

## CHAPTER 1: GOING FOSSIL FREE: A HISTORY OF THE FOSSIL FUEL DIVESTMENT MOVEMENT

Late in 2006, a handful of students at Vermont's Middlebury College sat down to plan life after graduation. They created three transparent maps of the United States. One charted coal mines. Another showed places with potential for wind energy. The third displayed regions with excellent craft beer. The syzygy spoke. They would move to Montana.<sup>7</sup>

Most of them had come to Middlebury interested in environmental advocacy. May Boeve, who graduated in February 2007, had grown up selling lemonade for PETA fundraisers.<sup>8</sup> In early 2005, after some of them took a winter-term course called "Building the New Environmental Movement" with environmental economist Jon Isham, they had helped organize a conference, MiddShift, that persuaded Middlebury to eliminate all greenhouse gas emissions. (The college is slated to meet that goal next year, in 2016.<sup>9</sup>) Their club, the Sunday Night Group, became what Isham called "the heartbeat of climate activism on this campus."<sup>10</sup> Now they wanted to boost the heart rate of the national environmental movement.

Before they headed west, another Middlebury professor approached them about helping him with a project. His name was Bill McKibben, and he was a visiting scholar of environmental studies. McKibben wanted to organize a day of climate action, with people around the country marching to call on the government to thwart climate change. He needed help coordinating the demonstrations. Were they interested?

They were. They cancelled the trip to Big Sky Country. Instead, with McKibben, they founded Step It Up. On April 14, 2007, the Step It Up National Day of Climate Action counted 1,400 distinct protests, each with banners that said, "Step It Up, Congress: Cut Carbon 80% by 2050." Congress did not cut carbon by 80 percent, but the Middlebury team persevered. In 2008, Step It Up grew into two organizations, 1 Sky in the United States, 350.org everywhere else. By October 2009, just before the December UN Framework Convention on Climate Change meeting in Copenhagen, 350.org organized another, even larger, set of simultaneous protests: 5,245 groups in 181 countries.

7 Karl Mathiesen, "May Boeve: The New Face of the Climate Change Movement," *Guardian*, April 8, 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/apr/08/may-boeve-new-face-of-climate-change-movement-350-org>.

8 Leanne Shear, "Youth in Action: May Boeve, Climate Change Activist," *The Nation*, April 8, 2009. <http://www.thenation.com/article/youth-action-may-boeve-climate-change-activist/>.

9 "Carbon Neutrality," Middlebury College. <http://www.middlebury.edu/sustainability/carbon-neutrality>.

10 Zach Despart, "Climate Change Movement Traces Roots to Addison County," *Addison County Independent*, September 18, 2014. <http://www.addisonindependent.com/201409climate-change-movement-traces-roots-addison-county>.

The Copenhagen talks melted into flimsy promises that disappointed every environmentalist. The Swedish Environment Minister Andreas Carlgren called it a “disaster.”<sup>11</sup> The Copenhagen accord brokered by President Barack Obama and Chinese premier Wen Jiabao officially recognized the dangers of the climate warming beyond 2 degrees Celsius, but asked signatory nations merely to promise to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to a level compatible with that temperature rise. The Copenhagen accord provided no enforcement machinery.

Government inaction in the next two years persuaded Bill McKibben that 350.org needed a new strategy. Previously, his approach “had been pretty much the same as everyone else’s: go through the political system,” McKibben recalls in his book, *Oil and Honey*.<sup>12</sup> But fossil fuel companies whose products caused climate change had lobbied and “schemed endlessly” to keep the political system from acting. What if the political system was the wrong target? “I had an idea—that we needed instead to go straight at the fossil fuel industry,” McKibben recalled.

McKibben’s weapon of choice was a campaign to disinvest from fossil fuel companies. Cut investments in the industry, stigmatize its practice, and make it unfashionable to associate with or accept donations from fossil fuel corporations. Fast forward a few years, and fossil fuel divestment, especially popular among youth, is now the fastest growing student movement. Three hundred forty-eight institutions have divested. These include the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (legatees of John D. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Company); the \$9 billion Norwegian Sovereign Wealth Fund (which got its money from Norwegian oil); and the World Council of Churches. Oxford University divested, as did Stanford. So did Georgetown University and Pitzer College.

In a May 2014 article for the *Guardian*, Christiana Figueres urged faith leaders and others to “find their voice on climate change,” and encouraged them to consider divesting.<sup>13</sup> Figueres, who watched the Copenhagen “disaster” in 2009 as a Costa Rican negotiator, is now executive secretary of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. She will oversee the next round of climate negotiations, scheduled for December of this year.

## Do the Math

The fossil fuel divestment movement first erupted in 2012, when McKibben published the article “Global

11 Reuters, “Copenhagen Climate Change Summit a ‘disaster,’ Sweden Says,” *New York Daily News*, December 22, 2009. <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/copenhagen-climate-change-summit-disaster-sweden-article-1.434637>.

12 Bill McKibben, *Oil and Honey: The Education of an Unlikely Activist*. New York: Times Books (2013), pg. 140.

13 Christiana Figueres, “Faith Leaders Need to Find Their Voice on Climate Change,” *Guardian*, May 7, 2014. <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/may/07/faith-leaders-voice-climate-change>.

Warming's Terrifying New Math" in the August edition of *Rolling Stone*. It went viral. McKibben had taught part-time at Middlebury since 2001, but his background was in writing. He edited *The Crimson* his senior year (1982) at Harvard and spent five years writing "Talk of the Town" for the *New Yorker* before leaving to work in environmental advocacy.

