vibrant property with gardens, domestic livestock, and a comfortable looking

farm house. We sat on the ground on a blanket and were frequently interrupted with Ignatio's observations of happenings on the land and in the air around us, including one long pause to observe an intense interaction between several crows and an eagle. When the eagle flew too high for the crows to follow, Ignatio returned to his response as though never distracted. He appeared relaxed, yet intense, intelligent, and well informed regarding the issues discussed. Ignatio offered several examples of admirable activist comrades and suggested I also interview his partner, another long time activist with roots in the American Indian Movement (AIM). It was unfortunate timing, as I was scheduled to return to Arcata the next day and she was not readily available for interview.

Ignatio told me that his first citizen engagement was at age 24 years (1991). Eight years later, the 1998 Watch Mountain campaign, specifically the Plum Creek tree sit was nominated as a personally significant action. The discovery of endangered Marbled Murrelet there prohibited clear-cutting, a practice that had already sent numerous local landslides down cleared slopes onto private and public lands. Collegial and nonviolent protest found diverse stake holders, including environmental groups, blue collar workers, and townspeople at the table, seeking to find resolutions to disputes of mutual concern. It was the same model intended for Redwood Summer. Most meaningful for Ignatio was satisfaction from aiming for – and achieving – nonviolence. “It was one of those campaigns where there was no violence, not at all.” The event was personally significant in terms of finding his place. “That campaign helped me to realize where my role best was in that.”

As an important early influence, Ignatio nominated a family move to their 100 acre farm near Flesherton, Ontario at age 10 years. “Being able to wander by myself in the woods and be safe. That really instilled in me a connection with nature that I wasn’t getting with the annual trip to the Ontario Science Centre before, as a kid.”

Ignatio offered reading Martin Luther King Junior’s ‘Letter from Birmingham Jail’ in his 20s as an important adult influence. In terms of supports, he credited the community where he resides, a northwestern town known for its engaged citizenship. He also designated inheritance from his mother as important to sustaining his engagement. For Ignatio, barriers included raising children and having to work eight hours a day.

Ignatio reportedly considers activism to be his civic duty. An important outcome for him is nonviolence in action. He mentioned the power of nonviolent activism at the 1994 Cove Mallard campaign in Idaho. Elaborating, he told of an incident with Dits Davies, who was there offering nonviolent training. Dits defused a potentially violent situation, where activists were very angry after a comrade was beaten up by loggers.

There’s now 30 activists at the gate and 4 drunken loggers that are this close to getting the crap kicked out of them. [Dits] helped talk everybody down... I really understood. I had been through nonviolence training – even with Dits before – but, actually seeing it in practice. The body language, the “I’m going to lean on the gate to help.” She wasn’t *saying* this, she’s leaning on the gate to help them feel more comfortable, even though they’re totally drunk. So, just in seeing it in practice that way.

Ignatio nominated a personally significant place close to Mount Rainier, the Grove of the Matriarchs, consisting of old-growth cedar and Douglas fir. He goes there when feeling on the edge of burnout and needing to reconnect with reasons to carry on.

Ignatio commented that the visits renew his resilience and resolve for work that can often be discouraging and that, at times leaves him feeling drained of energy and commitment.

Ignatio suggested that new activists get exposure to actions at home and in the wider world.

While you can, go out and be involved in a number of different campaigns. If you can get to Borneo and be in a campaign there, excellent. Just open the Earth First! journal or Earth Island or any environmental magazine and you see where the campaigns are all over the world. If it's in your backyard, great. But, while you're young and you can, and you don't have three kids to feed, or you don't have a career that you're nurturing along and building, go and experience it. Then, take what you learned back to your community and live it. Eventually, you're going to want to settle down somewhere. And, when you do, you will have a toolbox that you have put together in taking part in different campaigns that will be available to you to either fight against industrial incursions into your own community, or just to improve the community in general.



Model of Experience of Nonviolent Activism: Truth into Action

The core category is **Truth into Action**, which is a combination of pragmatism and generativity. Pragmatism is a philosophy derived from Charles S. Peirce (1966/58) and William James (1907/91), for whom pragmatism is a feedback loop of thought and action. A person will first understand their internal truth (beliefs), which consequently informs the actions taken. The outcome of those actions is then evaluated for its worth in ‘cash value,’ which further informs and alters that person’s internal sense of truth (beliefs), ultimately leading to newly formed actions based on those truths. Generativity was originally defined by Erik Erikson in his model of the development of personality. Generativity is essentially the adult’s care for and intention to provide positive impacts on future human generations (Erikson, 1963). As with all good philosophy and theory, pragmatism and generativity have been developed and specified beyond the original formulations (e.g., McAdams & Guo, 2015, Menand, 2001). Relevant developments will be discussed in Chapter 4: Discussion. For a visual presentation of the model, please see Figure 1.

Main-, second-, and sub-level categories.

Four second-level categories were captured under two main-level categories. All categories were named to encompass conceptual properties found in the text. **Communion and Meaning** is the first main-level category, containing two second-level categories *True for me* and *Was it worthy*. **Agency and Efficacy** is the second main-level category, comprising two second-level categories, *Get it done* and *Rock in stream*. Within the four second-level categories are 22 sub-level categories which represent

essential qualities of the text. See Figure 1 for a representational model of categories and Table 3 for frequencies of categories by participant.

Figure 1. Model of experience of nonviolent activism

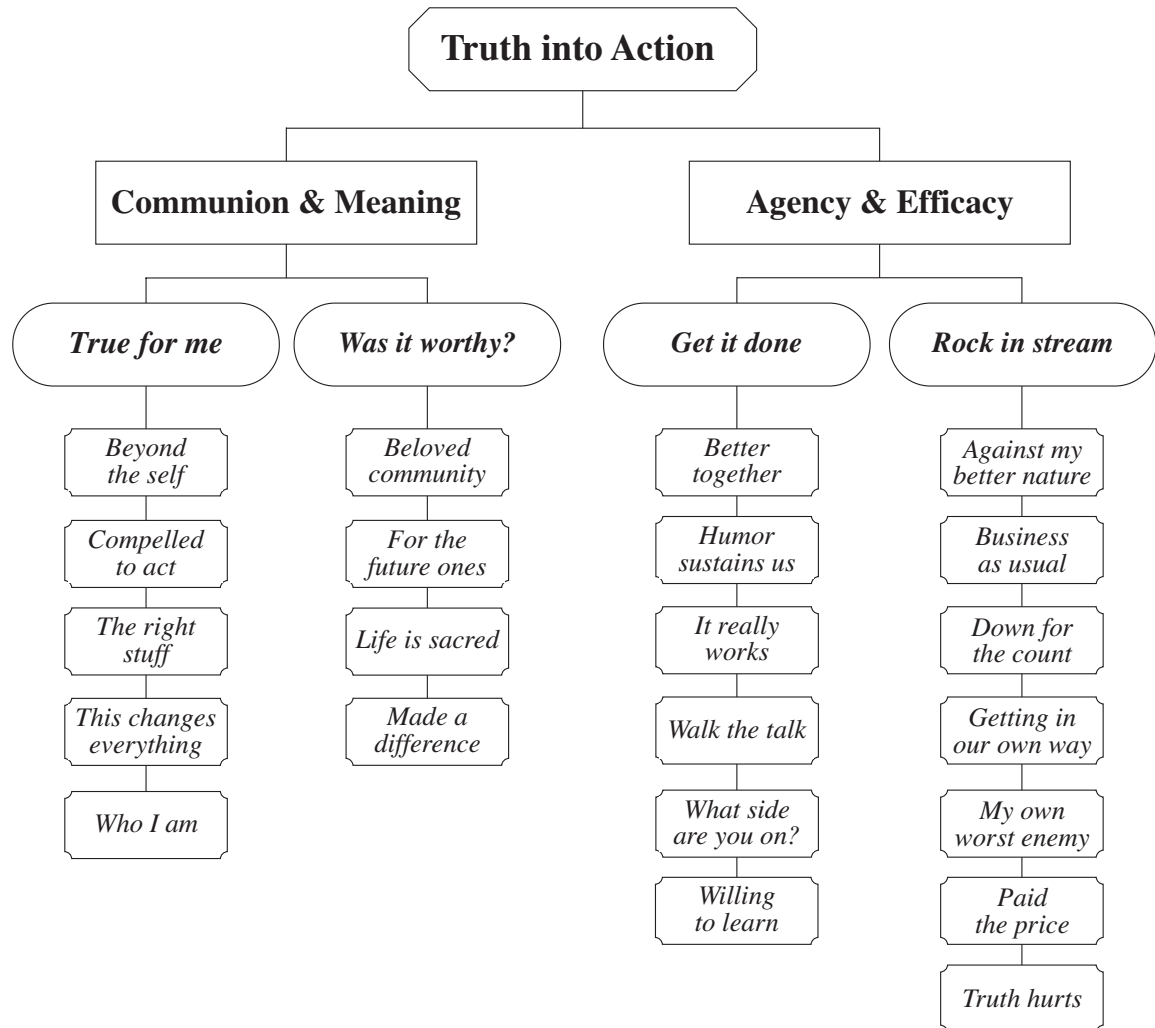


Table 3

Category frequencies by participant

Main-, second-, and sub-level categories	# (x/9)	HA	SB	JC	DD	AE	AF	VG	MH	II	Total
Communion and Meaning											537
<i>True for me</i>											319
<i>Beyond the self</i>	8	9	4	1	2	10	4	3	11	0	44
<i>Compelled to act</i>	9	6	2	1	6	14	5	8	11	8	61
<i>The right stuff</i>	9	5	7	10	10	2	5	7	6	4	56
<i>This changes everything</i>	9	6	11	1	13	20	6	16	10	16	99
<i>Who I am</i>	9	9	3	6	9	12	8	5	6	1	59
<i>Was it worthy?</i>											218
<i>Beloved community</i>	9	6	8	2	14	5	5	13	13	7	73
<i>For the future ones</i>	7	6	3	1	0	6	1	0	8	6	31
<i>Life is sacred</i>	9	6	5	8	4	10	9	5	6	10	63
<i>Made a difference</i>	8	5	0	16	2	8	7	2	3	8	51
Agency and Efficacy											630
<i>Get it done</i>											294
<i>Better together</i>	9	1	6	6	21	7	10	5	10	7	73
<i>Humor sustains us</i>	8	11	5	7	6	2	0	4	15	13	63
<i>It really works</i>	9	1	8	14	3	4	6	3	2	8	49
<i>Walk the talk</i>	9	10	3	13	3	9	4	2	3	2	49
<i>What side are you on?</i>	5	0	1	0	0	1	0	4	1	6	13
<i>Willing to learn</i>	7	4	6	0	12	0	2	1	9	13	47
<i>Rock in stream</i>											336
<i>Against my better nature</i>	9	7	3	5	1	3	4	3	7	2	35
<i>Business as usual</i>	8	6	1	5	0	1	6	6	7	14	46
<i>Down for the count</i>	9	2	2	2	5	7	13	6	10	4	51
<i>Getting in our own way</i>	8	14	3	9	12	2	23	0	4	11	78
<i>My own worst enemy</i>	7	9	0	7	6	0	13	2	2	0	39
<i>Paid the price</i>	7	0	0	1	2	3	0	2	11	2	21
<i>Truth hurts</i>	9	13	4	4	10	3	2	6	5	19	66
Total		136	85	119	141	129	133	103	160	161	1167

Communion and Meaning.

True for me.

True for me is a second-level category capturing participants' assertions of what they know to be personal truths in response to conditions of the world that consequently demand intentional action on their part. The category reveals transpersonal facets (*Beyond the self*); inner conviction of having to act according to what is internally felt to be true, even if no other support is available (*Compelled to act*); observations of self and others in terms of what it takes to engage in and sustain the difficult work of activism (*Who I am* and *The right stuff*); and understanding how inner truth translated into action can mean transformational change for self and/or world (*This changes everything*).

Beyond the self.

Larger, the point being... increasingly, I think we can transcend ideas of nationalism, of language, of cultural identity, and say we are all part of the human family. We were talking about that idea of deep ecology, of expanding the definition of the community – the felt community – to include other forms of life. *Hank Aaron*

Under this category, eight of the nine participants demonstrated understanding of outcomes as outside their ordinary lived experience or expansion of self and/or community in terms of consciousness and/or behavior. This was conveyed in one of two ways. The first was individual and collective experiences of greater-than-self, often accompanied with feelings of awe and/or a sense of ineffability, for example, self- or collective-inflation, expansion in consciousness, or overcoming of barriers and moving beyond what were previously understood as limitations for the individual activist or the community. The second was expressed as awe in the presence of nature.

Annabella mentioned how her individual transformation was the outcome of a specific, perilous action when she intentionally put herself in the path of a buffalo hunter and his gun, “the closest I’ve come to death as an activist... It gave me the ability to not really fear death.” From that, she realized that taking action can expand her field of influence. In terms of collective expansion, although community members and forest workers are normally at odds with activists in terms of sustainability issues, Ignatio explained how Redwood Summer was intentionally different. “Judi [Bari] had foreseen for Headwaters... having solidarity across class and social lines like that.” Monster observed a surprising expansion of the number and diversity of participants in the community of change agents during the Redwood Summer decade. He witnessed fulfillment of the Blue-Green alliance directly, on-the-ground transformations of group attitudes and consciousness during Redwood Summer. For instance, “There were several steel workers that quit being steel workers... because they started to embrace an environmental critique and they became Earth First!ers.” Ignatio remarked, “That was fulfilling Judi’s dream, even though she was gone at that point.”

