

October 14th, 2012

Dear Workshop Members,

My sincere apologies for sending this draft to you so late in the game.

As you'll see, the draft is very much a first run at exploring some key issues in the anti-fracking mobilization of the past year.

I'm interested in your feedback with respect to the following concerns in terms of drawing out the case more effectively:

- 1) How might I develop and draw on more evidence from the anti-fracking movement? My goal is to eventually generate a Tarrow-inspired "statistical profile" of the movement's activities, demographics, and connections to other movements. What kinds of data gathering techniques might be useful besides the familiar "content analysis" approach? How might I best systemize my data to demonstrate more broadly the connections I assert in the draft?
- 2) How might I draw from my literature review more persuasively? Right now I have much about diffusion theories and case studies but not a lot of content that links that literature to this case. Are there perhaps readings I'm missing or might find useful?
- 3) How might I best tie the case study to theoretical questions more fluidly and with greater finesse than I have here?

Thanks so much for your helpful comments. I truly look forward to our discussion on Thursday.

Best,

Cecelia

“No Fracking Way: The spread of national and international anti-fracking mobilization”

Abstract: The spread of anti-fracking, the movement against “hydraulic fracking” otherwise known as “fracking” beneath the earth’s surface has spread nationally and internationally during the past several years. What are the concerns within anti-fracking? What’s at stake for activists? What connections—if any—exist to other, outside movements such as the Occupy movement? The study will present a brief timeline and history of ‘anti-fracking,’ its tactical connection to the Occupy movement, and its possible international links to global anti-fracking campaigns.

“Greedy oil and gas companies of this country have decided that they can squeeze every last little ounce of oil and gas out of previously pumped wells by injecting the substrata of our planet with highly toxic carcinogenic chemicals ... they’re poisoning our drinking water ... ladies and gentlemen, we’re screwed.”

--David Letterman, July 2012

I. Introduction

Anti-fracking is a collection of organizations and events that draw upon the old and new repertoire from recent Occupy mobilizations (Tarrow, 2012) of direct action tactics coupled with the use of an inequality frame of corporate greed and rural poverty to fight against natural gas extraction throughout the United States. In addition, anti-fracking mobilization has emerged as a burgeoning international campaign with actions throughout Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa furthered along by the recent enactment of a “global day of action.”

The current public debate about energy production in the United States tends to focus on the production and use of petroleum. However, often overlooked is the extent to which the United States generates a significant amount of its energy use from natural gas. In 2011, the United States used roughly 25% of its energy from the extraction of natural gas¹ based on technological innovations that have made gas drilling more efficient than previous eras of energy production. New technologies for drilling and gas extraction, known as “hydraulic fracking” include drilling into rock with a combination of water, chemicals with application of intense pressure in order to “frack” or break the rock and release the desired natural gas². The US Energy Information Administration reported that in 2010 the increase in the number of drilling sites combined with the increased technological ease—and relatively low cost--of gas extraction through “hydrofracking” created a rise in demand of natural gas nationwide. The increase in natural gas extraction and use (primarily for electricity) has also coincided with an increase in the cost of the most significant energy source for the United States—a rise in the price of oil. The number of potential locations for the possible “hydrofracking” of natural gas within the contiguous United States is around nineteen shale formations, including the Barnett Shale in East Texas, the

¹ US Energy Information Administration report, 2011.

² See BBC illustration of hydro-fracking, Appendix II.

Haynesville Shale in Louisiana, Utica Shale in Arkansas. Among the most visible anti-fracking campaigns in the United States targets hydraulic fracking within the Marcellus Shale. The Marcellus Shale is a formation that stretches from West Virginia to upper New York State and into the Great Lakes (EIA report, 2010; see Map I).

As significant as the rise of fracking for energy production may be for energy observers, equally pressing for analysts of collective action is the concurrent rise of resistance against the use of hydro-fracking by local communities throughout the United States, from Colorado to Ohio to Pennsylvania to New York State. Beginning in the mid-'00s, small town communities targeted by natural gas corporations for drilling primarily in rural locales have reacted against the spread of natural gas drilling--although certainly not unanimously against the practice of hydraulic fracking. Encompassed with the rise of anti-hydrofracking mobilization is the dynamic relationship between activists organized against fracking and the recently visible and organized Occupy Movement. In addition, anti-hydrofracking mobilization is frequently written about and understood in the American press as a movement localized and contained exclusively within rural communities. Despite its grounding in local—and often rural-based rhetoric—anti-hydrofracking is also a global campaign that has spread nationally within the United States and internationally, with anti-fracking campaigns organized from England to Ireland to France to South Africa, among other states. The following discussion will draw out the history of anti-fracking within the United States through an account of its domestic mobilization, particularly with respect to tactical ties to Occupy and discuss its loose affiliation as a possible—although not fully formed--transnational advocacy campaign. The recent wave of anti-fracking protests within and outside the United States may direct scholars of contemporary contentious politics to investigate evidence of tactical diffusion processes and allow further examination of a transnational tactical repertoire and efforts at internationalization (Wood, 2007; Tarrow 2005). In the following discussion I will discuss the transmission of and links between Occupy-led tactics and recent anti-fracking mobilization including discussion of what tactics have diffused between the two mobilizations. I will provide a synthesis of prior literature on the spread of tactics and knowledge building between social movements—domestic and transnational. In addition, I will illuminate how anti-fracking continues to expand across state borders with a familiar repertoire known to transnational activists involved in climate change activism—the persistence of the climate change/climate justice frame that links environmental abuses with class and economic inequality. For example, from US-based *Peaceful Uprising's* mission statement as a climate change, anti-fracking group:

“Every living person depends on the environment. The current system consolidates wealth in the hands of a corporate minority, while threatening the health and security of all people. It is the least privileged and most vulnerable global citizens who are the first to feel the effects of the climate crisis, and who suffer the most damage. The climate movement is NOT the environmental movement.”

Current anti-fracking mobilization serves an example of social movement “spin-off” and “spillover” (McAdam, 1995; Meyer and Whitter, 1997) from the Occupy movement in that its focus continues to be the devastating impact of natural gas extraction on surrounding natural settings and human populations. My early research has yielded findings that indicate anti-fracking statements make explicit how domestic and global inequality creates conditions of environmental and human exploitation.

II. Anti-fracking mobilization: What is it and what does it look like?

Perhaps of all of the images generated during Josh Fox's *Gasland* of natural gas extraction's environmental threats, the most devastating and memorable may be the flammable water. The image of the water faucet ablaze is repeated again and again in anti-fracking reporting and anti-fracking group generated literature (See Picture I). Fox's investigative narrative into the potentially harmful consequences of natural gas extraction reveals the extent of contaminated water for residents of small town Colorado and Wyoming.³ Fox requested residents to perform a visual test of drilling's damage: place a small flame by a running faucet. Viewers understand the performance as routinized for the residents who clearly know their water is flammable (one resident displays a sign which reads—with pithy understatement—"Don't drink the water.") We watch as the flame gets closer to the water and the liquid literally explodes into a ball of blue and yellow fire, coming close to burning the arm of the participant. In vignette after vignette, Fox provides "water stories" of contamination linked directly to the negligence of the natural gas extraction process conducted by large and powerful energy corporations. Fox's film may be among the most widely spread anti-fracking "literature" to circulate globally. Within the film, Fox—who presents himself as a kind of Michael Moore-hipster-'everyman'—details the current struggle against government and corporate corruption.⁴ In his own arrest at a recent hearing in Washington DC on the EPA's investigation of possible water contamination generated by natural gas extraction in Wyoming helped garner further publicity for his film and the film's topic.⁵ Fox's film—based on his own biography as a childhood resident of rural Pennsylvania and subsequent target of a natural gas company resident buyout in 2008—spread throughout the international film community and also among nascent anti-fracking groups coming to terms with an often hostile national political context.

Political elites on the national level appear aligned in their support for fracking. During the election of 2012, President Obama and Republican candidate Mitt Romney provided public support for the expansion of natural gas extraction as an alternative to the oft-repeated "dependence on foreign oil." On a state level, elites appear less aligned—or least are less publically in agreement with pro-fracking sentiments. As Fox's film details, the practice of hydraulic fracking began within Western and Southern states. Fox points out how the West and South may indeed offer a glimpse into the future for residents besieged by fracking practices, particularly potential fracking sites within Northeastern states. Pennsylvania's history of using hydraulic fracturing dates back at least to the mid-19th century when the state first began drawing from natural gas within the Marcellus shale. The issue has remained contentious within the state. The current 2012 race for governor in Pennsylvania has the two candidates split on the legality of

³ The natural gas and oil industry countered *Gasland*'s claims with their own industry generated "Truthland: A Dispatches from the *Real* Gasland (2012)." Among other organizations involved in the production of the film, the 34-minute film was funded by the Independent Petroleum Association of America.

⁴ Fox locates the spread of natural gas drilling to 1) technological changes in drilling capabilities and 2) to federal legislative transformations that have led government agencies to rescind their commitments to environmental protections and multi-national energy corporations to expand their quest for cheaper and more efficient fossil fuels.

⁵ *Gasland* has been the recipient of a myriad of film awards and award nominations, including nomination for Best Documentary at the 2010 Academy Awards.

fracking. Predictably, the Republican incumbent governor publically denounced anti-fracking arguments, while the Democratic candidate is in favor for further study.