"To grasp the seriousness of our predicament, you just need to do a little math," McKibben explained in *Rolling Stone*. Having "reasonable hope" of staying beneath 2 degrees of warming required emitting no more than 565 gigatons of carbon dioxide. Fossil fuel companies had in their reserves enough to emit 2,795 gigatons—five times more. The environmental movement had struggled to coalesce into a politically powerful force, McKibben said, because it lacked a common goal: "A rapid, transformative change would require building a movement, and movements require enemies." Who was the enemy? McKibben's math gave him the answer:

*What all these climate numbers make painfully, usefully clear is that the planet does indeed have an enemy – one far more committed to action than governments or individuals. Given this hard math, we need to view the fossil-fuel industry in a new light. It has become a rogue industry, reckless like no other force on Earth. It is Public Enemy Number One to the survival of our planetary civilization.<sup>14</sup>*

That collective Public Enemy Number One came with an outline of As, Bs, and Cs beneath. Rex Tillerson, the CEO of Exxon, came out on top of the list: he planned for Exxon to spend \$37 billion a year for the next four years searching for oil and gas: "There's not a more reckless man on the planet than Tillerson." Charles and David Koch, libertarian philanthropists and owners of Koch Industries, immorally planned to "lavish" up to \$200 million on the 2012 election. Not even the US Chamber of Commerce escaped McKibben's ire. The Chamber had spent 90 percent of its political spending on Republicans, "many of whom," McKibben alleged, "deny the existence of global warming."

There were other reasons to take down the fossil fuel industry, besides the convenience of marking out a clear enemy. Slimming down our consumption of fossil fuels would help, but "At this point, effective action would require actually keeping most of the carbon the fossil-fuel industry wants to burn safely in the soil, not just changing slightly the speed at which it's burned." Putting a price on carbon was important, but how could Congress ever enact such a pricing scheme when the fossil fuel industry lobbied so hard against it? McKibben thought divestment could change that.

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14 Bill McKibben, "Global Warming's Terrifying New Math," *Rolling Stone*, July 19, 2012. <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/global-warmings-terrifying-new-math-20120719?page=3>.

McKibben's source for his math was a November 2011 report from the Carbon Tracker Initiative, a London group of environmentalist financial analysts who came up with the concept of a "carbon bubble."<sup>15</sup> Staying below a 2-degree rise in temperatures meant leaving 80 percent of fossil fuel reserves in the ground, stranding the majority of the corporations' assets.<sup>16</sup>

The report didn't specifically recommend investor action of the type McKibben suggested, but lead author James Leaton did suggest that financial regulators "do the maths" (British style) and "assess" the risks of the bubble. He urged regulators to "send clear signals" for corporations to "shift away from the huge carbon stockpiles" for the sake of the climate and their investors. "This is the duty of the regulator – to rise to this challenge and prevent the bubble bursting," the report admonished. Of course, the possibility of a burst bubble assumed that governing agencies would restrict the extraction and use of fossil fuels in the first place, which is precisely what McKibben's campaign hoped to achieve.

A few months after his terrifying math went viral online, McKibben biodiesel bused his way to 21 cities in a nationwide speaking tour called "Do the Math." He began in Seattle and wound down to Los Angeles, cross-country to Chicago, Columbus, Madison, Minneapolis, Boston, Philadelphia, Omaha, Boulder, and more. For those too far away, 350.org developed a "Do the Math" movie.<sup>17</sup> The kit came complete with schoolroom-esque banners. One showed the equation,  $CO_2 + \$ =$  a flaming earth. Another proclaimed, "WE > FOSSIL FUELS."

With strobe lights and a rotating line-up of musicians and minor celebrities, upwards of a thousand attendees packed into auditoriums. Charismatic, fist-pumping McKibben took center stage as the "talks" took on the verve of a rock concert. Desmond Tutu, the South African archbishop and Nobel Peace Prize recipient who blessed the 1980s divestment movement for helping to end apartheid, made an appearance. So did Naomi Klein, McKibben's colleague and a bestselling author. Klein's

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15 James Leaton, "Unburnable Carbon – Are the World's Financial Markets Carrying a Carbon Bubble?" Carbon Tracker Initiative. 2012, revised 2014. <http://www.carbontracker.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Unburnable-Carbon-Full-rev2-1.pdf>.

16 *Ibid.*

17 "The 'Do the Math' Movie," 350.org. <http://act.350.org/signup/math-movie/>.

background was in labor activism, and her previous books, *No Logo*, *Fences and Windows*, and *The Shock Doctrine*, castigated global corporations and the rise of capitalism.

McKibben's *Rolling Stone* article mentioned the word "divest" only in the context of a historical example, the 1980s apartheid divestment. But the lecture tour was more explicit. McKibben asked crowds to start local divestment campaigns, and to push their colleges, churches, charities, and pension funds to cancel endowment holdings in the top 100 oil and top 100 coal companies, identified in a list drawn up by the Carbon Tracker Institute.

The first crowd gathered on November 2<sup>nd</sup>, in Seattle, Washington. On the 5<sup>th</sup>, Unity College president Stephen Mulkey announced from Vermont that his college would divest from fossil fuels.<sup>18</sup> By the end of November, 350.org announced it had started 100 divestment campaigns.<sup>19</sup> 350.org estimated at the end of 2014 that 1,162 divestment campaigns have been launched since 2012.<sup>20</sup> Many are shepherded by paid 350.org staff; organized by 350.org-trained (and sometimes paid) students; use 350.org materials, press databases, and templates; and are hosted on the 350.org daughter site GoFossilFree.com.