The second conveyance of *Beyond the self* was expressed in terms of awesome and inspirational experiences in nature. In addition to individual expressions of this found in the foregoing personologies, in describing a personally important place, Amigo revealed, “It’s just other-worldly to me in its beauty.” To Ignatio, the place was an old-growth Douglas fir grove he had discovered. He also told me he keeps it to himself. “I show people fairly sparingly, because it is a sacred place for me.”

Compelled to act.

Redwood Summer was an incredibly complicated, complex activist idea and the main organizer – who *was* an organizer – was taken out. So the rest of us went in and had to do the phoning and all the things it takes to get two thousand people to a demonstration, or people up in the woods safely, or people trained, or do nonviolence training. *Jay Caldeira*

All nine participants endorsed this category, conveying conviction in terms of standing for or acting according to their individual truth, even if they must ‘go it alone.’ Text captured by this category revealed an inner sense of ‘If I don’t do it, no one will’ or an internal, ethical imperative to engage in a particular action or issue, often without consideration of or need for input and/or support from others.

For those with an ethical imperative, like Annabella it was often described as a call to action since childhood.

- A: From a young age I’ve known what I’m here for, what I’m here to do.
L: Which is?
A: To defend the earth and to speak for the animals and the plants, and to stop the destruction as much as I can do.
L: Sounds like a calling.
A: Yeah, definitely. Definitely.
L: And you knew that young.

Monster stated, “I think that I got it, I got that from my parents. If it’s wrong, something needs to be done about it and we can’t just sit around.” Annabella described how she acts according to inner truth “every moment of my day.” She elaborated: “If I’m just doing laundry, I’m thinking about a letter I might write that night, or some issue that’s bugging me that I try to force myself to release into action.” For Annabella, her near-death experience at a wilderness protest clarified her tendency to take her truth and act on it until the end. “I plug into that enhanced sense of passion and desire to go as far as needed

to make the statement.” Some activists told me how feeling *Compelled to act* according to their inner truth was not always convenient or according to their upbringing and/or preferences. Monster told me, “Just because it was all the things I was raised up, I’m not supposed to do. It’s like, “I’m fucking doing those things.””

Some activists shared that they act according to their inner truth to the point of having to stand alone if no one else saw the need and/or felt the imperative to act likewise. Ignatio described this in one overarching statement. “If humanity is dead set on causing mass extinction on this planet including ourselves, I’m not willing to go down without a fight.” When thwarted by a local, well-established and -funded activist group in terms of acting according to critical local conditions, Vern described the need to serve his inner truth in collective terms for the Luna tree sit. “We weren’t getting any money from the organizers – people who were controlling the money – and so we had to start doing stuff ourselves.”

The right stuff.

She’s working this hard, and I got to work just as hard as her – or harder.
Vern Gallagher

Nine out of nine study participants appreciated other community members for unique characteristics that were seen to be righteous. These qualities included egalitarianism; respect; humility; honesty; inclusion; ability to balance multiple influences/forces; and exceptional effectiveness, stoicism, and longevity, to name a few.

Dits summed up her understanding of *The right stuff*. “I think it’s pretty simple. It has to do with respect and it has to do with being willing to acknowledge other pieces of the truth, no matter how uncomfortable.” Amigo also appreciated the capacity to own

and learn from less-than-ideal personal qualities and behaviors. He recalled Noam Chomsky's response when asked about his relationship with 'underdogs.'

When I was a kid there was this kid – this fat kid – who was constantly being harassed and bullied.” One day it was especially brutal and Noam said, “I wanted to help him and I wanted him to think it was okay... I was too scared and I just stood there and watched.” He said he never forgave himself for that moment and he pledged he would never do that again.

In terms of other features of this category, participants evoked other well-known and engaged citizens. Annabella named another study participant as a person with *The right stuff*. “[Sally Blumenfeld] has definitely been a strong influence and inspiration... In her drive and determination, steady-on, her deep commitment.” Amigo recognized humility in Noam Chomsky: “It’s like, the world’s greatest living intellectual *and* he’s humble... [Chomsky is] “a profound teacher... a giver... absolutely fearless.”

Sustainability of commitment was endorsed by several participants as essential elements of *The right stuff*. Hank admired a northwestern forest activist who had been continually active for almost four decades. Considering this person’s career he said, “I consciously work to try to model what I do and focus it, so that I can be some tiny fraction as effective as he’s been.” Annabella reported her mother’s model. “She’s very outspoken and if she sees something that’s wrong, she’ll call it.” Dits, told me: “I come from a tradition that says that you question, but you question in a respectful and appropriate way.” She said in conclusion: “Those kinds of things stood me well in the majority world, but they stood me even better in the activist world.”

Judi Bari was by far the comrade credited most often in terms of *The right stuff*. Jay commended her organizational skills and personal qualities. “Judi really had it.

She managed to pull people. She was an organizer.” She also applauded Bari’s tough tenacity. “She was bombed for Earth First! and damnit that was what she was going to stand for.” Monster recognized Bari’s commitment to nonviolence and deep ecology at Redwood Summer, flying in the face of historical Earth First! approaches. “She’s a break from the [Dave] Foreman aspect of Earth First!... from the old boys’ club. She brings it down into a more spiritual base.” Sally attributed Bari’s persistence and courage for the success of the law suit against the FBI. “It wouldn’t have happened if Judi hadn’t done the lion’s share of the work and read thousands and thousands of pages of FBI documents, which are kind of difficult to read, talking about wanting to see you dead.” Ignatio admired Bari’s sharp eyes and strength of purpose during actions.

Some pushing happened in the crowd and it looked like some scuffle or something was about to happen. Judi just went, “That guy, right there, provocateur. Get him out of here. He’s starting some crap right now and he’s not with us. Get him out of here.” And he, oh, slinked away. Judi saw it, knew what to look for, saw a provocateur trying to turn a nonviolent protest into something violent, called him out for what he was, and he was out of there.

This changes everything

I was the first person who got to the hospital before all the crowds descended. It was that moment – although I didn’t realize it at the time – that I quit my job and my life was entirely different from that moment on. I didn’t really consider myself a full-time activist, but I certainly became one, then, that day.
Sally Blumenfeld

Nine out of nine participants reported events, moments, and insights into how actions taken or relationships engaged in have led to personally meaningful transformations, often accompanied by emergent clarity for ways forward. Text captured

often had the quality of ‘ah ha!’ states or near-perfect understanding that, after this had been realized and/or begun, there was no going back.

Some participants recalled pivotal moments from childhood. Ignatio described how moving from an urban to a rural home in his early years was formative to his deepening connection with nature and understanding of the effects of human activity on the environment. “I just realized... that this industrial exploitation of this Earth that has been our gift to live on is just wrong.” Amigo mentioned early realizations about power and politics in grade school. “Older kids were unfair to younger kids and teachers were unfair to [all] kids. All these. I started having [understanding of] class analysis and ‘power over’ and that as like the beginning of my political awareness, consciousness.” Ignatio provided an example of how reading Martin Luther King changed his mind, according to him, forever. “I would say that moved me to nonviolence. That was the beginning of my political awareness, consciousness.” Hank too claimed that reading certain books was transformational. “It was a combination of a speech that Dave Foreman gave and George Sessions and Bill Devall’s Deep Ecology. That blew my eyes open.” Monster remembered an experience overseas that toppled his positive, naïve – and misguided – expectations for military life.

M: It was, “Why do you think people hate you guys?” Then it was like, “Oh, I kind of get it.”

L: So it changed your consciousness.

M: Totally, totally changed it. I think that happens with a lot of people.

Specific to Redwood Summer, participants discussed Judi Bari’s ground-breaking adherence to nonviolence while also forging relationships in the community across sectors; her vision for the Blue-Green alliance. According to Monster, once he saw that

vision he never lost it. He wondered at the audacity of Bari's intentions. "This way, we're connecting radical environmentalists with radical labor people that are local."

The surprise was: why had no one thought of it before? Ignatio reflected on how things changed when local mill workers began to catch on to the scheme to liquidate the Headwaters forest.

"Hey, we got the mill right here. It's still equipped to mill old-growth. It's been shut down for a couple of years. But, we can fire it back up and mill it all here." They were not even going to bother with that. They were just going to export it, whole logs. So, I think that really woke the locals up.

Amigo summarized: "I finally had this kind of major 'aha!' that the workers desperately need to become eco-literate and we desperately need to become class-conscious." Vern described personal transformational effects of attending the Luna tree sit. "It changed me every time I'd go up the tree, and climb down." He also noted this response in others. "One of the things I really loved is when I'd meet someone in the morning and they were a stranger... at the end of the evening [I] was getting a hug from them." According to Vern, one sparkling example was Julia Butterfly Hill's father. "I got him up in the tree... seeing when he came down there was a big change in him." Vern also mentioned those who never attended the remote tree sit, but who were touched and changed by media reporting of the action. Vern described a letter to the ground crew.

- V: There's people that never even knew what a redwood is, or had seen one. And then they're, "What? They can cut that stuff? They shouldn't be allowed to cut that stuff."+
- L: +That's our point (*laughs*).
- V: They'd be pissed right away and it would – and so it was+
- L: +Changed people.
- V: Yeah.

Who I am.

How on earth do I keep doing this, at such obvious cost to my family and sanity? Because, it matters, damn it! Because, I wouldn't be true to myself if I were to stop. *Hank Aaron*

Participants endorsing this category (9/9) disclosed insight in terms of knowing their own truth through self reflection. These were most often revealed as ingrained factors that had a direct effect on their engagement, including beliefs or worldviews such as biocentrism and deep ecology, motivations for choices made, and finding a calling for life work arising from within. Overall, the category has the quality of participants' understanding of how the political or public becomes personal and vice versa.

Amigo described how this emerged relatively early for him, tracing the roots of his sense of social justice to around age 10 years.

I've been in a state of rage about the state of the world since I was a teenager. The rage was my primary fuel throughout my youth. It felt like a healthy, rational place to put it. It mostly felt like it was around injustice. I think it was – my political beginnings are also something like age 10. In the schoolyard, I had this 'aha' one day that that there were certain classes of my peers who treated other classes unfairly.

For some, nonviolence was described as inherent. Annabella told me she has always been nonviolent. "It was very much a part of my family's cultural philosophy." Dits also described a lifelong practice of nonviolence, reflecting on how it relates to her sense of self. "It is a way of life. It is where I practice the parts of my religion and culture." Like Dits and Annabella, Vern described his adherence to nonviolence from early years. "It was like, this is basically me. I'm already very nonviolent."

Some participants described a sense of being born to activism and/or to the action they undertook during Redwood Summer. Ignatio asserted he understands his calling in action according to ingrained interests. “Media whore was my best role. You know, talking to the media, getting them to come out, getting them to understand as best we could what the campaign was about.” Monster saw the personal in his actions from an anarchist viewpoint. “You’re a creator of a culture. And so it’s not a job: it’s part of your life.” Jay agreed: “Everything you do winds up somehow or other being activism.”

According to participants, once their inner activist is awakened, there is no going back. Hank stated, “I could no more stop caring about these things than I could stop loving my children.” Although he acknowledged the periods of inertia, he also recognized these in the context of a recurring life pattern. “If you see it as a cyclic thing... Okay, you are taking some time off, whether it’s a weekend or six months, doesn’t change what you care about.” Annabella described the same pattern.

Whether you write a letter to something a day, or whether you’re involved in a month, several month-long campaigns. It’s still just a long, slow push... It’s who you are and it’s what you do with your free time (*laughs*); every spare moment... Can’t *not* do it.”

Was it worthy?

Was it worthy is a second-level category emerging from participants’ appraisal of the value of outcomes from actions taken. Communicated as understandings of the quantity and/or quality of change resulting from an action or set of actions, the category is comprised of content related to appreciation for community of like-minded engaged citizens (*Beloved community*); awareness of contributions made towards improving the lot of future generations, both human and non-human (*For the future ones*); appreciation

for the interconnectedness of human and other life (*Life is sacred*); and observation of immediate and anticipated positive future impacts based on a given action (*Made a difference*).

Beloved community.

It sustains me because there's people that are concerned about my well-being or what I'm doing. *Dits Davies*

Every study participant (9/9) affirmed this category to consider the value of 'love in action' or of the changing of culture through direct action and/or formation of community. This was articulated in one of two ways. The first was recognition of the rewards for living the right way with partners or comrades, towards improving community and/or culture. The second was recognition of connection in relationships; a sense of feeling heard, understood, supported, and/or mirrored by other engaged citizens on a personal level and/or in action.

In the first aspect of *Beloved community*, participants assessed the value of creating community and culture on a personal and collective level. Monster summed up what this meant for him. "There's so much, from community supported agriculture... farms, colleges, radical book stores, 24-hour cafes,... there's enough underground culture. This community has so much going on that I am dancing in the revolution." When Vern first explored the northwest coast in Arcata, he was looking for a vacation. What he found was a lifestyle. "Right away I just started falling in love with the people and what they were doing, and realized this is what I want to do, and I want to get involved."

In the second articulation of *Beloved community*, participants described feeling connected and supported in the presence of other engaged citizens. Ignation said: "I could

go to them and talk and they would be able to relate. You know, having people that have been there on the frontlines.” I was told several times that frontline relationships matter, especially in life-and-death situations. Sometimes, to be an activist means to lay down your life. Vern described the communal experience of the demise of David Gypsy Chain.

And then hearing details, having close friends who were in the group and who got smashed by branches, and scratched up and banged up. Or ones that just missed getting squished by the same tree, hearing their stories of what people that I trusted and loved – who felt like family – telling me what they saw.