While Pennsylvania finds itself again debating the value of fracking to the state's economy, the fracking conflict within nearby New York State has generated significant national attention and notice with the media spotlight within the US devoting time and space to the issue within New York State. The Cuomo Administration recently announced no further commitments to beginning or ending hydraulic fracking until additional studies, this time with an emphasis on the effects of fracking on "public health," be conducted (NYTimes, Sept. 20th 2012). The attention is not unsurprising given Coumo's soon to be announced decision-- should he allow fracking in portions of the state--would potentially overturn 2008 legislation banning hydrofracking in the state.

With political elites somewhat aligned and somewhat divided over the use of fracking within the Northeast in particular, actors operating outside of institutional politics are not ambivalent about their support and connection to anti-fracking mobilization. Anti-fracking actions within the United States have drawn explicitly from the tactical repertoire of the Occupy movement—and in the association with Occupy anti-fracking mobilization synthesizes "traditional" environmental rhetoric with a social justice/inequality frame in the fight to restrict the use of natural gas extraction that marks it as perhaps innovative as a burgeoning social movement. Similar to environmental justice movement arguments during the late 1980s with respect to local community struggles around environmental threats and resulting health disparities based on long standing racial inequality, so too is anti-fracking providing a class-based inequality analysis with respect to fracking for natural gas. In addition to a persistent inequality framework, international mobilization outside the United States appears to have grown increasingly organized. Tactics for international anti-fracking also draw from the by-now familiar transnational tactic with use of a 'global day of action' carried out during September 2012.

Occupy and Anti-fracking

In a recent discussion on the future of Occupy, Sidney Tarrow offered predictions on how and where Occupy may reconvene as a movement. As he argued, "The movement is not going to revive in its original form. Its revival is taking three forms: spinoffs, spinouts, and brokerage between institutional and movement politics."⁶ Given the tactical overlap between anti-fracking and Occupy, specifying what is/was the Occupy "movement," and what dimensions mark it as an emergent social movement is necessary. How can we understand the anti-fracking movement as a "spin-off" of the Occupy movement?

The Occupy protesters who converged in a small park above the oldest portion of settled land in Manhattan during mid-September 2011 coordinated a swift moving, direct democracy campaign against inequality (Gitlin, 2012). Not that this was perhaps what activists initially intended in terms of rapid diffusion, but by the end of September 2011 Occupy protests had spread to significant number of key sites nationally and internationally. Recent analysts have begun to stitch together a "statistical profile" of the Occupy movement (Tarrow, Suh and Lim, 2012; Vasi and Suh 2012) that includes findings on the tactical content of Occupy—what made Occupy

⁶ Inaugural Lecture, Consortium on Social Movement Studies, European University Institute, Florence, April 30, 2012

Occupy? Vasi and Suh’s data examines “how online activities contribute to offline protests (Vasi and Suh, p5).” Their findings reveal that coordination of Occupy “in person” protests may rest largely on the use of social media sites Facebook and Twitter. The use of Internet resources helped spread the movement from local action to national and eventual international coordination with unprecedented speed (Vasi and Suh, 2012). Rapid diffusion of tactical forms is not the only unique dimension of the Occupy mobilization during the fall and early winter of 2011. As Tarrow (2012) details, Occupy drew on the tactic of public space occupation, a “relative newcomer” of within the occupation genre.

From Tarrow, Suh and Lim (2012):

Table 3: Sites of Occupy Movement, September-October 2011

Sites	N	%
Parks	58	22
Squares	44	17
State building	37	14
University campus	35	13
Street	35	13
Downtown/Center	18	7
Bank	12	5
Federal Building	3	1
Bridge	2	1
Others	20	8
Total Sites	264	100

Data Source: the Guardian’s interactive data (www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2011/oct/17/occupy-protests-world-list-map).

Note: A single city can occupy multiple occupy sites. The number of cities that includes occupy sites in the dataset is 175.

The occupation of public space was meant to symbolize for Occupy activists—and broadcast to outside audiences--a reclaiming of *public* space as space beyond the claims of corporate and financial interests, beyond the constraints placed on *public* activities by the state (Tarrow, 2012). Along with the use of social media, the occupation tactic became the defining tactic of the movement replicated again and again in public space after public space. Occupy’s spin-off of anti-fracking mobilization also focuses on the use of space within an anti-corporate framework. Perhaps unsurprising then is anti-fracking’s incorporation of direct action “occupation” as a

tactic connected to Occupy's far reaching influence. [Include: Spread and Use of Inequality frame?] From a March 2012 sit-in statement by Ohio activists:

"We are **sitting in** because we are not expendable, and we will not allow Ohio to remain a dumping ground for toxic fracking wastewater.