### **350.org**

350.org is now one of the world's most visible environmentalist grassroots groups. It has organized hundreds of thousands of protests. It has 94 full-time staff in 15 countries<sup>21</sup> and an army of thousands of volunteers in nearly every other. Named for what the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change deems a safe number of carbon dioxide parts per million of molecules in the atmosphere, 350.org is the face of the international climate movement.

It also has as its leader one of the best-recognized faces of the environmental movement. In 1989 Bill McKibben wrote the first popularizing book on global warming, *The End of Nature*. A decade later he wrote *Maybe One: The Case for Smaller Families* (1999), and his *Deep Economy: The Wealth of Communities and the Durable Future* (2008) argued against growth as the measure of economic wellbeing. In *Eaarth: Making a Tough Life on a New Planet* (2011), McKibben postulated that ecological damage had so changed the planet it needed a new moniker (hence the extra "a"). Another eleven books tackled similar themes.

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18 Stephen Mulkey, "An Open Letter to College and University Presidents About Divestment from Fossil Fuels," *Sustainability Monitor*, November 13, 2012. <https://sustainabilitymonitor.wordpress.com/2012/11/13/an-open-letter-to-college-and-university-presidents-about-divestment-from-fossil-fuels/>.

19 "Over 100 Colleges and Universities Join 350.org Fossil Fuel Divestment Campaign," 350.org, November 29, 2012. <http://math.350.org/2012/11/29/divestment-campaign-spreads-to-over-100-campuses/>.

20 *Annual Report*, 350.org, 2014. <http://350.org/2014-report/>.

21 "Staff," 350.org. <http://350.org/about/team/>.

350.org's student founders remain at the center of the organization. May Boeve is executive director; Jamie Henn, Director of Communications and Strategy; Phil Aroneanu, US Managing Director; Will Bates, Global Campaigns Director; Jeremy Osborn, Operations Director. All graduated from Middlebury College between 2006 and 2007. Another three "Midd Kids" helped get 350.org off the ground but aren't official co-founders: Jon Warnow, now 350.org's Web Director, Jason Kowalski, Policy Director, and Kelly Blynn, who was Global Campaigns Co-Director until she left 350.org in May 2012. Blynn now manages a campaign to shift government funding away from highways and toward public transit and pedestrian and cyclist improvements. The distinction predates 350.org's existence. The five "official" co-founders worked with McKibben on Step It Up's first campaign back in April 2007; Warnow, Kowalski, and Blynn joined Step It Up in August of that year. Three months later, in November 2007, all eight students and McKibben helped Step It Up through its transition into 1 Sky and 350.org, and three years later all eight again worked to rejoin 1 Sky and 350.org.

Divestment is not 350.org's first try at making political theater out of a non-issue. In 2011, it drummed up anger around a little-noticed oil pipeline, Keystone XL, which has since become a national symbol of corporate greed and political arrogance for some and a national symbol of political fecklessness for others. McKibben, back at Middlebury that year to teach a course on "Social Movements, Theory and Practice" in the spring semester, noticed an article by James Hansen, the NASA scientist who in 1988 first testified to Congress about the greenhouse effect. Hansen's article argued that because new technologies had tapped "unconventional oil," especially those trapped in tar sands, we weren't reaching "peak oil" and the inevitable follow-on transition to renewable sources of energy. The construction of the Keystone XL pipeline, which would deliver tar-sands extracted oil from Canada to heartland United States, would strike a blow to the rise of renewable energy.

McKibben reached a decision, described his book *Oil and Honey*, to "organize the first major civil disobedience action for the climate movement." Shrinking personal carbon footprints and tweaking lifestyles wasn't going to cut it: "It was time to stop changing lightbulbs and start changing systems." He drew on the lessons of Martin Luther King, Jr. The environmental movement needed "the power King had tapped: the power of direct action and unearned suffering." That is, "We'd need to go to jail!"<sup>22</sup>

A few months later, in August 2011, McKibben did just that. He and 80 others spent a weekend in D.C.'s Central Cell Block after plopping down outside the White House fence. McKibben had spent "all summer plotting to get us arrested."<sup>23</sup> To his surprise, it worked.

<sup>22</sup> McKibben, *Oil and Honey*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>23</sup> McKibben, *Oil and Honey*, pg. 29.

350.org's anti-Keystone campaign shaped the divestment campaign that followed. Both campaigns depend on directly intimidating opponents with raw people power and anger. Both preach peaceful demonstration but seek to provoke reactions that allow them to pose as "oppressed" victims of oligarchic power. McKibben's plotting to go to jail is echoed in divestment campaigners' delight in directly clashing with campus administrators. When in April 2015, 19 Yale students holding a sit-in at the president's office were removed by campus police, the local campaign, Fossil Free Yale, immediately publicized a press release proclaiming, "Yale would rather arrest its students than re-engage in the conversation."<sup>24</sup> It didn't matter that that morning President Peter Salovey had sat down with his unplanned visitors and conversed.

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Like #NoKeystoneXL, divestment is a grassroots movement that bubbles into local boiling points, each of which is managed by a strategy and a network of organizers. Divestment taps into student anger and longing for a cause, but it also creates both that anger and that desire for a cause-focused community. National networks of power undergird the campaign. Organizational machinery creates a momentum that otherwise appears organic. Without 350.org and its astroturfing simulation of grass-roots inspiration, there would be no international divestment campaign.

### **Sowing Seeds of Divestment**

There was a small divestment campaign before 350.org took it up. But without Bill McKibben's prominence and 350.org's funding and strategy, it never would have ignited an international movement.