Some participants were reportedly moved by interpersonal relationships with other community members. Amigo shared a reportedly surprising experience with an elder and respected activist. “Only once have I asked her to get involved in something I’m working on and she said “yes” and she carved out time... that she was willing to – on faith – that I was worth saying yes to. Vern appreciated his unique relationship with Julia Butterfly Hill, conveying gratitude for the longevity and reciprocity of that connection, decades after the Luna tree sit. “She’s helped me out in various ways and I’ve done the same with her. So, we continue to support [each other] and I can consider her a sister.” Finally, Hank and Dits both commended their activist friends for facilitating the sustainability of their engagement. Hank echoed the sentiment. “It is the friendships I have with other activists that have helped me to stay on keel. Had I not had those friendships, I don’t think I could have done it.”

For the future ones.

Environmental activists make great ancestors. People are going to look back on what we have done so many years from now and realize that we, *this* was the start of the wave of change that lead to humans getting their heads out of their asses and living right, or here, we’re the people who were not willing to go down with the ship, who were putting up a fight ‘til the end. *Ignatio Ivey*

Seven out of nine participants assessed the merit of creating a better future for subsequent generations of human and non-human life forms. Text captured has the quality of belief in the value of changing, sharing, and/or preserving culture and actions taken towards those ends. Expressions were often given voice as teaching and/or telling the story as counter-culture. For instance, Hank lamented the lack of inspirational history for newly engaged citizens, due to the dual effects of economics and politics on media.

Today, the stories still exist. But, they are not being told! They are not being told in *long form*. They are not being told in *complexity*. They are not being told in terms of their *consequences* for us as a society, as a culture.

Dits also recognized that her community is under- or misrepresented on a broader level. I asked her why she agreed to participate in this research. “I appreciate the opportunity to be able to say these things for people... to understand that there is another side to who we are and how we live.” Monster agreed that future activists have been robbed of their history. “We need to create our own history. We need to maintain it. We need to chronicle it.”

Participants who are parents reflected on their desire to create a better world for those who would follow. Jay concluded: “The birth of my son is the most important because I realized that I had a commitment to the future.” Annabella also considered how having children changed her approach, but not her commitment: “There’s more of an urgent sense of making a better world for them.” “Now, I’m teaching my kids to be warriors or teaching my kids to love and respect the earth.” Hank understood his drive to work for the future in terms of his own upbringing. “I think the core stuff is what I got as

a kid, from the ideals about the importance of acting on your beliefs and working for the greater good.” He said: “A lot of it is trying to work for the long term.”

I want my kids to be able to go to those places where I have had moving, spiritual experiences in the back country. I want to know that my kids are going to have the opportunity to go to places like that and do that.

Non-parents, Monster, Ignatio, and Sally also demonstrated concern and embraced responsibility for future generations. Ignatio stated, “fundamental social change can take generations, so you have to *not* be impatient.” Sally agreed. “A long time ago I came to terms with... realizing that there’s a good chance that I was not going to see many of the fruits of my labor in my lifetime and that was okay.” Monster told me he lives his commitment to the future through his work in education. “I’ve got students that are doing some fantastic activist work out there, and I would like to think that I was part of them finding another path.”

Life is sacred.

So much of this work is about place, is about commitment to place, is about trying to help people to see the need to recognize and honor every place as unique, as special, as distinct, as worth honoring. *Hank Aaron*

Nine of nine participants recognized the value of life for its own sake and described experiences according to environmental consciousness, with deep respect for and understanding that all life has the inherent right to be. Frequently conveyed as acknowledgement of the fragility of and/or interconnection with nature and other life, text captured under this category is often accompanied by emotions such as compassion, empathy, and grief for destroyed places – landscapes, rivers, mountains, and ecosystems – and for the suffering and/or demise of non-human life forms.

Participants considered their interconnection with nature and place. Monster said: “Do I have a ‘philosophy’ of connecting myself to nature? I am part of nature.” Dits asserted that her relationship with place has changed and deepened over time. “Of course, the longer you work with it the more the place becomes a part of your life, the more you have a personal attachment to it.” For Amigo, home-as-place requires the whole community – including the non-human and aspects of culture – represented with all its diversity. “The landscape, the air quality, the friendships, the shared values, sense of community, all sorts of pieces.” Sally described how Madrone trees are family. “The branches look like human limbs, especially when they shed their bark... when I discovered them, I felt like they were a relative.”

Participants also told me that deep connection with nature and place comes with terrible pain when other living beings and locales are harmed. At a protest against culling of the Buffalo in Yellowstone Park, Annabella described her agony. “This mama had just been killed and her baby was freaking out. I just like collapsed on her body. I was so sad to see her go.” Sally described the pain of coming upon a freshly cut logging road when hiking through old-growth. “It was this fresh road cut, which was just this horrible wound (*painful voice*) in this beautiful old growth forest.” Jay described the helplessness felt while witnessing a clear-cut in action. “You can hear it miles away and it sounded like breaking the backs of the forest.” After witnessing the death of a single redwood she bemoaned, “It’s like watching somebody bludgeon your grandmother to death right in front of your eyes.” Originally from Ohio, Jay claims that her connection to special places is such that, even when the place is destroyed, the connection remains.

It's supposed to be a forest and it has been paved over and it has really been abused and it's in bad shape and it's horrible. But, it is a really sweet place and there is a real essential part of me that grounds there.

On a larger scale, several participants deplored the loss of biodiversity. Hank said, "Obliterated, never to be seen again, extinction, and it is unholy emptiness." Amigo remarked on the redwood forests in particular. "They're pretty much tree zoos, tragically. There's no predator-prey relationship happening at all in them really. Predators move through them, but there's nothing left enough to live on as a predator."

Made a difference.

It's clear we are one of at most a half dozen groups in the state of California who are consistently making a substantial difference in terms of state policy on forests, watersheds, and threatened endangered species protection.

Hank Aaron

Eight of nine participants evaluated actions that resulted in change for the better.

Text captured represents descriptions of evidence observed in actions, communities, organizations, and individuals (including those of a personal nature) that were deemed to be successful contributions towards positive change. *Made a difference* text often encompasses articulations of hope for the future based on previous success.

All participants endorsing this category provided details of specific actions where they observed impacts and several participants reported the importance of being seen and heard in terms of making a difference. Hank described breakthrough actions that serve as milestones for him. "That Spotted Owl being on the front cover of Time magazine. Okay, we made a difference. The world noticed." Jay given an account of a time her media work was noticed beyond the local. When she realized the destructive power of a huge

forest machine – a ‘Feller Buncher’ – designed to break off and remove enormous trees in wide swaths, she captured never-before-seen footage.

It was a big breakthrough to put that on TV and show it to people, because it’s something you might hear it in the next valley from your porch and go, “Oh my God, what’s happening?... It was so big that showing it, being able to get a picture that showed it, and putting that on the medium where people could sit in their living rooms and go, “That is happening just down the road. This is – *what* is going on?”

For some participants it was the impact on individuals that matters most. As a field medic, Annabella appreciated the opportunity to provide service to her comrades. “I think it figured prominently in being able to renew some of those folks who might have just gone back home to wherever they came from, still hurting.” Dits mentioned the influence she had on a single family member. “She wrote me a letter, told me that she’s a better person for having been exposed, from putting the pins in the map when she was 5 or 6 years old and I was walking across the country.” For some participants making a difference was important for their self development. Annabella told me: “I gained sense of self-worth I suppose and a certain level of satisfaction... that you’re keeping, helping things stay, helping the knots stay tied together rather than ripped apart.” Ignatio explained the importance of making a difference for himself and others. “I think sometimes we need a victory.” Hank added: “We need desperately to learn from – to the extent we have them – our successes... [to] inform a more effective and more humane society, not just of activists, but of all of us.”

Agency and Efficacy.

Get it done.

Get it done is a second-level category emerging from participant evaluations of the effectiveness of actions. Findings include recognition of the diversity of skills and contributions of like-minded others (*Better together*); understanding of the value of humor for long term commitment, mitigation of mental health problems, and avoidance of burnout (*Humor sustains us*); acknowledgement of the power of nonviolence to effect change (*It really works*); appreciation for others' nonviolent beliefs and principles when these are deployed as righteous action (*Walk the talk*); readiness to learn from mistakes and improve going forward (*Willing to learn*); and ironic observations that sometimes the opposition can be a helping force (*What side are you on?*).

Better together.

It's the people cooking the food, it's the medics, it's the people sitting behind the desk day after day after day, working on the computer writing letters.

Annabella Ensign

Every participant (9/9) assessed the effective value of working together, regardless of individual stake or theoretical position. Text captured under this category has the quality of that which sustains and supports engagement, including observation of the importance of diversity of skills and contributions, awareness of how standing together affords greater effectiveness or safety to initiate or engage in an issue, and reports of support from comrades as 'has my back.'

Supporting the leading quotation by Amigo, Ignatio articulated the core of this category. "I truly believe that until most of us working class people get together, we're

not going to really protect what we're trying to do. We're not going to succeed."

Hank said, "Over the years it has been collective solidarity that has made a difference."

Jay illustrated with a local example.

LP turned around, SLAP [Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation] sued us... Our response was the 'So Sue Me' campaign, where hundreds of people stood up and said, "I had to work or I would have been out there and you would have arrested me, So Sue Me too!"

She told me about another incident, when she was derided for televising a logger swearing on local media. "The activist community got wind of it and they all showed up, and they had signs that said things like, "Jay's okay!" Monster relayed a surprising Wobblies interest in solidarity with loggers. "The unionists discussed the corporate connections in the Headwaters issue to the south. Noting similarities, they concluded, "Well, why don't we talk to the loggers? I mean, they must have a union, and they must also hate their boss. We have to figure out this connection."

One emergent theme within this category was appreciation for diversity in the activist community – cultures, skills, philosophies, and actions – all working towards shared or similar goals. Sally said, "all the people contributing to the greater good... it takes a *lot* of us to create the common good... One of the beauties of Earth First! is that people carried out the work in different ways, but with the same foundation." Monster regarded the value of diversity of skills. "It might not be me. It might not be this other person here who has a wonderful critique, but maybe they can't draw a crowd of four or five hundred people." Amigo considered the role of individual leaders. "I don't think social movements are about individuals. I think that there are powerful leaders, but the leaders by themselves couldn't do anything."

Humor sustains us.

The very first Earth First! blockade was around Kaliopsis Wilderness Area, in the Siskiyou, in southwest Oregon. That's where Dave Foreman was dragged under a truck and the guy said, "I hate you goddamn communists," and he said, "but Al, I'm a registered Republican (*laughing*)."

Hank Aaron

Eight of nine participants revealed humor as a supportive factor in long term commitment to nonviolent citizen engagement and as an ameliorating influence in terms of avoiding and/or healing from emotional pain and burnout. Text captured under this category typically conveys outrageous actions, audacious factors of personality, irony, and dark humor. Additionally, text often displays a characteristic air of 'if I don't laugh, I'll quit – or die from a broken heart,' due to realities of the world and the onerous, often disappointing work of engaged citizenship. Some of the quotations for this category were drawn from transitional interview exchanges between myself and activist participants.

Some responses to the question, "what advice they may have for a new activist?" were quirky and wry. Monster said, ironically, 'stay where you are.' "Go back to the farm!" (*laughs*). Later, in reponse to the same question he pragmatically quipped, "Don't drop banners in high winds. Just a heads up (*laughs*)."

Jay also offered a humorously commonsensical response. "Keep your left up. I got a black eye a couple of weeks ago." Ignatio offered a reality check as advice. "Buy Walmart!" In support of Monster, Jay, and Ignatio, Annabella recognized the hard realities the choice of nonviolence affords a new activist. "I think [awareness] is the most important thing, for someone who's feeling such a strong calling to devote their life towards (*laughs*) poverty, emotional depravity, mental health issues, and traumatic experiences."

One emergent source of humor was appraisal of self – sometimes deprecating – in response to a given set of circumstances. Dits was discussing reactions to her nonviolence training. “It has its amusing side when someone says, “Boy, you guys have the best process. You guys do this so well,” and you’re thinking “Oh my God! How depressing if this is as good as it gets.” Jay took a moment to explode her illusions about herself in her appraisal of her reaction to extreme noise stress at a protest, when chainsaws surrounded her location. She found herself experiencing unexpected, violent thoughts towards the loggers with the equipment – completely out of the blue and reportedly distressful. But, in character, in the telling she turned ultimately to humor. “I’m actually trying to figure out how far away everybody is and what could I do that would be, like lethal. I am going, ““Wait a minute. This isn’t mental health! (*laughing*) I better not be thinking like this.’”

Another source of humor was in the ludicrous nature of challenges and systems at hand, sometimes in terms of the powers-that-be and paucity of possibility for real change. Sally illustrated this category succinctly. “The group Wild Rockies Earth First! had printed a T-shirt years ago with a picture of a skull on it and the slogan “There is hope, but not for us” (S + L: *laughing*). It’s like, “Thanks guys!” Dits offered an amusing version of hope for a better future for systemic change. “You might even end up respecting the government – if it did things right, you know (*laughs*). Heaven only knows, that day would come.” Monster summed up how ludicrous is the need for engaged citizenship when I asked him to describe barriers to his efforts. He responded with, “the larger society (H+L: *laughing*).”

Some participants found humor in the clash of cultures. Jay described an example from her small logging community. “It’s funny because we are still in the community together and I see those old ladies now and they are sort of like, ‘Remember the good old days [Redwood Summer decade]? We really wanted to kill you, you little asshole’” (*laughs*). Monster told me about culture-clash at a Blue-Green alliance camp.

This guy Virgil, he’s sitting there and he’s laughing and drinking the whiskey and he’s like, “Yep, pretty soon we’re going to have to call in Earth First! or something.” He starts laughing. Everybody gets quiet, and he just looks up. This other guy – an Earth First!er – goes, “Ah, Virgil, we *are* Earth First!.”