We are **sitting in** because wastewater is the Achilles' heel of the fracking industry, and shutting down Ohio's poisonous injection wells will slow down hydraulic fracturing operations across the Marcellus and Utica shales."⁷⁷

Thus, the connection between Occupy and anti-fracking is evidenced in terms of tactical borrowing and rhetorical framing. In May 2012, the *Occupy 'Well' St.* organization mobilized a direct action anti-fracking "Day of Action" that included an occupation and blockage of a road to and from a fracking site in Pennsylvania (See Pictures2). *Occupy 'Well' St.* organizers claimed to enlist direct action tactics to draw attention to hydraulic fracking problems and moreover prevent industry from further extraction. In other words, through direct action anti-fracking activists work to continually shut down fracking operations. Occupy activist Alexander Lotorto drew on his activist training in Occupy to set up similar tactics and rhetoric with respect to his work on anti-fracking in Pennsylvania. His direct action work includes training potential activists in order to implement a sit-in model of protest. In this spirit, Lotorto drafted a manual for anti-fracking direct action. He said in an interview from February 2012, "It's primarily city people doing Occupy," he says. "We [in rural Pennsylvania] don't have corporate offices, but we do have gas wells. They are the biggest footprint Wall Street has in our communities."⁸⁸ If Occupy is to urban as anti-fracking is to rural, as Lotorto details in his comments, then anti-fracking is linked to Occupy through the challenge each mobilization makes to corporate power, influence and investment. As anti-fracking has gained recent public attention, activists and organizations have drawn media attention from their tactics in addition to their anti-fracking messages. A direct action tactic gave a June 2012 protest at the Schlumberger Limited industrial facility in Horseheads, New York increased visibility. Activists cited their work as part of a broader social movement performance in order to draw attention to power and class inequality:

"Direct action is about directly confronting fracking at its source—industrial facilities. We cannot rely on politicians, many of whom are in industry's pocket, to keep us safe. We have to stand up to this profit-mongering industry and shut them down ourselves. We have the right and responsibility to defend our land, water and communities in every way possible," said Nell Gagnon, one of the organizers."

Direct action is a tactic drawn upon not only within the context of the United States, but as a form of international contentious performance. The global day of action known as a "Global Frackdown" on September 22nd, 2012 helped propel anti-fracking mobilization internationally. Lesley Wood writes, "Global days of action are a growing form of transnational contention (Wood, 2003, p71)." Anti-fracking activists used this day to further articulate claims around anti-fracking to take shape. For example the "Frack Attack" activists' toolkit and action guide includes:

- Human signs spelling out "Ban Fracking" targeting decision-makers
- Protests or street theater outside oil or gas company headquarters or elected officials' offices

⁷⁷ PeacefulUprising.org

⁸⁸ Interview with Pennlive.com, February 12th, 2012.

- Frackdown mock wrestling event where community members take on oil/gas executives and/or elected officials
- Erect and take down fake drilling rig in park or public square and put up wind turbine
- Film screenings of *Gasland* or *Split Estate*
- Petition gathering actions
- Visibility events at key intersections with signs
- Assemblies/pot lucks about fracking with community members⁹

Within Great Britain, organized protest has publicly taken the form of *Camp Frack*, a Lancashire-based public protest conducted during September 2011 and developed by anti-climate change activist organization, Campaign Against Climate Change. The direct action protest took the form of a protest “camp” set up by activists to confront hydraulic fracking conducted by Cuadrilla Resources.¹⁰

International actions include public statements against global fracking efforts, with attention and emphasis given to the coalition of activists and groups raising opposition to hydraulic fracking.

The June 2012 declaration against fracking drew together 26 signatories from a range from global environmental groups including Food & Water Europe, Attac France, Friends of the Earth, Canada, France, *Observatorio Petrolero Sur*, Argentina.¹¹

Increasingly these international actions appear a blend of direct action (Camp Frack) and international contentious performances (Day of Action) that perhaps draw less from Occupy tactical diffusion and more from the transnational forms of social movement tactics that have emerged during the past several decades.

III. The Spread of Domestic and Transnational Social Movements (TSMs): Impact of Occupy and Anti-Fracking on Social Movement Literature

What are the consequences of the spread of Occupy tactics to anti-fracking activities and mobilization? What does this case study tell us further about theorizing on social movement dynamics, including the spillover and spin-off between and among movements? The effects of interaction between the state and social movements are McAdams’ (1994) focus within the conceptual development of *spin-off* and *initiator* movements. *Spin-offs*--thereby de-emphasizing the importance of political opportunities in their tactics and strategies--innovate and change the cultural forms initiator movements often neglect to challenge. Rather than assume movements are discrete entities with particular, individual internal compositions,¹² McAdam develops the categories of *spin-off* and *initiator* movements, separated by their dependence on dissimilar social processes¹³, yet both located within an expansive political and cultural field, often struggling for survival and dependent on similar repertoires

⁹ GlobalFrackdown.org

¹⁰ “Shale gas drilling protest camp sets up in Lancashire” BBC online. September 16th, 2011.