This first fossil fuel divestment campaign developed in fall 2010, two years before McKibben took his math on tour. Twelve students hatched the idea at Swarthmore College, an elite liberal arts college near Philadelphia with a heritage of progressive Quaker activism. That campaign, described in more detail in chapter 2, began after George Lakey, a Quaker activist and visiting professor of peace and conflict studies, brought his students to West Virginia to witness mountaintop-removal coal mining. His class returned to campus determined to wage a symbolic solidarity battle against fossil fuel extraction, and hit upon the idea of divestment.

The campaign garnered some traction. In spring 2012, a year and a half after the group formed, Swarthmore

<sup>24</sup> "Yale Police Arrests 19 Students Calling for Conversation on Fossil Fuel Divestment," *Fossil Free Yale*, April 11, 2015. <https://fossilfreeyale.org/2015/04/11/yale-police-arrests-19-students-calling-for-conversation-on-fossil-fuel-divestment/>.

Mountain Justice collected close to 700 student signatures on a petition supporting divestment. But it did not spread far beyond the groves of the Philadelphia suburb until after McKibben's Do the Math Tour catapulted the issue to prominence. Only after the issue caught on did Swarthmore develop into an important hub of training and organization. Since 2013, Swarthmore has hosted a national conference for divestment activists, founded the national Fossil Fuel Divestment Students Network, sent graduates into nearly every organization now working on divestment, and coordinated closely with national 350.org divestment campaigners. But McKibben's push was vital.

Meanwhile, a handful of other organizations dabbled in coal divestment campaigns. In June 2011, the Wallace Global Fund, founded by former US vice president and progressive activist Henry Wallace, hosted a meeting at its Washington, D.C. headquarters to discuss a coal divestment campaign.<sup>25</sup> That fall, the Sierra Club's Student Coalition launched two pilot divestment campaigns as part of its Campuses Beyond Coal project. Campuses Beyond Coal, first launched in 2009 and eventually growing to sixty campus chapters, targeted colleges that generated electricity from coal power plants and demanded they switch to solar and wind sources. In fall 2011, two chapters at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill and University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign pioneered simultaneous coal divestment campaigns. They asked their universities to divest from the "filthy fifteen," a list of coal burning utilities companies and coal mining corporations. Simultaneously students working closely with Swarthmore activists began Earlham REInvestment, a coal divestment campaign at Earlham College in Indiana.<sup>26</sup>

In 2012, As You Sow, one of the groups present for the Wallace Global Fund's divestment summit, published a "Coal Divestment Toolkit" that listed the "filthy fifteen" companies and asked students to help turn coal into a "pariah industry" that had lost its "social license to operate."<sup>27</sup> The toolkit and accompanying campaign infrastructure were funded by the Wallace Global Fund and the Educational Foundation of America. They were developed in partnership with ten other organizations: the California Student Sustainability Coalition, a network of student activists across California universities; Coal Swarm, an online directory of campaigns against coal; Energy Action Coalition, an emerging group of activists and organizations trying to speed the transition to wind and solar sources of energy; the Green Corps, a one-year field school for environmental activists; IB5K, a digital media group founded by the organizers of President Obama's wildly successful online outreach during his 2008 presidential campaign; the Responsible Endowments Coalition, an investments advocacy group that advised the Swarthmore campaign; the Sierra Club and Sierra Student Coalition; the Sustainable Endowments Institute, a spin-off

25 "Divest-Invest Fuel Change," Wallace Global Fund. <http://wgf.org/divest-invest/>.

26 "Why Should Earlham Divest?" *Earlham College REInvestment Campaign*. <https://earlhamreinvestment.wordpress.com/>.

27 "Coal Divestment Toolkit: Moving Endowments Beyond Coal," As You Sow. 2012. [http://www.asyousow.org/ays\\_report/the-coal-divestment-toolkit-moving-endowments-beyond-coal/](http://www.asyousow.org/ays_report/the-coal-divestment-toolkit-moving-endowments-beyond-coal/).

of Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, Inc. that advocates for climate-focused investments; and The Engage Network, a campaign management consultant.

The coalition assembled at the Wallace Global Fund introduced students to the idea of fossil fuel divestment as a tool to provoke climate policy, but it was Bill McKibben who gave the idea popular credibility. Wallace Global Fund managed to start six coal divestment campaigns early in fall 2012, just after Bill McKibben released his *Rolling Stone* article and just before he traversed the nation on the “Do the Math” tour. By the end of the fall semester, there were 50.

Activists at the Sierra Club pilot campaigns felt the rush of energy McKibben brought. Jasmine Ruddy, who joined UNC Beyond Coal her freshman year, just as the campaign moved away from protesting coal power plants and directly into divestment, said McKibben gave the divestment campaign cachet. When she first started training students, they had never heard of divestment and didn’t know or care much about the endowment. “People just looked at us like we were nuts—like this was just about finances, and had nothing to do with direct action and organizing students. We were trying to explain that it could do both.” It was lonely work: “I felt like we were walking in the dark with just us, Illinois, and Swarthmore.” Ruddy credits McKibben with doing a “fantastic job conveying to people that divestment is the most important thing that students can be doing to act on climate change.” The UNC campaign received direct help from 350.org, and the Sierra Club remained the group’s main funder and adviser, but Ruddy attributes the campaign’s surging popularity to 350.org.

Two colleges, in some ways, beat McKibben to the idea of fossil fuel divestment. Humboldt College quietly excluded fossil fuel investments for years. In 2014, more than a decade since it last held fossil fuel stocks, the college announced its “divestment” by “continuing” to screen out certain investments, including fossil fuels.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile Hampshire College established an “affirmative” investment policy in January 2012 that required all investments to meet specific standards of sustainability and social improvement.<sup>29</sup> Under this policy the college sold its fossil fuel stocks seven months before McKibben called on universities to “do the math.”