It really works.

Forevermore, I have this image in my mind of that point in the forest where there was a road up to here. From there on, it was forest, because ours was the last blockade. That image: that’s where the road stops and that we stopped it.

Sally Blumenfeld

Nine of nine participants considered the effectiveness of nonviolence for desired outcomes and change for the better. Taken together, the responses offer descriptions of the intersectionality of nonviolent intention, strategy, and practice. Some participants focused on the value of nonviolence as a strategy. Annabella stated:

Strategically, it’s pretty much the only way that our movement – a forest defense movement – could survive those times was by being totally committed to nonviolence. What we’re fighting against is infinitely more powerful than we are, in the mechanical sense of weapons of destruction and stuff. So, we just have a different kind of power against the system.”

Jay offered the same sentiment. “Probably the best thing to say is to quote Utah Philips quoting Judi Bari, which is, “It’s the one tool they don’t have.” Sally considered the intersection of strategic approaches. “From my perspective, it was two strategies that work, that *can* work very well together, direct action and litigation.” Annabella evaluated

the effectiveness of achieving visibility on a national level through the media. “The whole country’s eyes were on this [Redwood Summer] event, because it was so powerful and explosive.”

Some participants focused on aspects of the practice of nonviolence. Annabella linked personal agency and efficacy with efficiency in nonviolent practice. “It’s those people that have that ability to structure their day and integrate their activist routine into a healthy daily life that have the most effect.” Dits acknowledged the effectiveness of working together. “The other thing is we’re really good at [is] emergency response networks. We can get 100 people at a transportation station. We can raise that 700 dollars bail. We can do this.” Jay described how consensus worked during Redwood Summer. “We didn’t just *talk* about functioning by consensus. We didn’t just *try* to function by consensus. We decided everything by consensus. We were determined to do it that way and we were able to do it that way.” Amigo reported a similar process from the Canadian 1993 Clayoquot Summer Peace camp. “There would be 100-200 people in a circle – in one circle – and they would try to make decisions about the next day. They would sit there until they’ve done it and this happened *every* day.” He concluded, “I don’t think, quite honestly that Clayoquot Summer could have happened at the scale that it happened if that [nonviolence] training hadn’t happened.” Jay also recognized how effective a group can be when facing potential defeat. With Judi Bari being taken out on the eve of Redwood Summer, she described the collective response. “So, we all rose to the occasion and became the collective force that we imagined we were and it worked.”

Walk the talk.

I was on the frontlines of the Timber Wars for five or six years. I served my country. I served my community and every one of those people that I was at camp with and who put themselves on the line did the same thing. I put them up there with anybody who has served their country in any way. *Ignatio Ivey*

Nine of nine study participants expressed this category in their appraisal of themselves and other activists and engaged citizens in terms of leading by example.

Text captured has the general quality of turning beliefs and principles – *The right stuff* – into action. Hank considered this for himself.

I think that, if I had the good fortune to live in a later time, when more humans were more grown up, I might spend more time thinking about the deeper questions of spirituality. If I'd had the fortune to live in a time hundreds of thousands of years in the past, I might have had that luxury. That is not the burden of this time. I see that search – however important it may *feel* for people – as a kind of collective naval gazing when we have an obligation to *act*.

Annabella acknowledged family influences, especially her great-grandfather and grandmother as models and financial support. “My great-grandfather amassed quite a fortune... passed on to me and allowed me to be an activist non-stop for a decade or more and go to school and stuff – to do what I wanted to do.” Hank reflected on social justice actions taken by his great-grandfather.

He invited the Russian ambassador to come and address the Rotary Club in Houston, Texas, and to have dinner with the family – and scandalized Houston. This was in the McCarthy era. He believed that people should talk. He designed and built and founded — and was a life-long member of — the first church in Houston to have a bi-racial congregation, the United Church of Christ, the first open congregation in Houston.

Field medic, Annabella described satisfying outcomes arising from her provision of free health aid to the activist community. According to her, she gained as much or more from

her service actions. “Being able to support people makes me feel very grounded and purposeful.” Considering the state of finances in the activist community, Ignatio applauded the altruism of those who do the unpaid work.

- I: When activists come into town, no one is making money. Even if they are, they are on a hundred dollar a week stipend or whatever. They’re not getting rich on it. No one’s getting rich on it.
- L: We have other motives, in other words?
- I: Yeah.

Hank reckoned that *Walk the talk* is a lifelong commitment. “You don’t have the right to give up – ever. Too many people have suffered to get to here.”

What side are you on?

In the town meeting, one of the locals stood up and asked the timber company representative, “What kind of jobs can we expect out of this?” To his credit, he said, “None.” *Ignatio Ivey*

In this less-expressed, but distinct finding, five of nine participants endorsed this category as recognition that seemingly opposing individuals and forces can unwittingly facilitate opportunities for engagement and/or success of activist intentions, often with ironic results.

Annabella recognized that, with their deep connection with nature, activists tend to be healthy, outdoor people and their healthy connection with nature is supportive in the work they do. “We have to run the rivers. We’ve got to do all these fun things so that we don’t burn ourselves out.” She contrasted this with her observations of the opposition. “Because the people we’re fighting against, or the juggernaut we’re fighting against is not getting outside and they’re not staying connected. They’re not healthy.”

Ignatio reflected on arrest situations in which law enforcement got in its own way,

sometimes to the activists' advantage. He remembered one protest where he was arrested, charged, and jailed overnight with no follow through. "We got out the next day, charged with something or other. I never heard anything more about the charges." He recalled another moment, when he noticed loggers began to understand they may be on the wrong side and understood that as a turning point for local loggers. "I have talked to the loggers while they were working and heard them say, 'I'll never bid on another sale like this again. I feel really bad about doing it.'" Ignatio also realized it was not just the loggers who questioned the tactics of the corporation. "The district ranger, who was against it though he was being forced to do his part in putting it through. He was totally against it." Similarly, in her mostly logging family neighborhood, Jay described surprising solidarity for her efforts to save Headwaters. "One of the neighbors is a logger kid... she said when she heard that an Earth First!er was buying the place next door she was really happy because she knew this part of the woods would be saved."

According to Ignatio, the question, *What side are you on?* may also be asked of comrades on the same side. While supporting activists at a protest, he explained how he responded when supporting two 'arrestables' who confessed to carrying contraband. "I'm like, 'Get it out, throw it in the ditch, kick some stones on it or whatever.'" He expressed astonishment that the same activists insisted on going back to the site the next day, to retrieve their booty. He also noted that activists can act for the opposition.

I think a lot of monkey wrenching is divisive, although I don't consider monkey wrenching to be violent. But, it doesn't rally people to your cause and I've seen it have the opposite effect. A lot of times, there have been cases when monkey wrenching has happened where it only benefits the forces that we're fighting against to try to save a place. So, I always wonder, well that could have just as easily been a provocation by the other side."

Willing to learn.

Fundamental social change can take generations, so you have to not be impatient. You have to learn, you have to learn, you have to fundamentally relearn. *Ignatio Ivey*

Seven of nine study participants described situations and internal evaluations that gave rise to the need, intention, and readiness to change their own ideology and tactics for better approaches going forward.

The most common conveyance of *Willing to learn* was in skills-building, towards becoming a more savvy or effective change agent. When Jay saw a pressing need for video capture of actions, she picked up the necessary skills. “Eventually historical things started happening in front of me, so I started recording it.” Self-described ‘media whore,’ Ignatio contributed a description of his experience from the other side of the camera. “I learned how to defuse stupid questions from the media and how if you say something that you don’t want them to run, you just say the f-bomb, and then they won’t run it.” Sally explained how sharing her media skills with other organizations enabled her to expand her range of impact. “It has evolved as I have felt my work needed to evolve. The last couple years I’ve been developing more skills around doing media work for other organizations as well as doing [my own].” Dits also appreciated expansion and consolidation of her skill set. “My role just evolved, and I learned a lot about things that I could do... It is a constant opening of doors and windows. I’ve been working on it for 23 years.” Ignatio appreciated the value of the written word to develop his contributions. “Once I started down this path, I just wanted to know more.”

When Amigo began to set goals for going public with his action organization, he recognized there was a lot to learn and he solicited feedback and input. “The first period was going to be fine-tuning the goals based on a whole bunch of private conversations.” In agreement with Amigo, Sally recognized the value of input and training in effective action. “Between March and June we learned about the issue and prepared ourselves and we went through nonviolence training.” Monster summed up the value of ongoing learning for social change.

Enrico Malatesta [1853-1932] really sums up in his essays on anarchism and that is that anarchism isn’t a place. It’s a process. You never arrive. You are always doing. So, it makes it that any bit of social change, revolutionary, political change that you’re doing, is not “We’re here. Yes, we are now this.” It’s always dynamic, things are always changing. So, you also have to change and adapt.

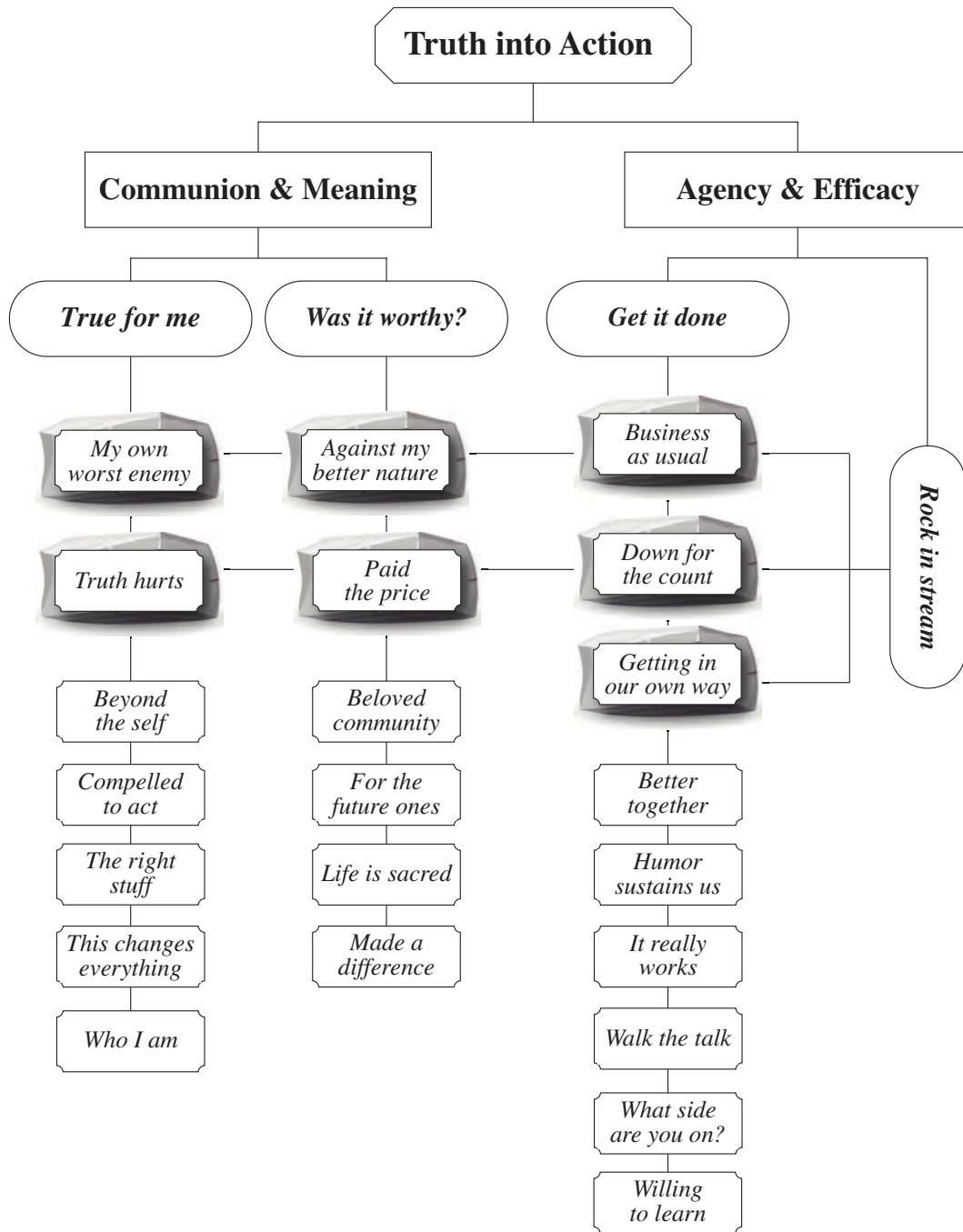
Vern gave voice to this category in answer to my question, “Why did you participate in this research study?” For him, it was a matter of consolidation of lessons learned over his time as ground crew in the Luna tree sit. “I thought it would be good to talk about it... I’ve accepted all the bad things that have happened, and all the good things that have happened, and I’ve built off of them.” Hank responded to the same question. He informed me he was initially reluctant to participation in this study.

I am a lot more interested in doing politics than I am in coming up with theories of why people – whatever. But, I think ideas are important, and I think ideas need to be taken seriously, and I think we need to get a whole lot better at this stuff in a big hurry, and hopefully your efforts will work in that direction. And, if it can save the next generation of activists from some of the mistakes we made that would be great.

Rock in stream.