¹¹ For a full statement, see Appendix I.

¹² McAdam notes that political process theory offers explanations for movement emergence, and fails to theorize on the developmental contingency of movements on one another (McAdam, p220). From “Initiator” and “Spin-off” Movements: Diffusion Processes in Protest Cycles”, in *Repertoires & Cycles of Collective Action*. (1995). Duke University Press: Durham.

¹³ Ibid, p219.

and strategies for action (McAdam, 1994)¹⁴. McAdam writes, “Repertoires, then, are properly viewed as among the key cultural innovations whose diffusion gives the protest cycle its characteristic shape and momentum (p236).” McAdam argues *initiator* movements develop in response to large-scale structural changes, attempt to undermine current arrangements of power and respond to openings of political opportunity.¹⁵ As their title indicates, *spin-off* movements develop after the spread of *initiator* movements across political and cultural fields. As *spin-off* movements emerge, McAdam argues, they are less dependent on opportunities provided by the state, and organizational forms established by previous, initiator movements. Thus, *initiator* movements may help galvanize later movements of struggle, but movements developed from initiators’ influence do not develop or grapple with the same challenges to existing political power. Instead, McAdam argues, *spin-off* movements focus on the lessons learned from *initiator* movements in attempting to confront and reconfigure dominant cultural values. McAdam’s discussion of latecomer or *spin-off* movements emphasizes two features crucial to social movement participation. Engagement in collective action depends upon rational, critical appraisal of existing social relations and a commitment to group action.¹⁶ McAdam terms these dual conditions “cognitive liberation.” Scholars of social movements have analyzed and elucidated elements of McAdam’s category of “cognitive liberation”, unpacking its epistemological and ontological composition. Meyer and Whittier’s analysis of the “spillover” between several “new” social movements—feminism and anti-nuclear, peace movements— theorize on the processes through which movements adopt and diffuse between one another. They argue that a group of social movements may be located together within a field of social movements, movements often work in coalition with one another.¹⁷ Furthermore, spatial and ideological overlap may lead to the creation of a social movement community, in which cultural practices from one movement, such as writings, music and art are then shared and incorporated by another, linked group. Shared practices are accompanied by shared use of participants. While sympathetic to political process accounts of diffusion, Meyer and Whittier argue that within the broad public, political sphere, *spin-off* and *spill-over* movements impact institutional practices. For example, women from the former second wave feminists were able to use pre-existing activists networks as well as current employment opportunities (in politics, law and research foundations, for example) to raise financial and ideological support for the emerging anti-nuclear movement (Meyer and Whittier, 1993). Whittier and Meyer’s analysis of the relationship between feminist and anti-nuclear movements demonstrates the interaction between the formulation of a collective identity and the diffusion of practices and ideas. The process of forming communities and enacting collective identities among group members means developing not only a sense of the groups and ideas “we” are against, but also who “we” are a part of, the coalitions and groups “we” are also simultaneously in alignment (Polletta and Jaspers, 2001). Social movement communities and activist identities are formulated not only in response to opposition parties, but in dialoging, speaking and linking to other movements similar to their own.

As theorists of social movements and diffusion have recently incorporated into their analysis, technological changes in mass communication and transportation and subsequent changes among ties between individuals have deepened the intensity and speed of diffusion, and help account for the spread of a movement’s tactics, identities and goals (Tarrow, 2006). Recent studies on social movement diffusion have also attempted to capture the specific dynamics that account for the types of ties and spread of a movement across geographic expanse.

¹⁴ McAdam writes “...[spin-off and initiator movements] are but a part of a broad and rapidly expanding political-cultural community fighting the same fight on a number of related fronts. And a significant part of what links and defines those groups as a coherent community is their reliance on the same tactical forms (p. 236).”

¹⁵ McAdam argues political opportunities exist when conditions between challengers and state adversaries allow for a breakdown of power differentials to occur between the two sets of actors.

¹⁶ McAdam (1994), p228.

¹⁷ Meyer and Whittier, p490.

Soule's (1995) analysis of shantytown tactics among US college students expands upon the preliminary findings of McAdam and Rucht's research on the conditions of cross-national activist networks among the US and German New Left. Contrary to McAdam and Rucht's hypothesis that an interaction of direct and indirect ties contributes to diffusion within movements, Soule's findings on the spread of a particular tactic among college students of similarly ranked institutions indicate that the strength of indirect ties contributes significantly to the solidification of a group's collective identity (Soule, p873). According to Soule, the shantytown tactic diffused across particular higher education institutions, ones that shared similar structural location as elite, well-endowed, wealthy colleges and universities. Soule's analysis underscores the connection between similar networks, ties and the establishment of a sense of solidarity and shared "we-ness" in helping diffuse ideas and practices within social movement organizations.