## Disruption

Within a few months of “Do the Math,” divestment was well underway. In December 2012, the City of Seattle became the first city to withdraw its investments from fossil fuels. In February 2013, Sterling

28 “Humboldt State University Targets Fossil Fuels and More,” *Humboldt State Now*, Apr 30, 2014. <http://now.humboldt.edu/news/humboldt-state-university-targets-fossil-fuels-and-more/>.

29 “Hampshire College Adopts Environmental, Social and Governance (ESG) Investing Guidelines,” Hampshire College, January 3, 2012.

College in Vermont divested,<sup>30</sup> then Maine's College of the Atlantic in March.<sup>31</sup> By the end of May, Green Mountain College in Vermont<sup>32</sup> and San Francisco State University Foundation had joined,<sup>33</sup> bringing the total number of college divestments to six.

Growing in confidence, the campaign became more aggressive. In February, Swarthmore students arranged for a "convergence" to train and rally student divestment activists. More than 200 students from 75 campuses flocked to the college. "PowerUp! Divest Fossil Fuels" met to discuss three goals: developing campaign tools for students to share; creating a communications network for students across the country (later that year, students forged the Fossil Fuel Divestment Students Network); and scaling up the movement while making it more "inclusive."<sup>34</sup>

Lilian Molina, a "mestiza environmental justice advocate," gave a plenary session talk about the environmental justice movement's roots. The environmental and civil rights movements first intersected in 1982, she said, in Warren County, North Carolina. There, in the town Shocco with a 75 percent African American population, the state of North Carolina had arranged to build a landfill for soil contaminated with Polychlorinated Biphenyls (a chemical banned from industrial use in 1979). The ensuing protests fused the non-violent techniques and concerns of the civil rights movements to environmental ends—and although they did not prevent the creation of the landfill, they ultimately succeeded in forcing its removal.

Molina urged students to work in "solidarity" with the "frontlines communities," but to note their own positions of "privilege," and to be careful to respect local communities. One of the first principles of the Bali Principles of Climate Justice, which Swarthmore Mountain Justice adheres to, is to affirm "the rights of indigenous peoples and affected communities to represent and speak for themselves."<sup>35</sup> Evidently a divestment campaign planned by students at an elite institution trying to express solidarity for the West Virginians they had met did not constitute "speaking" on behalf of them.

Further east, in April, 11 students at the Rhode Island School of Design plotted a surprise sit-in at the school's administrative building. Divest RISD had collected signatures from 1,000 students (half the student

30 Matthew Derr, "Why Sterling College Divested from Fossil Fuels," *Huffington Post*, February 6, 2013. [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/matthew-derr/college-fossil-fuel-divestment\\_b\\_2632391.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/matthew-derr/college-fossil-fuel-divestment_b_2632391.html).

31 "COA Divests!" College of the Atlantic. <http://www.coa.edu/live/news/745-coa-divests>.

32 "Green Mountain College Board Approves Divestment of Fossil Fuel Holdings," Green Mountain College. May 14, 2013.

33 "SF State Foundation Strengthens Its Commitment to the Environment," *SF State News*, April 3, 2014. <http://news.sfsu.edu/sf-state-foundation-strengthens-its-commitment-environment>.

34 Caitlin Kidder, "Divestment Convergence at Swarthmore Kicks Off," *The Nation*, February 24, 2013. <http://www.thenation.com/article/divestment-convergence-swarthmore-kicks/>.

35 Bali Principles of Climate Justice. August 29, 2002. <http://www.ejnet.org/ej/bali.pdf>.

body) and gotten a unanimous vote from the faculty senate on a resolution endorsing divestment, but the board had stalled. Sensing a need to “do something drastic,” organizer Emma Beede scheduled April 29<sup>th</sup> for campus rallies.<sup>36</sup> While activists had hung banners from every dormitory and dropped a hundred-foot-long sign, core members of the team slipped inside from the quad and announced that they were occupying the president’s office and would not leave until the college agreed to divest. One day later they vacated, pacified with an invitation to give a formal presentation to the board. (In May, the board created a focus group to study divestment, and two years later, in June 2015, the school announced its divestment from direct holdings in coal companies.<sup>37</sup>)

Swarthmore’s unusually belligerent activists sparked one of the divestment movement’s most notorious episodes. At the May 2013 board meeting, opened for the first time to all members of campus, a mob of Mountain Justice activists flooded the room and seized microphones from board members. For an hour and a half students lectured the board on the cycles of oppression that haunted them at college, including the board’s failure to divest. When one student opposed to divestment stood to ask the meeting to return to order, the activists clapped in unison to drown her out and asked her to leave. The meeting moderator, the dean of students Liz Braun, and president Rebecca Chopp all declined to intervene.

### **#RejectionDenied**

A series of divestment rejections checked the movement in 2013. Swarthmore officially rejected divestment in September 2013, citing its impotence to “change the behavior of fossil fuel companies, or galvanize public officials to do something about climate change.”<sup>38</sup> Pomona College declined divesting a few weeks later.<sup>39</sup> Rejections from Brown University<sup>40</sup> and Harvard followed in October. Harvard President Drew Faust avowed that “climate change represents one of the world’s most consequential challenges” but argued that divestment did nothing to stop climate change and would only embroil the university in partisan politicking. In an oft-quoted passage, she explained,

*We should, moreover, be very wary of steps intended to instrumentalize our endowment in ways that would appear to position the University as a political actor rather than an academic institution. Conceiving of the endowment not as an economic resource, but as a tool to inject the*

36 Emma Beede. Phone interview with Rachelle Peterson. August 6, 2015.

37 Email from Michael Spalter, Chair of the Board of Trustees, to all students, faculty and staff, June 1, 2015.

38 Gil Kemp, “An Open Letter on Divestment,” Swarthmore College. September 11, 2013. <http://www.swarthmore.edu/board-managers/open-letter-divestment>.