Rock in stream is a second-level category emerging from participant descriptions of internal and external factors that get in the way of effectiveness of action. Each sub-level category in this second-level category intersects with one other second-level category (***True for me, Get it done, or Was it worthy?***). Sub-level categories intersecting with the ***True for me*** second-level category are personal reflections on failure and external feedback (*Truth hurts*) and personal limits and restrictions (*My own worst enemy*). Sub-level categories intersecting with the ***Get it done*** second-level category are a recognition of the persistent nature of approaches to ‘sustainability’ entailing destructive actions arising from partnerships between classic economics and politics (*Business as usual*); descriptions of being taken down by opposition, external circumstances, or personal conditions (*Down for the count*); and observation of ways in which engaged citizens become committed to their own beliefs and values to the detriment of flexible response and/or effectiveness (*Getting in our own way*). Sub-level categories intersecting with the ***Was it worthy?*** second-level category are insights into how personal actions fall short of intentions (*Against my better nature*) and recognition of the personal costs demanded from a commitment to nonviolence (*Paid the price*). For a visual presentation of these apparent intersections, see Figure 2.

Figure 2. Intersectional model of experience of nonviolent activism



Against my better nature.

I don't think I have changed so much that if somebody came up and hit me tomorrow or hit my kid, or threatened to hit my kid that I would not hit them. I probably would. So, I don't think that makes me nonviolent. I think that makes me somebody who would like to resist the use of violence.

Hank Aaron

Every participant in this study (9/9) endorsed this category to articulate rueful and/or contrite understanding of moments when their own actions or thoughts fell short of intention or ideal. This category finds voice as recognition of holding one truth, but behaving in the world (by thought or deed) according to another, opposing truth. Text in this category has the quality of the activist not doing enough or being unable to rise to the challenge at critical moments in action or thought.

A common theme under this category was disparity between nonviolent intentions and violent thoughts or actions. Hank told me one of his happened in front of media cameras. "One of the things I am least proud of in my recent history was a guy threw a punch at me when I happened to be on TV and I swung back." Considering his actions and casting ahead to a possible future situation, he was uncertain. "Next time a guy throws a punch at me: do I duck? Or, do I hit him back? Well, I hope I don't hit him back, but I don't *know*." For Ignatio, it took threat to his property and potential danger to a child in his care to turn from nonviolent principle to violent action. "I was the only one here with a six year-old child and here comes this machine, right along the recently marked boundary, cutting trees." A contractor had come onto his property and was cutting trees illegally, with the child too close for comfort. "So, I freaked out and I ended up – to make a long story short – by the time he got to right over there, I picked up a

cinder block and threw it into his blade, bent the blade and he shut down the machine.”

Annabella discovered that she, too could become violent, in response to the murder of a mother buffalo. When the park ranger who had done the deed ridiculed her emotional reaction, she told me:

He totally mocked me in front of the cameras and threw his body down and was doing this, “Ohhh,” you know. I was so angry at him that I just, a little bit later he snowmobiled off and I just skied right into him. He was probably like a 275-pound man and I just knocked him flat. I just shouldered him, knocked him flat on his butt. That was kind of violent. That felt violent to me.

Annabella considered the fidelity of her nonviolent intentions. “Pretty much just that one incident mars my record forever, right?” Jay responded to a high stress situation in a similar way. Surrounded by the noise of active chainsaws she asked herself, “Why am I *not* going over there and hitting the guy over the head with this camera?” Oh, because I am nonviolent, that is why (*facetious tone*). Surprised by that uncharacteristic response, she “walked away from the whole thing for a while and chilled out a little bit because part of my head was seriously trying to figure out how to off this guy.”

Business as usual.

Several times I talked to logging families and had them say, “Jeez, it’s really too bad that we let the hippies fight our fight for us because it does not matter how many hippies you got out there. It’s not going to stop Charles Hurwitz.”

Jay Caldeira

Most participants (8/9) affirmed this category to recognize the influence of the entrenched approach to economics and politics that, in addition to unsustainable forestry practices, enables violent and villainous treatment of activists at the hands of the USA justice system. Text captured has the characteristic of ‘dirty tricks’ and betrayal of

humanity and nature by politicians, policy, law enforcement, government agencies, and/or corporations with vested interest in the area under protection. Often, traumatic effects result for individual activists and/or the engaged citizen community. There were two major themes under this category: relationship between economics and politics and injurious effects of *Business as usual* on the activist population.

Participants showed themselves to be well informed in terms of the tactics of those with economic and/or political interests in clearing the Pacific northwestern rainforest. Monster explained the impact of Maxxam's entry into Headwaters, a previously sustainably forested watershed.

Charles Hurwitz, who rips off all these savings and loan banks all over the country comes away with millions of dollars and then he buys out Pacific Lumber... They switch over from a sustainable cut to a clear-cut concept, this slash and burn. "I will make as much profit now as I possibly can. I will also crush the steelworker's union."

Participants described harms done to community and environment as a result of corporate power. Monster reported effects close to Maxxam-owned town Scotia, CA. "They can drive the wages down and then they start clear-cutting the side of the mountain. It wipes out two houses and a restaurant." Amigo said, "there's significant harms on the ground in this county. People's lives lost, homes washed away, farms gone, the erosion crises – all of that – not to mention the destruction of the fisheries."

Participants also described how *Business as usual* activity contributes to a culture of contempt for and acceptance of violence against the activist community – and the effects this has. The pipe bomb planted by the FBI in Judi Bari's car was only the beginning of violence leveled against Redwood Summer activists. Vern noted that the murder of David

Gypsy Chain “wasn’t the first time somebody died.” He described the logger’s statement of the previous day. “Tomorrow, I’m going to bring my gun and take you guys out” and basically the tree was his gun.” He remembered the first few days of the Luna tree sit. “Early on, there were threats to her. They had a group of security guys at the base of the tree for a week or more... floodlights, flaring sirens, all kinds of psychological warfare.” Reflecting on David’s death, he wondered: “Are they going to do that over there? Are they just going to drop the tree with her in it?”

Hank summarized *Business as usual’s* effect on the community of nonviolence.

We direct activists were defined – very carefully – by the government, by the corporations as domestic terrorists in the middle 90s. They went out of their way to make sure that they wrote a definition of domestic terror that did not just include people who were shooting doctors at abortion clinics and white supremacists who were robbing armored cars and shooting policemen, but also people who were doing tree sits and blockading bulldozers. They wrote that definition so that they could then convene what were called joint terrorism task forces, these combined operations of the FBI, federal law enforcement, and local and state law enforcement. They could combine their computer databases. They could, incidentally – and I think probably part of the plan – make those databases available to the private security outfits working for the corporations. They could redefine those valiant resisters, those kids sitting in the trees trying to save the forests as terrorists.

Down for the count.

Then, you’re losing friends or people are moving because they’re getting demoralized. They’re like, “I got to go.” And you’re like, “Nooooo (*drawn out*)” because they were valuable people and they either inspired you or they were hard workers... and you lose them. *Vern Gallagher*

All participants (9/9) utilized this category to describe external factors influencing their own or a comrade’s ability to engage in active service. Text under this category represents experiences of being ‘taken down’ by adverse circumstances such as illness,

unavoidable leaves of absence, or other external factors that interrupted action or connection with community. When this was the activist's own experience, it often gave rise to shutting down, becoming discouraged, and/or developing symptoms of burnout. When observed in a comrade, it frequently meant recognizing the same symptoms in, or losing touch with, and wondering what had become of them.

Annabella summarized health concerns she saw as a field medic.

People were starting to fall. People were getting problems. People were having health problems...as far as the adrenal-cortical stress is definitely pretty intense. Then when you're on the run all the time, or you're hiding, or you're underground. And then you're militant vegan and you're not getting adequate protein. Really, there's definitely some hurting bodies out there.

Some participants recounted when their own or another person's illness led to inability to participate. Jay "dropped out for just about a year," due to her mother's illness. Sally worried about her ability to take care of her health in the future. "The lack of resources is a problem as I get older and think about health issues... those can come up as daily obstacles in a practical way." Other participants described *Down for the count* in relation to work and family. For Ignatio, it was a combination of work and parenting. "Having to work an eight-hour day... can get in the way of a lot of activism right there." Annabella said, "I would be jetting around the country, doing all these actions. I would have gone out and worked for Sea Shepherd or doing Green Peace." She explained, "I can't do that. I'm stuck here with the kids."

One theme of *Down for the count* represents activists becoming diminished by *Business as usual* effects and/or the aftermath of violence levelled against one or more engaged citizen in their community. Annabella said, "I think the cops have somewhat

gotten the upper hand, or people have gotten burned out on getting brutalized and tear-gassed.” Vern described emotional effects due to the violent death of David Gypsy Chain, emphasizing with one young activist. “One of them was 15 [years old] at the time and he was the first one that I saw... he’s never been the same.”

Some participants divulged mental health concerns. Amigo told me: “When I’m a social movement leader... I really shine, inside and out. But when that event is over and I go home, I go back being kind of low-level depressed and alone.” Several activists discussed their experience of burnout. Vern told me about the Luna tree sit action team. “Nearing the end of the tree sit, I was starting to get burned out. A lot of us were.” Hank said, “I was licking my wounds... trying not to get more wounded. At that point, I had burned out of my second major movement job.” Other participants admitted to fatigue and faltering commitment. Amigo told me, “I just kind of burned out and couldn’t do it any more.” He stated, “I don’t know if I’ll ever replicate [earlier effectiveness] quite honestly. I’m tired now.” Monster revealed: “I don’t know what’s happening with any of that vision now. I don’t know if it’s still there or if it’s dormant... or if it’s just, totally snuffed out or what.” Dits asserted, “Sometimes I’m just too damn old, and too damn straight, and too damn tired of having to do this over and over again.”

Getting in our own way.

Even what one might think of as a safe environment – like last year May Day. It was immigrants rights support march through town. Some black-clad revolutionary wannabes threw some rocks through a bank window in the middle of daylight when people were conducting business in the bank and totally turned that march into a police frenzy, provocateur-type stuff. There were kids on that march. There were families. Are those families going to come back? Not likely. *Ignatio Ivey*

Eight of nine study participants conveyed how members of engaged community can behave in ways that inhibit successful outcomes. These actions were understood as arising from ingrained differences among activists in terms of what is known to be true, or interpersonal dynamics from personality differences. In these findings, these differences give rise to interference, harsh judgments, dysfunctional dynamics, and/or destructive gossip within the engaged community.

Evaluations of the morality, integrity, and/or character of other engaged citizens emerged as a subject of *Getting in our own way*. When asked about an admirable activist, Monster responded ruefully:

I want to say Hakim Bey [post-anarchist philosopher, AKA Peter Lamborn Wilson], but I also know enough about his personal life that I don't want to say him. Some of his writings are magnificent, but I think that he had a few molestation issues and stuff. Okay, you might be brilliant in this sense, but maybe not in another sense.

Dits told me, "There are sometimes behaviors that I am uncomfortable with. Some of them are just simply *not* acceptable, responsible, or nonviolent." Ignatio offered one example from Redwood Summer.

I had two people come up to me. They're already under arrest. "I've got pot on me." Another guy, "I've got acid." And I'm like, "What the fuck? What are you thinking?" So, my other advice would just get yourself trained and listen to the trainers. Because, nothing is worse for a campaign than the headline reads 'Activist on LSD Arrested at Protest,' or something.

Hank articulated how Judi Bari's interpersonal dynamics during Redwood Summer exemplified *Getting in our own way*. "If you are dealing with a group of people who start out as anti-authoritarians, authoritarian measures don't tend to make them happy with you. Her internal politics were pretty dictatorial." Considering interpersonal dynamics

and the culture of gossip in the activist community, Dits said, “Sometimes the conversation around the campfire after 50 some days, in some deserted area of beautifulness that’s about to get destroyed, sometimes we get a little nasty about each other.” Amigo experienced this during his time on Vancouver Island during the Clayoquot Sound actions. “I was never acknowledged by the Friends of Clayoquot. I was not a cherished part of the organization.” He concluded, “that was kind of the beginning of my losing faith in the community, which took years to finally say, “I can’t live here, there’s too much backstabbing, too much dysfunction.”

Differences in ideology or process for change was a common theme for *Getting in our own way*. Hank had much to say about how the revolution gets in its own way through differing doctrine and tactics. “This idea that we are going to get to revolution through fire-bombings or some kind of mass take-down of corporate culture is complete unconscionable delusion... a fantasy that obscures the necessity of the real work.” He also recognized how change agents acting according to an internal sense of what is right – and evaluating others on that basis – could contribute to *Getting in our own way*.

I think we do ourselves a great deal of collective harm by trying to be holier-than-thou in the movement, by trying to say, “We, apart, are different. We wear rags. We wear t-shirts with brave slogans. We are not like you conformists.” I don’t have any love for conformist American society, but I don’t think we are going to make any headway with people by getting in their face and telling them what a bunch of losers they are.

Some participants explained how the intersection of *Business as usual* and *Getting in our own way* leads to interference of effectiveness. Dits explained. “When people fall for the divide and conquer stuff we get at each other’s throats.” Ignatio elaborated with a

cultural example. “As long as they can pit hippies against ‘hardworking’ Americans, then we’re going to continually win a battle here and there, but lose the war.”

My own worst enemy.

You come to the big challenge for a lot of activists because we are very definitely people who are hard on ourselves... and then we get into organizations and we become very hard on our organizations. *Dits Davies*

Participants (7/9) used this category to reflect on personal limitations affecting their ability to engage and/or to effect change. These restrictions are most often described as internal adversity; crippling self doubts or negative evaluation as ‘self not enough.’ Hank offered, “It’s often not clear how to engage. I think that’s where commitment dies, is when you cannot *do* anything with it. Well, it becomes in many cases deeply destructive.” Vern captured the essence of this category: “If you don’t believe in yourself you’re not going to be much help because you’re not going to be in the right headspace.”