The construction of shared solidarity and similarity between transnational dimensions within a set of connected movements is often arrived at, if at all, through struggle and contestation. Wood provides an (2001) account of internal strategies within recent anti-globalization organizations. Based on observations of organizational meetings, Wood argues the asymmetric relationship between the global North and South is recreated within the anti-globalization movement's internal relations.¹⁸ Beginning with prior organizational and movement experience, participants often bring divergent knowledge and accounts about the role of social movements in relation to the state to movement meetings. Wood finds Northern participants frequently involved in anarchist, direct action, peace and environmental movements, while in the South, participants are involved with the work of unions, peasant and indigenous movements. Frequently, these structural dissimilarities, the lack of shared or similar backgrounds and experiences among participants, create conditions through which the construction of similarity and thus coalition building and the spread of tactics, become difficult to negotiate. How do these contemporary transnational movement actors, Wood questions, while acting in broad coalition with other actors, strategically respond to particular political and economic contexts and struggle to maintain ideological commitments that must traverse local and national geographic, economic, and cultural spheres? Smith's (1997) findings indicate that the more cohesive a network of transnational organizations within the environment or locale of other transnational organizations, the greater the facilitation for movement actors to overcome various challenges and constraints to transnational organization and mobilization. Smith notes in her study that the density of transnational social movement networks within their environment with other international organizations and non-governmental organizations is increasing—given their geographic dispersal and frequently overlapping membership.

Smith's and Tarrow's (2006) analysis on the personnel and organizational overlap within the field global organizations indicates, within the complex world of state borders and non-governmental organizations, changes or transformations that occur within the transnational space of some social movements are never complete and the continuation of transformations never secure. The space or location beyond, above or across state boundaries is continually formed and reformed. That is, transnational social movement organizations work constantly to reestablish the realm or space through which their work is done, above or beyond the broader world of individual sovereign states through which they must also interact and grow. Leila Rupp's (1997) analysis of early twentieth century transnational women's peace organizations details an earlier, more nascent version of the transnational sphere and the work activists devote to its preservation. Rupp's historical account presents how, at least for the cadre of leaders, friendship ties facilitated by internal interlocutors, established long standing connections among women participants located geographically throughout Europe. The close, almost-familial, quality of the social ties among

¹⁸ Wood discusses tensions within PGS surrounding undetermined and unestablished decision-making process. One source is the frequent suggestion of the Northern activists to base decision-making on consensus.

women leaders helped form a transnational space founded upon the recognition of, even celebration of through various rituals, participants' preexisting national identities while simultaneously also advancing international normative understandings of war, peace, and gender. Within these early forms of transnational organizing, participants' rigorous political engagement helped develop the template, Rupp argues, for a contemporary transnational collective identity, that is, their work modeled the balance of national with international political identities, soon after realized in post-war international relations with the formation of the United Nations, as the largest and most influential of international organizations. Thus, the international women's movement's influence, like much of transnational political organizing that begins with the abolitionist movement in the late 18th century, extended beyond their European locale and the historic context of their mobilization attempts.

The internal dynamics of a movement that help extend activist networks, information and material resources beyond state borders affects the development and maintenance of amorphous and elusive transnational space. Thorn's (2006) study of the South African anti-apartheid movement of the mid-twentieth century analyzes the transnational features of the movement, the influence of external and internal actors on different movement tactics and organizations. Similar to Rupp's analysis of international women's organizations, anti-apartheid activists' from the 1960s to the 1990s work through boycotts and sanctions, divestments and disinvestments, drew on both face to face interactions between key activists as well as in broad coalition with other, external actors. Thorn's study weaves an analytic account of the anti-apartheid movement from inside South Africa as well as outside the geographic location of the South African state, as the movement built alliances around either communist or anti-communist organizations within Europe and other international organizations, including the UN and the European Economic Commission. In addition, Thorn documents the influence of the Black Power movement based primarily within the United States on the South African movement. These outside movements and social ties that helped construct an imagined community of solidarity activists outside of the state boundary of South Africa helped build sustained transnational anti-apartheid actions across borders. As the international anti-apartheid movement worked through the system of nation states as well as the increasingly intensified processes of globalization that included an increase in the spread of forms of mass media, according to Thorn, borders of nation-states and national identities also became increasingly fluid and porous.