39 Letter from David W. Oxtoby, president of Pomona College, to the Pomona College Community. September 24, 2013.

40 Letter from Christina H. Paxson, president of Brown University, to Members of the Brown Community. October 27, 2013. <http://www.brown.edu/about/administration/president/2013-10-27-coal-divestment-update>.

*University into the political process or as a lever to exert economic pressure for social purposes, can entail serious risks to the independence of the academic enterprise. The endowment is a resource, not an instrument to impel social or political change.*<sup>41</sup>

Instead, she said, Harvard would hire its “first-ever” vice president for sustainable investing, who would try to engage in shareholder advocacy.

In December, the University of Vermont spurned divesting. A subcommittee of board members feared damaging the endowment’s performance.<sup>42</sup> Barry Mills, president of Bowdoin College, had already declined to divest in December 2012, tantalizing students as he did so. “I would never say never,” he said.<sup>43</sup> Vassar College, Cornell University,<sup>44</sup> Colorado College,<sup>45</sup> Bryn Mawr College,<sup>46</sup> Middlebury College,<sup>47</sup> the City University of New York,<sup>48</sup> and Haverford College<sup>49</sup> also said no to divestment.

By the end of 2013, rejections outpaced collegiate divestments by a ratio of 3 to 2. The score stood at divestments, 9; rejections, 14. In 2013 alone, 13 colleges and universities declined to divest, almost double the 7 that did.

***“Conceiving of the endowment not as an economic resource, but as a tool to inject the University into the political process or as a lever to exert economic pressure for social purposes, can entail serious risks to the independence of the academic enterprise. The endowment is a resource, not an instrument to impel social or political change.”  
- Drew Faust, president, Harvard University***

41 Drew Faust, “Fossil Fuel Divestment Statement,” Harvard University. October 3, 2013. <http://www.harvard.edu/president/fossil-fuels>.

42 Tim Johnson, “UVM Trustees Reject Fossil-Fuel Divestment,” *Burlington Free Press*, December 18, 2013. <http://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/2013/12/18/uvm-trustees-reject-fossil-fuel-divestment/4117649/>.

43 Marisa McGarry, “Mills Says College Will not Divest From Fossil Fuels,” *Bowdoin Orient*, December 7, 2012. <http://bowdoinorient.com/article/7814>.

44 “Skorton Responds to Faculty Senate Call for Divestment,” *Cornell Chronicle*, February 26, 2014. <http://www.news.cornell.edu/stories/2014/02/skorton-responds-faculty-senate-call-divestment>.

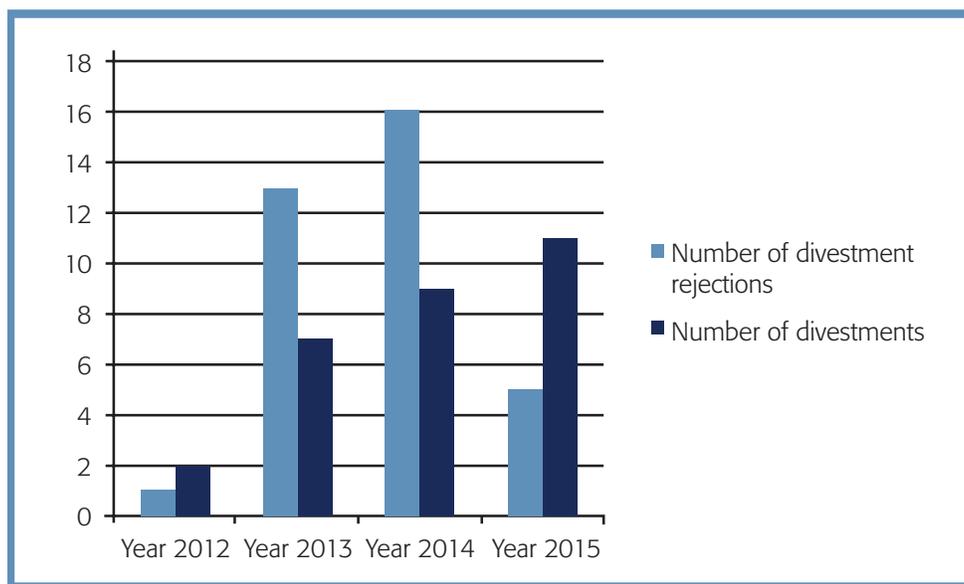
45 “Sustainability Knowledge Development Team,” Colorado College. <https://www.coloradocollege.edu/dotAsset/c015488a-cae8-4a62-bc02-cfd240479df3.pdf>.

46 Letter from Cheryl R. Holland, Investment Policy Subcommittee Chair. August 2013. [http://news.brynmawr.edu/files/2013/08/August\\_27\\_2013BMCDivest-1.pdf](http://news.brynmawr.edu/files/2013/08/August_27_2013BMCDivest-1.pdf).

47 “Middlebury College Statement on Divestment,” Middlebury College. August 28, 2013. <http://www.middlebury.edu/newsroom/archive/524638/node/459563>.

48 “CUNY Divest History,” CUNY Divest. <http://www.cunydivest.org/history.html>.