Some participants told me about mental health challenges, such as low self esteem and depression. Amigo mentioned how these challenges can get in the way of opportunities to serve with like-minded colleagues. “I go into, “I’m a fake, I don’t really know what I’m doing.” I have this fundamental self-esteem crash. I can organize a national movement for this work, but I can’t co-lead a workshop with my mentor.” Dits also talked about a sense of inadequacy, tempered with realistic appraisal of her involvement and abilities. “I am who I am and it’s hard for me still. There are people who believe that I have some valuable things to say... I don’t think I’m very deep. I don’t think I’m all that great.”

For some participants, this category found expression as a comparison of themselves with other engaged citizens. Jay was one of these, contrasting her efforts with the ‘big picture’ approach of Bari towards formation of the Blue-Green alliance.

“I was taking pictures and putting it on TV. But, I wasn’t necessarily getting loggers to – I wasn’t drinking that much beer with loggers, except occasionally at parties that Judi put together.” Likewise, Hank had significant others to compare himself with.

If I look at what [my mentor] accomplished. I look at what my father has accomplished. I look at what my grandfather has accomplished. I am 45 years old and I got shit to show for it. I have not written a single book. I’ve got some kids. I’ve got a lifetime of struggle, but virtually nothing substantive to show for it.

Self criticism also emerged under this category. Jay bemoaned lost opportunities.

“I’ve had plenty of opportunities and some opportunities I’ve dealt with them – some ways smart, some ways not so smart.” Dits offered an example: “We take nonviolence trainings and we screw up or we say the wrong the thing, and we use the wrong term, and we’re not being sensitive, and we lost our temper. We go back and beat ourselves up.”

Paid the price.

I remember going to the section in the cafeteria where the bullies sat, the one gang. And I sat there. You just didn’t do that. You know, they walk over like, “You’re in the wrong spot.” “Nope. This is a free area, I can sit wherever I want.” I’d get my ass kicked because of that, but I would do that. I’d be, “There’s power. They’re misusing that power and I’m going to go and be in their face about it.” *Monster Huss*

Seven of nine participants endorsed this category, which identifies perils and contradictions found in a life of activism for self and others. Despite these, the individual or group engaged in actions that had been valued for moving towards desired goals and

outcomes. Text under this category typifies a sense of ‘whatever it takes to get the job done,’ no matter the cost to the individual activist or affinity group. Monster confided how his tendency to do that comes from disagreeing with his own family. “You know, through my family history often times how people became survivors and how people became victims was ‘you don’t stand out.’ Then, the people that do stand out, they’re the ones that are lined up.” Something in him disallowed that approach. “You can’t be part of the herd. You can’t be a lemming jumping off the cliff. If something’s wrong, you need to maybe do something about it.” Dits shared an historical example of imperative truth-telling despite the cost. “Nora Ephron... told the truth about the women’s movement and said it when something wasn’t right. A very brave woman.”

Dits conveyed her impression of how activists do whatever it takes to keep going.

If you want to survive it kind of helps if you have food. You either pay for it, or you glean for it, or you pick it up at a food bank, or whatever you do. There are people who give away everything they have and there are people who keep what they have so that they can continue to be able to do what they’re doing.

Realistic about the perils of direct action, Ignatio described an event where his partner was hurt.

I found out that my girlfriend – who had *not* been in my affinity group – had been in a group that went to the California Department of Forestry office for a big public protest. She had been hit by a rock that someone had thrown. Someone driving by in a pickup truck had thrown a rock out at the protestors and hit her right in the stomach.

Monster discussed the brief roadblock on the Golden Gate Bridge. “We dropped like a 60 by 90 foot banner off a crane that almost killed somebody – one of our people.

The rope, he got tangled up and it was spinning. It was crazy, really high winds.”

Jay commented that perils could be unseen, unexpected, or by way of betrayal.

We had had a meeting the day before with all the cops and the sheriffs and the local cops and the PL [Pacific Lumber] security. All these people were there to negotiate the terms of engagement. We wanted it to be like the year before where everybody got politely arrested. We had all these – Bonnie Raitt and all these famous people – getting arrested and it was all very polite. They just signed everybody out and said, “Look it’s the end of the season, you know. We just want to do this thing and they want to take their little fish across the line and you can arrest them then.” And, sure enough the cops showed up and they started trashing everybody. You go back and you look at that meeting and everybody’s eyes are kind of shifty like they are lying and they know it. They know what’s coming down and we are just like, “Okay. Well, we’re negotiating in good faith.” So, the people were traumatized.

Truth hurts.

I am often very cynical and totally disgusted and disheartened by the way that human beings live on this planet and the fact that most people don’t get it.

Sally Blumenfeld

Every study participant (9/9) affirmed this category as articulation of ways in which external or internal feedback received can be both valuable and painful in terms of compelling the individual to challenge cherished beliefs and values or to find acceptance of deplorable realities. Text captured under this category has the quality of ‘hard-to-take’ or ‘bittersweet’ truth pills in terms of being unavoidable and sometimes giving rise to internal imperative for cognitive, emotional, and/or behavioral change.

Annabella indicated how the early lesson of their family home being invaded by the authorities – due to her mother’s ‘suspect’ activist behavior – was reflected in her adult experience at Redwood Summer. In response to the community’s infiltration by the FBI she commented, “That notion of covert intelligence, going undercover, hadn’t really dawned on me that somebody could be that gnarly to want to do that.” She shared her

take-away message: “You have to remember all the rules... when the guy who comes to the door that looks like a reporter – don’t open the door and let him in. He’s a ‘Fed.’ Oh dear!” She shed the same light on activists’ cautious response to newcomers. “It’s a very strong security culture.” Ignatio remembered his hard realization of how far the authorities would go to thwart activist’s efforts.

It was after the incident where the women had done a protest at the congressman’s office and they had swabbed the pepper spray directly into the women’s eyes to try to get them to unlock and go away. I just remember that incident. So, at the time I’m sitting there on the line thinking, “Wow, they’re willing to put chemicals into people’s sensitive organs, just to get you to move out of a road or whatever.”

Sally’s recognition of potential violence came at the beginning of Redwood Summer. “The bombing [of Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney] was the big one. It was definitely life changing. I’ve often said that I was as close to that bomb explosion as I could have been without having been in the car.” For Hank, it was due to face-to-face encounters. “I can think of times when I have confronted people who told me to my face that I wasn’t human, that I wasn’t a member of their community – period. Like, “You are dirt and we’re going to kill you.”

Ignatio admitted to harsh personal truth regarding his behavior in his early days.

I recognize that socially and emotionally I was very immature when I started doing activism and through the course of time hurt a number of people. I wasn’t very kind to my women partners throughout all those years. I think that there were wounds within me that I have had to heal, that maybe my activism would’ve been better served having healed first.

Summary of analysis of the text

The core category is **Truth into Action**, which is conceived as a combination of philosophical pragmatism and theoretical generativity. Every participant in this study reported engagement in generative occupations at the time of their interview (see Table 1). They also arrived with lived experience indicating the intention to provide a better future for those to come (e.g., sub-level category, *For the future ones*). Participants who are not parents also endorsed generative intentions and behaviors. It is apparent from these participants that this commitment can be difficult to enact, difficulties which can be due to both external and internal challenges (i.e., second-level category, ***Rock in stream***). Both enabling and obstructing factors for realization of generativity were identified. All these participants laughed at challenges to generativity, while discounting these as reasons to stop working towards a better world on behalf of those still to come (i.e., second-level category, ***Get it done***).

Additionally, most participants reported mental health challenges for themselves or comrades and debilitating periods of burnout and/or discouragement (e.g., sub-level category, *Down for the count*). However, for these activists, although mental health problems or burnout may lead to temporary withdrawal, the challenges they face do not permanently snuff out the commitment to work towards a better world. They told me that, once they became activists (and although they may have taken breaks for various reasons) they never turned their back on the possibility to re-engage (e.g., sub-level category, *Compelled to act*).

In terms of pragmatism, these nonviolent activists described known, internal truths as outcomes of observations made in world and local conditions (i.e., second-level category, *True for me*). Additionally, they pursued activities with the intention of living those truths in the world (i.e., second-level category, *Get it done*). Finally, they inquired into the value of those actions regarding outcomes and they adjusted their approaches, going forward (i.e., second-level category, *Was it worthy?*). They also recognized and considered barriers to their engagement and efficacy (i.e., second-level category, *Rock in Stream*). As required by Redwood Summer organizers, all arrived with a stated commitment to nonviolence and good understanding of what that means for achieving and evaluating their goals for action. In terms of the translation of inner truth into action, participants indicated that knowing their truth guided them to choose the right path of action. Finally, they evaluated the truth-value of any given action for the purpose of going forward – altering course or process if necessary. Some also acknowledged that knowing your inner truth is not always easy to reconcile when that truth is translated through action as another, undesirable truth or when confronted by barriers. Participants' evaluations of a given action are sometimes appreciative of themselves, each other, and the efficacy of nonviolence. Most participants discussed how input and reflection were fundamental to their effectiveness as a change agent and the importance of flexibility and openness for improving approaches. All these identified features are main tenets of pragmatism. In addition to honing skill sets for impact and efficacy – and important to *satyagraha* 'experiments in truth' – participants considered the *value* of the truth of nonviolence. Some participants deliberated about nonviolence as a dynamic category.

Like Gandhi, they concluded that nonviolence may not always be the possible and/or appropriate choice in a given moment.

In conclusion, participants demonstrated understanding of the practice of nonviolence as a process rather than an end goal. According to pragmatism, they also exemplified – to varying degrees – the ability to examine and change their beliefs and actions according to their perceived truth value for personal meaning or outcome (e.g., sub-level category, *Willing to learn*). Finally, the activists conveyed intention for and long term commitment to participation in creation of conditions for a better world, not just for humans, but for all life forms in a given place and for the place in its entirety.

CHAPTER 4: Discussion

Using a qualitative analysis based on grounded theory, I approached the experience of nonviolent activism as lived by a selected group of nine engaged citizens, committed long-term to nonviolence as a way to approach social and environmental justice. Using a semi-structured interview designed to address the research questions, I inquired into participants' motivations for activism; how (if at all) activism gives their lives purpose; and what influences, barriers, and supports can they identify with respect to their commitment. Given the small sample size, results cannot be generalized to the larger group of engaged citizens. Nonetheless, the core category relating to pragmatism and generativity, two main-level categories relating to agency/efficacy and communion/meaning, and four second-level categories relating to beliefs, actions, evaluation of outcomes, and factors that impede efficacy and affordance of meaning illuminates this group of activists' experience and what it means to *them* to engage in and commit to this life-style. I had hoped from the beginning that, were they to read it, these and other engaged citizens and change agents might recognize the results and discussion as related to their own experience of nonviolence and feel supported and mirrored by the same. I also hoped to offer a sketch of members of the community of nonviolence to the academic and general public, both successes and challenges. They are a mostly invisible group of long term change agents who can offer experience and wisdom towards solving current, pressing issues.

Discussion of Key Findings: Truth into Action

The categorical system discovered in this work converges on philosophical pragmatism (James, 1991/07) and theoretical generativity in terms of concern, action, and narration arising from cultural demands and inner desires (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1998; McAdams & Logan, 2004). Generativity was originally conceived by Erikson (1963) as the adult's concern for and intention to provide positive impacts on generations that follow. Pragmatism is a philosophy and method, whereby beliefs and attitudes become indicators for action, towards building habits of action that may be judged to be worthy in terms of further development of internal truth-value and subsequent actions (James, 1907/91).

Comparison with existing literature.

Generativity for a better world.

The fullest expressions of generativity involve the manifestation of what Bakan (1966) called the contrasting tendencies of *agency* and *communion*. Agency is the organismic tendency toward self-expression, self-expansion, self-protection, self-development, and all other goals promoting the individual self. Communion is the organismic tendency toward sharing the self with others, merging the self in community, giving up the self for the good of something beyond the self. Generativity calls on adults to generate products and offspring in a powerful and agentic fashion and to care for that which has been generated in a loving and communal fashion. Generativity challenges adults to be highly agentic and communal at the same time. (McAdams & Logan, 2004, p. 18).

Given the cultural dimension of generativity, McAdams and Logan (2004) posited that generativity may be especially important during rapid societal change (McAdams & Logan, 2004), as is the case in the current climate crisis. Chan, (2009), Horwitz, (2000, 1996), and Imada (2004) all suggested that the intersection of generativity and action

unleashes potential for societal change. In light of a growing concern over the sustainability of world ecology and an escalating climate crisis, and because both generativity and sustainability emphasize a concern for the well-being of future generations (UNESCO, 1987, 2003), it is surprising that psychologists have not yet widely investigated nonviolent activism for sustainability as a generative concern. This may be because the focus on the benefits of generativity has historically been for the purpose of providing for future *human* generations, while the biocentric and ecocentric focus of these Earth First! activists make their intentions and actions generative on behalf of all life, human *and* non-human.

Some psychological studies have indicated that generativity may be implicated in engaged citizenship. For instance, Hill (2000) found expressions of generativity in reports from all 17 of the ‘raging grannies’ in her focus group research (Hill, 2000). Peterson and Stewart (1990) discovered generativity as the main theme in an analysis of fictional and non-fictional documents written by feminist activist, Vera Brittain (Peterson & Stewart, 1990). Further, generativity for environmental sustainability was placed under scrutiny as a narrative analysis of contamination and redemption stories (early privilege leveraged into helping approaches in later life), as told by exemplary citizens who work towards sustainability (Chan, 2009; McAdams & Guo, 2015). Finally, Alisat, Norris, Pratt, and McAdams (2014) found that generativity mediated the relationship between activism and nature connection. Earlier, McAdam (1989) discussed the importance of generativity for social change in individuals who participated in the civil rights movement. Specifically, he found evidence for continuity in the personalities of Freedom Summer activists in

terms of values and politics, long term active participation in social justice issues, and a propensity for teaching and other helping professions, which is a key feature of generativity (McAdam, 1989).