Conditions of contemporary globalization, or "internationalization" as Tarrow argues, impact how transnational movements shift, change, and spread tactics and ideas from one setting to another (Tarrow, 2005). In evaluating forms of diffusion and its consequences for a movement, Tarrow and McAdam (2006) hypothesize relational diffusion as a form of diffusion through which information diffuses from one site to another through familiar ties, given that activists most likely distribute information with colleagues they already know more than with less familiar colleagues. As a result, relational diffusion as a component of transnational movement dynamism carries with it far less transformative potential for a given movement, since activists are within familiar networks where expectations are clear. Evidence of the tactical spread between Occupy and anti-fracking mobilizations points to forms of diffusion based upon relational, thin diffusion where tactical forms such as phrases and rhetoric are spread based on upon preexisting ties. In the case of anti-fracking, tactical forms have not been altered or adapted with much variation from their "original" preceding forms.

The relationship between Occupy and anti-fracking mobilizations following Occupy's decline in visibility may be characterized as an example of movement "spin off" where tactical forms of direct action and inequality rhetoric have been used by activists to further claims around ending the use of natural gas extraction. Further research would help assess the extent to which international anti-fracking mobilization may remain more its "own" movement, independent from Occupy with respect to learning and adapting tactical forms.

Appendix I: “For a Future without Fracking! Statement of Anti-fracking groups at the Cupula Dos Povos:

“Gathered in Rio de Janeiro on Thursday 22nd June 2012 during the Peoples’ Summit, we, activists and campaigners engaged in the struggle against shale gas and shale coal and shale oil from around the world, including France, Spain, the United States, Canada (& Quebec), Australia, New Zealand and other countries, affirm our determination, our categorical opposition against all extraction of shale gas and shale oil and every use of hydraulic fracturing and other associated extractive industries such as frack-sand mining on our territories.

As many examples indicate in the United States, Canada, England and elsewhere, the exploitation of shale gas has led to countless cases of chemical and toxic pollution, violations of human rights, health consequences for the populations, the wasting of drinking water, destroying lands, earthquakes, hazardous air pollutants leading to poor air quality and major greenhouse gas emissions. In order to deal with the energy crisis, fracking is not only being promoted as a low carbon transition fuel, but is one of the “false solutions” of the Green Economy.

We reject shale and coal seam gas & shale oil here and everywhere, today and tomorrow.

We must substantially reduce our reliance on dirty, non-renewable sources of energy and call on our governments to invest in the deployment of energy efficiency and support the development of clean, renewable sources of energy alternatives.

Following the civil society mobilisations, especially the protests of local people most directly concerned, victory has been gained across the world with hydraulic fracturing being forbidden in hundreds of places on our planet.

To amplify these mobilisations, we engage ourselves to:

- Reinforcing the coordination of our actions at international level;
- Strengthen the alliances and solidarity between international, national and local movements;
- Work on a process at the international level to hold frackers legally accountable;
- Coordinate a global joint calendar;
- Build a day of international mobilisation as well as supporting all national action days against fracking.”

Signatories in Rio: Gabriella Zanzanaini (*Food & Water Europe*), **Maxime Combes** (*Attac France*), **Samuel Martin-Sosa** (*Ecologistas en Accion, Spain*), **Vincent Espagne** (*Collectif Plaines du Languedoc, France*), **Darcey O’Callaghan** (*Food & Water Watch, USA*), **Jacqueline Balvet** (*ATTAC France*), **Terran Giacomini** (*Friends of the Earth Canada*), **Terisa Turner** (*Friends of the Earth Canada, Ecosocialist Horizons*), **Patrick Bonin** (*Association Québécoise de lutte contre la pollution atmosphérique – AQLPA, Québec*) **Antonelle Risso**, **Mariann Lloyd-Smith** (*National Toxics Network, Australia*), **Fanny Simon** (*Aitec, France*), **Juliette Renaud** (*Amis de la Terre, France*), **ACSUR-Las Segovias** (**Spain**), **OMAL** (**Spain**), **Ekologistak Martxan** (**Basque Country**), **ISF** (**Spain**), **Alianza “¿Economía Verde? ¡Futuro imposible!”** (**Spain**), **Polaris Institute** (**Canada**), **Shiney Varghese** (*Institute For Agriculture and Trade Policy, IATP, USA*), **Michel Lambert** (*ALTERNATIVES, Canada*), **Nathalie Seguin** (*Freshwater Action Network*), **Beatrice Olivastri** (*Friends of the Earth Canada, Canada*), **Elizabeth Peredo Beltran** (*Campaña Octubre Azul, Bolivia*), **Antonio Tricarico** (*Re:Common, Italy*), **Mary Church** (*Friends of the Earth Scotland, UK*), **Romain Porcheron** (*Friends of the Earth, France*), **Hector de Prado** (*Amigos de la Tierra, Spain*) **Paul de**

Clerk (*Friends of the Earth Europe*), **Rebecca Sommer** (*Earth Peoples International*), **René Lachapelle** (*Groupe d'économie solidaire du Québec – GESQ, Québec*), **Diego di Risio** (*Observatorio Petrolero Sur, Argentina*)