49 Letter from Catherine P. Koshland, Howard W. Lutnick, and president Daniel H. Weiss. October 2013. <https://www.haverford.edu/sites/default/files/Office/President/2013.10-Report-to-Community.pdf>.

**Figure 1 Number of Collegiate Divestments and Rejections by Year.**

Rejections came from wealthy, respected institutions. Divestment victories, when they came, often came from small, little known colleges. On October 23, Foothill-De Anza Community College Foundation in California divested from direct holdings in fossil fuels and ordered investment managers to “minimize investments in commingled assets that include fossil fuel companies.”<sup>50</sup> Eight days later, Naropa University, a Buddhist institution in Colorado, froze its fossil fuel investments and pledged to divest fully within five years.<sup>51</sup> In December, Peralta Community College District in California pledged the same.<sup>52</sup>

In response, 350.org launched in December a strategy named with a hashtag: “#RejectionDenied.”<sup>53</sup> Though presidents and trustees had announced they would not support divestment, no would not be allowed to mean no. “Their response... must not be mistaken for an answer,” 350.org divestment organizer Katie McChesney urged. “No is just a sign to escalate our tactics. No is just the motivator we need to build our power until there’s no option but yes.”<sup>54</sup>

50 Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting, Foothill-De Anza Foundation. October 23, 2013. <https://foundation.fhda.edu/directors/files/10-23-13%20Minutes.pdf>.

51 “Naropa University Divests from Fossil Fuels,” Naropa University. October 31, 2013. <http://www.naropa.edu/media/press-releases/press-2013/naropa-divests-from-fossil-fuels.php>.

52 “Peralta Trustees Pass Resolution to Divest From Fossil Fuel Companies,” Peralta Community College District. January 31, 2014. <http://web.peralta.edu/blog/peralta-trustees-pass-resolution-to-divest-from-fossil-fuel-companies/>.

53 Katie McChesney, “National Escalation Strategy Team #rejectiondenied,” Go Fossil Free, December 9, 2013. <http://gofossilfree.org/national-escalation-strategy-team-rejectiondenied/>.

54 *Ibid.*

To make the “power structures” (who cared more about “preserving pride and egos,” McChesney said) understand that students would not take “no” for an answer, students must pledge to “escalate” their campaigns. Only increased people power and pressure would make the board understand that “People who meet three times a year to talk about finances do not make up our institutions. Our alums, our faculty and staff, and our students are what make our schools great.”

Ten “NEST” (national escalation strategy team) campaigns signed McChesney’s pledge: Harvard, Cornell, Swarthmore, Pomona, Bryn Mawr, Middlebury, Boston College, Vassar College, Brown University, and Roosevelt University. Another 37 signed on in “solidarity,” pledging to escalate even if their proposal hadn’t been rejected.

“Escalation” on most campuses meant a decided shift away from negotiating with administrators and toward an all-out battle. A 350.org guidebook to divestment, released in May 2014, showed “escalation” as step 6 (the final one) in a series of campaign stages.<sup>55</sup> Earlier stages were friendlier and less confrontational. After building a team of activists (step 1), divestment organizers were to make friends with professors and administrators, and see if any trustees were sympathetic. They should hold petitions, debates, film screenings, and other “educational” events, mixed in with a few “creative actions” that “make divestment the cool thing happening on campus.”

Only at step 4, “turning up the heat,” should they begin raising a ruckus, starting with a “creative demonstration outside the administration building” and a couple of op-eds or letters from alumni. Step 5, “pressuring the board of trustees,” included hosting “big demonstrations during the trustee meetings.” Escalation, the last-ditch effort to use only after “trustees turn you down,” was “a serious decision, as well as very exciting.” By those standards, Swarthmore’s seizing of a board meeting and Rhode Island School of Design’s sit-in were premature; neither college had rejected divestment yet. 350.org left “escalation” undefined, but gave several examples: convincing seniors to withhold donations until the college divests, or perhaps occupying the administration building. Essentially “escalation” meant being stubborn and discarding the veneer of civility.

In December 2013, one day before McChesney officially announced the escalation strategy, 150 students from Boston College, Boston University, Harvard, Tufts, Brandeis, MIT, Northeastern University, Wellesley, the Franklin W. Olin College of Engineering, and Lesley University (five of which signed the NEST pledge) marched through Boston and dropped banners from bridges declaring their commitment to reject any rejections.<sup>56</sup>

55 *Fossil Free: A Guide to Fossil Fuel Divestment*, Go Fossil Free. 2014. [http://gofossilfree.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/350\\_FossilFreeBooklet\\_LO4.pdf](http://gofossilfree.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/350_FossilFreeBooklet_LO4.pdf).

56 Canyon Woodward, “#REJECTIONDENIED: Boston Fossil Fuel Divest Action,” YouTube, December 10, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EOh28CcJWSI>.

At the end of April 2014 an “escalated” Harvard campaign blockaded the main entrance to Massachusetts Hall, where president Faust’s offices were. They wanted another meeting to discuss divestment. Staff members merely detoured to side entrances, but the next morning, May 1<sup>st</sup>, additional protesters began blocking all entrances to the building and preventing staff from entering their offices. These new protestors included prominent author and divestment veteran Bob Massie and the university’s Quaker chaplain, John Bach. Campus police asked the blockaders to step aside. A junior, Brett Roche, refused to leave and clung to a doorknob. After repeated warnings, campus police arrested him.<sup>57</sup>