American pragmatism.

Mental interests, hypotheses, postulates, so far as they are bases for human action – action which to a great extent transforms the world – help to *make* the truth which they declare. In other words, there belongs to mind, from its birth upward, a spontaneity, a vote. It is in the game (James, 1878, as cited in Menand, 2003, p. 357).

According to Menand (2001), pragmatism is a philosophy that calls philosophy to step up and into the world, a tool to help philosophy become more practical and effective in achieving the goals of philosophy. “Pragmatism is an account of the way people think – the way they come up with ideas, form beliefs, and reach decisions” (Menand, 2001, p. 351). Originally conceived by Charles Peirce, William James is best known for the development of pragmatism as a system of thought. For Peirce (1966/58), pragmatism is the process of beliefs giving rise to habitual actions, which in turn introduces inquiry with respect to the validity of those beliefs. As previously mentioned, James (1907/91) introduced the concept of how much “cash value” a belief has in that feedback loop. For James, individual pragmatism is both a theory of truth *and* a method by which to deploy and evaluate the value of that truth going forward. In terms of theory of truth, according to pragmatism, something is true when it is judged to be *good* (or worthy), in terms of belief and attitude according to an internal compass. The good is characterized in terms of measurable, concrete actions, and outcomes which can be judged for truth-value, and then utilized to adjust beliefs and values. Both Peirce (1966/58) and James

(1907/91) posited that beliefs help to form an individual's truth. For James (1907/91), beliefs then become the basis for actions, which are evaluated for their worth and how to inform new actions, which are further intended to transform the world – for the better.

Satyagraha as Truth into Action.

Gandhi's approach expresses an activist philosophy which he often relates to the action-oriented philosophy of karma yoga in the Bhagavad-Gita: Act to fulfil your ethical duties with an attitude of nonattachment to the results of your actions. (Allen, 2004)

Erikson (1969) made the first connection between nonviolence and generativity in *Gandhi's Truth* (1969). In that work, he identified Gandhi, at 48-years-old, as an unusually generative citizen with “a mighty drivenness, an intense and yet flexible energy, a shocking originality, and a capacity to impose on his time what most concerns him” (Erikson, 1969, p. 395). According to Erikson, (1969), Gandhi himself was viewed as an exemplar of generative nonviolence. While it can be argued that Gandhi did make contributions for the betterment of future generations, it is also noted that Gandhi himself stated that his efforts were primarily motivated by achievement of *svardharma*, or personal salvation (Gandhi 2000/1926). Allen (2004), Naess (1974), and Singh (1999) have all argued that Gandhi was also a pragmatist. Singh (1999) emphasized how the evolution of *satyagraha* as a method for social change was heavily influenced by Gandhi's concept of testing the truth value of the method. Ecophilosopher and Gandhian scholar, Arne Naess (1974) emphasized that not only is truth pluralistic, it also evolves. In his efforts to establish norms for environmental *satyagraha*, with the goal to provide empirical evidence for the same, Naess (1974) posited that, for Gandhi violence is out of the question because truth is different for every living being at any given moment. If so,

according to Naess (1974), mutual tolerance is the first principle for establishing truth for an individual. Naess (1974) argued that Gandhi's *satyagraha* follows this principle. Since *satyagraha* is 'experiments in truth,' following doctrine of science, the ability to focus on process and let go the outcome would be a natural condition. Instead, the value in action according to truth is to receive more information and adjust what is known to be true likewise (Naess, 1974). This principle is a main tenet of pragmatism (Menand, 2001).

That nonviolence would be the chosen method of resistance for people who are also pragmatic makes sense, if only because the end goal would be improvement in conditions, i.e., those which would be judged worthy *if* the method works – and it does. For instance, Chenoweth and Stephan (2012) analyzed how conflicts are won and concluded that nonviolence was more than twice as effective as violent resistance in terms of effective change (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2012). On the other hand, from a behavioral perspective, Solnit (2016) observed that, although activists often operate on the premise that there is a mechanistic, one-to-one effect from their actions, social change is actually slow, incremental, and emergent. She wrote: "Activism is not a journey to the corner store, it is a plunge into the unknown." (Solnit, 2016, p. 61).

Implications for clinical practice.

It's super painful to be a human being right now at this point in history.
(psychologist Renee Lertzman, as cited in Pearl, 2019)

Implications of this study for clinical practice are twofold. The first is due to the increasing and alarming effects of environmental collapse, climate emergency, and recognition of these realities in the population (Davenport, 2017; Pearl, 2019; Weir, 2016). The second is ascribed to escalating violence against the activist community,

the perils of burnout, and the effects these have on activists' mental health and life experiences. It is important that mental health professionals prepare for clients who, as deeply concerned citizens, may give voice to their unease in therapy. In terms of mental health effects resulting from the environmental crisis and professional response to these, I share my own experience in therapy.

Midway through my doctoral training I sought the help of a therapist for professional and personal development. During the fifth session I realized that much of the overwhelming anxiety I experienced was primarily due to existential angst about the current state of the world and increasing common knowledge of the possibility of environmental collapse (Gore, 2006). Environmental decline had been known to me since the first Earth Day, April 22, 1970, when a Teach-In happened in my grade six classroom in Guelph, Ontario, Canada. However, it was in 2007, during psychotherapy, in the presence of another person as part of a presumably safe therapeutic alliance, that I finally admitted the depth of shame and angst this caused me. The response — incredibly — was “You’re kidding me, right?” Well schooled in humanistic theory and intervention, Emotion Focused Therapy (EFT), this mature professional missed both poignancy of expression and client vulnerability in the moment, two established EFT markers for empathic intervention. My caution is that whatever dearth of emotional intelligence thwarting justice and sustainability in the world today may also manifest in the relationship between therapist and client. (Hollis-Walker, 2012)

Reflective of Macy’s decades-long writings on the topic (Macy, 1983; Macy, 1995; Macy & Young Brown, 2006; Macy 2007; Macy & Johnstone, 2012), Albrecht (2019); Cunsolo and Ellis (2018), Doherty and Clayton (2011), Davenport (2017), Pearl (2019), Solnit (2016), and Weir (2016) all highlight an emerging understanding of effects on mental health in terms of worsening world environmental conditions and escalation of the climate crisis. Collectively, they suggest these conditions result in increasing worry, depression, trauma, despair, apathy, and/or disempowerment. Davenport (2017), Doherty

and Clayton (2011), Mannarino (2015), and Pearl (2019) emphasize the need for therapists to take these outcomes seriously and adjust their practices accordingly.

Updating clinical practice in response to changes in public perception with respect to climate crisis does not mean a complete overhaul of established approaches. Pearl (2019) suggests that therapists begin with acceptance of a new and advancing reality for people that causes real distress, and that this is a growing edge for clinical practice. Doherty and Clayton (2011) and Pearl (2019) underscore also that climate anxiety is a *normal* response to the climate crisis, as opposed to a form of mental illness. Mannarino (2015) and Pearl (2019) insist that clinicians must be prepared to acknowledge and have the courage to sit with their own discomfort with environmental decline, while their client processes their own reactions. In terms of adaptations of existing therapeutic approaches to climate crisis interventions, several suggestions in multiple modalities have been proposed. These include motivational interviewing (Pearl, 2019), cognitive behavioral and humanistic psychotherapies (Davenport, 2017), emotion focused therapy (Hollis-Walker, 2012), and psychoanalysis (Samuels, 2019). Mannarino (2015) offers insight into some challenges and opportunities in training of new therapists and raising existing professional skills to be ready for the challenge.

With respect to the direct effects on activists in terms of their lifestyle, recently more attention has been paid to the mental health issues found in activist communities (e.g., Viviano, 2019). This is not surprising, given the growing numbers of people counting themselves among this group. In terms of their presentation in therapy, psychiatrist Andrew Samuels has observed increasing numbers of politically aware

clients, in his opinion with the potential to become (or who already are) “activist clients,” those with the drive to “restore and repair” conditions of the world through “social spirituality” (Samuels, 2017). More important, because of the perilous nature of the work, some direct effects of activism are life threatening (Gunia, 2019; Davidson, 2020).

Given the difficult and long term nature of their activities, discouragement and burnout can adversely impact the sustainability of activism (Drury & Reicher, 2005). Gomes (1992) and Maslach and Gomes (2006) found American peace activists suffer regularly from burnout. According to Gomes (1992) and Maslach and Gomes (2005), the prevalence of burnout is due to an imbalance in the positive and negative aspects of the activist lifestyle. For Gomes (1992), the community of nonviolent activism is both a strength and limitation for individual activists (Gomes, 1992). Additionally, Maslach and Gomes (2006) assert that the chronic stress and disconnection experienced by activists manifests with three main factors: exhaustion (individual); cynicism (interpersonal); and inefficacy (self-evaluative). Maslach and Gomes (2006) conclude that there are unique characteristics of activists that make them vulnerable to burnout, including the high level of energy and personal sacrifice required to stay engaged, long term and keen awareness of overwhelming, intractable social problems, and a willingness to carry the burden of understanding issues that society tends to deny (Maslach & Gomes, 2006).

In terms of sustainability, Black Lives Matter activist and wellness coach Yasmine Cheyenne, views activism as a “marathon and not a sprint” (Refinery29, 2020). For Cheyenne, this means that activist self-care is essential for the success of the movement over the long term. Cheyenne first suggests that, with multiple forms of

activism from which to choose (e.g., front line protest, organization, administration, written word, and/or artistry), would-be supporters can find the best way to contribute and take care of themselves for the long haul. Cheyenne (Refinery29, 2020) suggests four ways to do that: establish and protect personal boundaries; seek out joyful experiences; turn towards gratitude; and contribute to the movement according to individual passion.

As suggested by Cheyenne (Refinery29, 2020), it appears the health concerns of activists may be relevant for the long term. Marwell et al. (1987) studied a large panel of activists from the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer event with a two decade gap in time. They found that most of the scope of their inquiry of attitudes towards and commitment to political change and nonviolence did not alter significantly over time (Marwell et al., 1987), meaning that a large group of civil rights activists may be still active today. Nepstad (2004) performed a case study of long-term activists with conclusions for how members maintain a long-term commitment to the nonviolent social movement Plowshares. Critical community psychology also addresses this, in terms of their call for a diversity of efforts towards achievement of large-scale and global social change (Kagan, 2019; Melliush, 2014). Finally, although without a larger sample we cannot generalize to the wider engaged community, due to the self-described internal and external vulnerabilities reported by this group of activists and the apparent long term nature of their activism, there remains the legitimate need to care for this group's mental health challenges over their lifetimes. Given the foregoing, mental health practitioners should be prepared for increasing numbers of clients who declare themselves to be activists. They should also become aware of the realities, perils, and potential longevity

of the lifestyle, in addition to the mental challenges faced by activists. Armed with this knowledge, mental health professionals may then develop their assessment and intervention tool kits accordingly.

Evaluation of this study

Contributions.

Answering the call for an investigation of a group of nonviolent environmental activists (Devall, 1982), the unique endowment of this study is to provide a sketch of the personalities and personal meanings of a life of activism, from the perspective of nine individuals who live a long term commitment to making contributions to political and societal change for environmental justice and sustainability. The findings make visible a group of potentially inspirational citizens who are unknown, misunderstood, and/or vilified in the public view. The findings can also, where relevant, inform American, Canadian, and International practitioners, policy-makers, and other interested parties on the lived experience of nonviolence. I have intended from the start that this work could be received by members of the community of nonviolence as recognizable according to their own lived experience. I hoped they may find themselves reflected, understood, and/or supported by the presentation and interpretation of findings from participants in this study. While I have done everything in my power to achieve this end, ultimately it is for others to determine the veracity of the categorical model discovered. Only time will tell if my goals have been attained, when and if the work is read by the wider community of engaged citizens and put to the test by more scholars, historians, and social scientists interested in nonviolent conflict resolution and environmental sustainability.

With an open-ended approach driven by curiosity and by intentionally avoiding a thorough review of the extant research on the psychology of activism prior to completion of the analysis, this study facilitated expression of participants' own understanding of their commitment to nonviolence to stand forth. The qualitative approach avoided the trap of examining a limited number of pre-determined, targeted variables and instead allowed the complexity of a life of activism to emerge in participants' own words. Given that, a surprising number of elements do reflect the current literature. Developmental aspects such as justice influences in family of origin, early connection to nature and grief for lost places, outrage at business as usual exploitation, belief in the inherent right of all life to be, drive to act according to inner truth, and commitment to the future for human and all other life were evident in this sample, and are consistent with the literature (Chawla, 1999). Other elements existing in current literature include the need for tending to the mental and physical health of individual activists (Maslach & Gomes, 2006; Solnit, 2016; Wollman, 1985), essential aspects of community support for the stresses of activist life (Maslach & Gomes, 2006; Nepstad, 2004) and for strategies of social change (Kagan, 2019), ambivalence in terms of the challenges and rewards of immersion in the activist community (Gomes, 1992), debilitating effects of burnout (Maslach, 2003; Maslach & Gomes, 2006; Potter, 1993; Solnit, 2016), and significance of shared values and worldview among comrades (Gomes, 1992; Horton, 2004; Schwebel, 2006).

Limitations.