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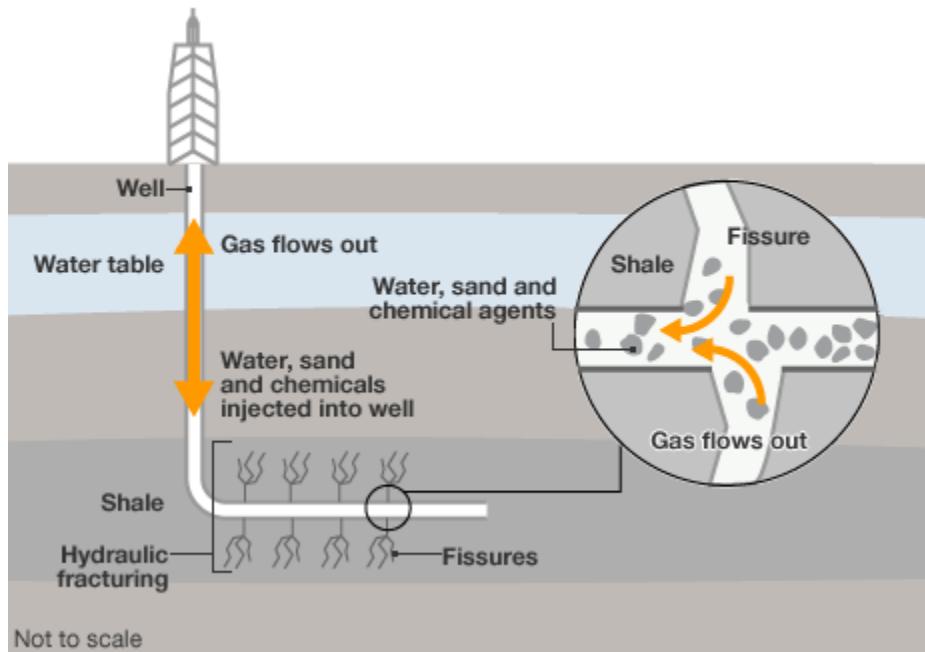
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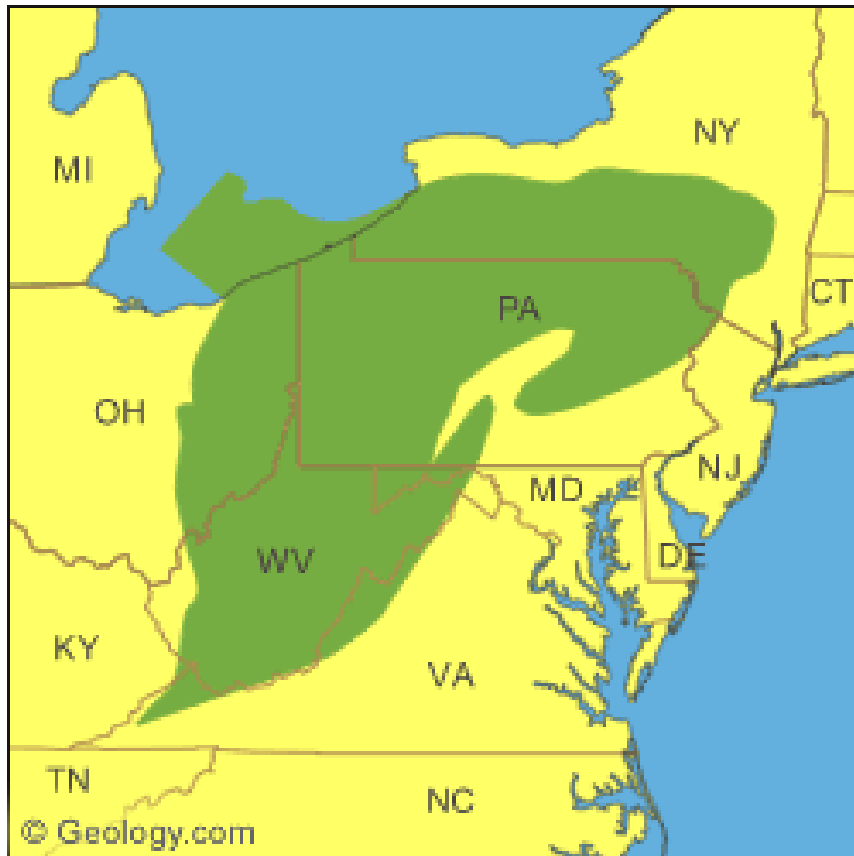
Appendix II.

Illustration of Hydrofracking (BBC News, September 16th, 2011)

Shale gas extraction



Map I. Map of Marcellus Shale



Picture 1. From Josh Fox's *Gasland*.



Picture 2. *Occupy Well St.* Day of Action, May 2012