There are several limitations to this investigation. First, considering that interviews were held more than two decades after the inauguration of the target event, Redwood

Summer, participant reports are subject to the limitations and distortions of their memories and responses to these past events over time. Second, the co-construction of this narrative by myself and the participants indicates that social desirability may have affected their responses. It is important to note, however, that my experience with this sample of apparently independent thinkers leads me to believe this was probably not as much of a limitation as may be found in other populations. Third, the sample is relatively homogenous, i.e., Judeo-Christian and (with one exception born to a mixed-race couple) of white high school graduates from settler families of lower to middle class socioeconomic status and, either through direct experience or via their parents, a shared history of growing up in or living through the era of the 1960s. Most Earth First! activists involved in Redwood Summer were not directly impacted by the clear cutting of Headwaters, in contrast to Indigenous Peoples of the area and the settler loggers and mill workers. Thus, different results may have been found and divergent conclusions drawn from another selection of engaged citizens, even those who are committed to nonviolence. Finally, this study could have benefitted from inclusion of Indigenous voices (many of whom were/are involved and did attend the Redwood Summer events) and a wider range of participant ages. For instance, there is no older man or younger woman included in this sample.

Suggestions for future research.

Findings here point to the need for more empirical evidence drawn from the community of nonviolence. As Mayton (2001) suggests, such work can help sensitize scientists and the public to alternative voices and approaches to environmental conflicts

and problems, ameliorate historical, sometimes hysterical misconceptions of activists (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1998; McAdam, 1989), and inform and assist citizens — through exposure to exemplars of nonviolence, their worldviews, values, and behaviors — to be inspired to find a way to make their own agentic contributions to solutions for critical problems (Anderson & Christie, 2001; Dillard, 2002; Woodward, 1948).

A general consensus in the literature is that activists demonstrate an ability to contribute to positive and sustainable change and they do so with generativity, i.e., with conviction for contributing to a better future (Alisat et al., 2014; Cocking & Drury, 2004; Matsuba, et al., 2012). However, there is a paucity of research to identify individual- and group-level psychological factors of engaged citizens as they contribute to generative and sustainable change (Fisher, Stanley, Berman, & Neff, 2006; Horton, 2004; Loevinger, 1994; Mayton et al., 2002; Singer et al., 2002). One question that arises for me is, what are the measureable psychological underpinnings of those who commit to this lifestyle and how do they differ from those who care about social and environmental justice issues, but do not act accordingly? Specifically, there is need for more data in terms of the character strengths and values (Corning & Myers, 2002; Drury & Reicher, 2000; Horton, 2004; 2000; Sears, 2003; Singer et al., 2002), ego development and personality (Chawla, 1999; Loevinger, 1993), and expressions of spirituality (Brinkerhoff & Jacob, 1999; Burdge, 2006; Salazer & Alper, 2002) in this target population from the North American culture of nonviolence. It is not yet clear what are the relationships between and among these important aspects of their personalities, for activists as individuals and

as a group, and with some studies compared with a matched community sample who are not activists. The proposed study could fill some of that gap in the research literature.

Research to more closely examine generativity in the narratives offered by the community of nonviolence seems especially relevant. In terms of the stories told, what *was* reported by these activists suggests the question: what kind of generative narratives *do* activists tell in their life stories? This investigation could be conducted as an analysis of narrative on the existing data, utilizing established coding analysis protocols for generativity (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992) and for generativity subsets, agency and communion (Mansfield & McAdams, 1996, McAdams, 2001). This way, generativity, agency, and communion may all be investigated in the stories told by engaged citizens with a research sample *n* that can yield meaningful statistical analyses and potential for generalizability of findings.

The final area of investigation I suggest would yield a more thorough social history of nonviolent activism in Headwaters and beyond. For Headwaters, a scant three paragraphs in the current work has been allocated to this fascinating history, where established unions and environmental activists united for the first time in tentative solidarity. Additionally, all participants offered a unique example when asked about a personally meaningful action. Examples include Annabella's buffalo hunt protest in Yellowstone park, Dits' 2003 Free Trade Association of the Americas (FTAA) Miami meeting, Amigo's 1989 Canadian Clayoquot Sound summer action, Vern's Julia Butterfly Hill two year tree sit in Luna beginning December 1997, in addition to other Redwood Summer events. I would like to see all these events illuminated by an

integration of history and social science. Such efforts would allow for a richer, historically-grounded interpretation of the lived experience of activism as revealed by participants in this study.

Conclusion

No sane person with a life really wants to be a political activist. When activism is exciting, it tends to involve the risk of bodily harm or incarceration, and when it's safe, it is often tedious, dry, and boring. Activism tends to put one into contact with extremely unpleasant people, whether they are media interviewers, riot cops, or at times, your fellow activists. Not only that, it generates enormous feelings of frustration and rage, makes your throat sore from shouting, and hurts your feet. Nonetheless, at this moment in history, we are called to act as if we truly believe that the Earth is a living, conscious being that we're part of, that human beings are interconnected and precious, and that liberty and justice for all is a desirable thing (Starhawk, 1993).

Like Starhawk (1993), participants in this study and others have conveyed both positive and negative aspects of membership in the community of nonviolence from personal and wider perspectives. Also brought to light was a collective, driving need to respond actively to current world conditions with nonviolence for change, towards environmental and social justice and sustainability. These needs were described as leading to deploying behaviors (actions) according to individual, internal understanding of truth witnessed in the world. The final process was evaluation of the worthiness of those actions. Barriers to, and supports for, efficacy were offered as counterbalancing forces. I am left wondering how data from the activist community at large would reflect and/or refute these observations.

In terms of agency and communion, according to Bandura (2006), 'new agency' is an integration of personal efficacy (i.e., agency) and collective social engagement (i.e., communion) in political activism. Bandura (2006) concluded there is a need for

people to commune and join with family, community, and nature, balanced with the need to get things done in the world and all the hardship that entails – for the betterment of all life, going forward (i.e., generativity; Mansfield & McAdams, 1996; McAdams & Logan, 2004). For activists, this complexity may be complicated by positive and negative effects of membership in the activist community (Gomes, 1992). In conversation with Starhawk, she agreed: “Sometimes passionate community can be judgmental and harmful” (Starhawk, personal communication, July 25, 2010).

In conclusion, the existing literature and findings of this work converge with respect to the need for activists committed to nonviolence, while considering a given *action*, to resolve the tensions among what they *know to be true*, how they evaluate the *worthiness* of outcomes in the world as individual change agents, tempered with understanding of what internal and external *barriers* may exist in the way of their efficacy, all of which, in turn lead to new understanding of truth and subsequent actions. These factors appear to be important for the activists themselves, their comrades, for their sense of connection with their families and the community of nonviolence, and for the sustainability of their physical and mental wellbeing, in order to support their long term commitment to nonviolence towards creation of a better world and just future for both human and non-human life.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Pacific northwestern rainforest



Geopolicraticus (2009)

Appendix B: 2009 Field trip Grimsby, ON to Arcata, CA



Google maps (2008)

Appendix C: Informed consent form

Informed Consent Form

Date:

Study Name: Agents of change

Researchers: Laurie Hollis-Walker, MA

Sponsors: York University

Purpose of the Research

The main research question is: What is the lived experience of long-term nonviolent activists and engaged citizens? The findings will be presented in written, electronic, and verbal forums (scholarly and public).

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research

As research collaborator, you engage in an audio-digital taped interview (1–2 hours) regarding influences on, experience of, and attitudes towards your citizen engagement. Some participants have already completed this phase of the project. There will be an additional 1–2 follow-up (check-in) interview(s) to provide corrections to the text and initial interpretation of the transcript. Total time commitment for the interview and follow-up portions of the research is expected to be approximately 2–6 hours. At the time of check-in interviews, participants will be asked for a photograph of themselves from Redwood Summer (c. 1989-2002) and a current photograph will be taken. Participants will also be asked if there are any other photographs or artifacts they wish to share. If so, these will be scanned and originals returned promptly. As an expression of gratitude for time and effort all participants will be offered handmade token gifts (value not to exceed \$10).

Risks and Discomforts

We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research. If you become uncomfortable at any point of this study, inform the principle investigator who is in clinical psychological training. She will offer community resources and assistance in obtaining help if this is needed and requested.

Benefits of the Research

The overarching goal of this research is to provide evidence about the lived experience of nonviolent activism, from the point of view — and in the authentic voice — of those among us who have worked long and hard (often for decades) for social and environmental justice. The benefits of presentation of these results can be to help sensitize the public to alternative voices and nonviolent approaches to social and environmental conflicts, to ameliorate historical (and sometimes hysterical)

misconceptions of activism, and to inform, encourage, and assist citizens — through exposure to exemplars of nonviolent conflict resolution — to make their own agential contributions to solutions for critical problems. Specifically, I want to make available to community leaders and citizens a creditable account of lived activism, so they may see that there are those among them who advance democratic and sustainable change based on protest arising from deeply held beliefs for solidarity, peace, freedom, and justice. It is hoped that the evidence will be sufficiently authentic to the activist research collaborators' lived experience and as such, may be inspirational for the end reader to work also for a more sustainable future for all.

Benefits to You

Participants have often reported benefits from the interview and assessment process, in terms of telling and reflecting upon events that are often considered to be personally significant.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study

You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. If you decide to stop participating, you will still be eligible to receive the promised incentive and all data generated as a consequence of your participation will be destroyed. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project.

Confidentiality

Unless you choose otherwise, all information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Given the public nature of activism and that most participants do wish their name to be known, and yet in keeping with ethical treatment of personal information, you will be given the option of including your name and picture in a gallery of participants. In any case, any direct quotations from interviews will be attributed to your pseudonym (last name assigned, first name chosen by you). Paper data will be safely stored in a locked, fire-proof container in the home safe of the principal investigator: electronic data will be stored in an encrypted drive on the principal researcher's computer. Data will be destroyed or archived permanently after 7 years in a locked, fire-proof container. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions About the Research?

If you have questions about the research or your role in the study, please contact Laurie Hollis-Walker either by telephone at 905-517-8222 or e-mail (lauriehw@yorku.ca). This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact Ms. Alison Collins-Mrakas, Manager, Research Ethics, 309 York Lanes, York University, telephone (416-736-5914 or e-mail (acollins@yorku.ca). You may also contact Professor Laurie Wilcox, Director, Graduate Studies in Psychology, Behavioural Sciences Building, Room 297, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Toronto, ON M3J 1P3 telephone (416-736-5290) or fax (416-736-5814).

Legal Rights and Signatures

My pseudo family name is: _____

I would like my pseudo first name to be _____

I request my name and photograph to be included in gallery of activist participants.

Initials _____

I, _____ consent to participate in Agents of Change conducted by Laurie Hollis-Walker, MA. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____ Date _____
Participant

Signature _____ Date _____
Laurie Hollis-Walker (principal investigator)

Appendix D: Lived experience of nonviolence interview

Information obtained verbally prior to commencement of interview

Demographic information

1. Please supply your preferred contact information.
 - a. County:
 - b. Address:
 - c. Address 2:
 - d. City/Town:
 - e. State:
 - f. ZIP/Postal Category:
 - g. Country:
 - h. Email Address:
 - i. Phone Number:
2. With which gender do you currently identify?
 - a. Male, Female, Male to Female, Female to Male, Other
3. What is your year of birth?
4. What is your age?
 - a. 18–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59, 60–69, 70–79, 80+
5. What is your current marital status?
 - a. Single, Co–habitating, Married, Separated, Divorced
 - b. Other (specify)
6. If relevant, what was your previous marital status?
7. What is your highest level of education completed?
 - a. Grade school, High school, College, Post graduate
8. Are you working currently (whether paid or unpaid)?
 - a. Part–time, Full–time, Paid position, Volunteer
9. What is your occupation?
 - a. What is your annual income?
 - i. <\$10,000, \$10 - 19,000, \$20 - 34,000, \$35 - 49,000, \$50 - 65,000, >\$65,000

About activism and Headwaters

10. Do you call yourself an ‘activist?’ If not, what do you call what you do?
11. What year did you start to ‘do’ activism [or term elicited above]?
12. Since then, have there been periods of inactivity in your activism?
 - a. If yes, please describe briefly time period(s) and reasons for inactivity in your activism.
13. In what years did you participate in action(s) for Headwaters? Please choose all that apply.

- a. 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002
- b. Other (specify)

Audio-recorded portion of interview

About activism

1. Please comment on an event or action that was particularly powerful or meaningful to you.
 - a. What did you take from that event? (What did you learn?)
2. How did you first find out about Headwaters? How did you become involved?
 - a. Please describe briefly your involvement for Headwaters.
3. As an activist are you committed to nonviolence?
 - a. Please comment briefly on your views regarding nonviolence.

Influences: People, community, and ideas

4. Please identify the single person or group who has had the greatest impact on your activism.
 - a. Describe how they have influenced you.
5. Do you belong to any groups or organizations?
 - a. If so, please describe
 - i. Your role
 - ii. The kinds of things you do, and
 - iii. Any projects you're working on currently
6. Have there been any books, either fiction or non-fiction that were particularly important or informative to your activism?
 - a. What were they? And
 - b. What kind of impact did they have?

Influences: Early development and life events

7. In your opinion, what in your early development led you to or has influenced your activism?
8. What, if any role does your family play in your activism?
9. Not everything we do is planned out. Sometimes chance events place significant roles in our lives. Have there been any accidental or circumstantial events that were significant in your commitment to activism? If so, choose one event and describe what happened and the role it plays in your story.

Influences: Barriers and supports

10. What have been the primary supports that have sustained you in your activism? (e.g., qualities of self, environment, etc.)
11. What, if any obstacles or barriers to your activism have you encountered?
12. Do you have a hero?
 - a. Who is it?
 - b. Why is this your hero?
 - c. What, if anything does your knowledge of this individual relate to your personal philosophy? To your activism?

Lived experience of activism

13. Please tell me about a place that is special or meaningful to you.
 - a. What, if anything about your activism is related to place?
14. What advice would you offer a young activist?

Final audio-recorded question

15. What are the reasons that you agreed to participate in this research study?