### **Post-Escalation**

Escalation did correlate with some high-profile victories. In the spring of 2014, shortly after San Francisco State University held a second divestment convergence for activists,<sup>58</sup> the nationally recognized California liberal arts college Pitzer agreed to divest its \$134 million endowment from all direct holdings in fossil fuel companies.<sup>59</sup> The college also pledged to reduce its carbon footprint 25 percent below current levels by the end of 2016; establish a Campus Sustainability Taskforce; and create the Pitzer Sustainability Fund within the endowment to invest in “environmentally responsible investments.” A month later Stanford divested its endowment—\$21 billion—from direct holdings in coal.<sup>60</sup> Along the way tiny Prescott College in Arizona divested.<sup>61</sup>

Here, as usual, correlation didn’t signal causation. Pitzer and Stanford both had trustees negotiating from within. At Pitzer, investment chairman Donald Gould, a hedge fund manager who was persuaded by the Carbon Tracker math, persuaded the rest of the board to come around to divestment. Another board member, the actor Robert Redford, backed him up. Stanford had board member Tom Steyer, the billionaire hedge fund investor who in 2012 arranged for a one-on-one mountain hike with Bill McKibben that left him persuaded to endorse the environmentalist’s campaign. Steyer arranged to divest his own wealth and founded Next Generation, a \$4 million nonprofit aimed at promoting “clean” energy.<sup>62</sup> Next Generation’s sister

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57 Amna H. Hashmi, “Undergraduate Protester Arrested for Blocking Entrance to Mass. Hall,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 1, 2014. <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2014/5/1/divest-protester-arrested-mass-hall/>.

58 Stephen O’Hanlon, “Reflections on the 2014 Fossil Fuel Divestment Convergence,” *The Phoenix*, April 24, 2014. <http://swarthmorephoenix.com/2014/04/24/reflections-on-the-2014-fossil-fuel-divestment-convergence/>.

59 “Pitzer College and Robert Redford Announce Breakthrough Fossil Fuel Divestment-Climate Action Model,” Pitzer College. April 12, 2014. <http://pitweb.pitzer.edu/communications/2014/04/pitzer-college-robert-redford-announce-breakthrough-fossil-fuel-divestment-climate-action-model/>.

60 “Stanford to Divest From Coal Companies,” *Stanford Report*, May 6, 2014. <http://news.stanford.edu/news/2014/may/divest-coal-trustees-050714.html>.

61 “Prescott College Commits to Fossil Fuel Divestment Resolution,” Prescott College. <http://www.prescott.edu/experience/news/fossil-fuel-divestment-resolution.html>.

62 Center for the Next Generation, 990 tax form, 2013. <http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2013/371/618/2013-371618863-0af30254-9.pdf>.

political action committee is Next Gen, which spent \$74 million<sup>63</sup> (\$67 million of which Steyer contributed<sup>64</sup>) in the 2014 elections.

As demands grew louder, openings for compromises emerged. Stanford divested from its direct investment in coal, leaving oil and gas untouched, and keeping any commingled funds (some of which included fossil fuels) in place. There were also opportunities for vanity PR. California's Humboldt State University, the one that hasn't held direct investments in fossil fuel companies for more than a decade, announced a stricter divestment meant to shrink remaining indirect investments in fossil fuels, along with casinos, tobacco, utilities, aerospace, defense, and alcohol.<sup>65</sup>

During summer 2014, the Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network formed the "Escalation Core" team to orchestrate more aggressive actions. They popularized a "#BankOnUs" pledge to continue organizing and protesting despite administrations' rejection of divestment and the students' own graduations.<sup>66</sup>

As the movement's visibility grew, administrators started their own campaigns. In June 2014, Union Theological Seminary announced its divestment.<sup>67</sup> Students there had never said a word about divestment, but board member Michael Johnston, a long-time acquaintance of McKibben who had served with him on the board of the Schumann Media Center, a major funder of McKibben's work, convinced his fellow trustees that it was a good idea.<sup>68</sup>

Two weeks later, the University of Dayton, a Jesuit university in Ohio, divested unasked by the student body. President Dan Curran championed the issue himself.<sup>69</sup>

### **Contrived Confrontation**

Essentially the entirety of the divestment campaign for the past two years has been one collective pledge to "escalate" into increasingly shrill demands. The movement relies on scare tactics, threats of ruckus, and contrived confrontation. Board members bend over backwards to listen to student demands, then get

63 "NextGen Climate Action, Spending by Cycle," Open Secrets. 2014. <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?strID=C00547349>.

64 "NextGen Climate Action, Contributors, 2014 cycle," Open Secrets, 2014. <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/pacgave2.php?cmte=C00547349&cycle=2014>.

65 "Humboldt State University Targets Fossil Fuels and More," *Humboldt State Now*, April 30, 2014. <http://now.humboldt.edu/news/humboldt-state-university-targets-fossil-fuels-and-more/>.

66 "Organizing Pledge Project," Weebly. <http://organizingpledgeproject.weebly.com/organizing-pledge-project.html>.

67 "Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York Votes Unanimously to Divest From Fossil Fuels," Union Theological Seminary, June 10, 2014. <https://utsnyc.edu/divestment/>.

68 Michael Johnston. Interview with Rachelle Peterson. June 17, 2015.

69 "Dayton Divests," University of Dayton, June 23, 2014. [https://www.udayton.edu/news/articles/2014/06/dayton\\_divests\\_fossil\\_fuels.php](https://www.udayton.edu/news/articles/2014/06/dayton_divests_fossil_fuels.php). Dan Curran, president of the University of Dayton. Interview with Rachelle Peterson. August 11, 2015.

labeled “oppressors” and “climate change deniers.” They aren’t by any reasonable definition, but that’s part of the escalation. Anything besides full agreement counts as immorality.

***To date, the fossil free divestment movement has been peaceful. ...But the environmental movement has a history of vandalism and violence.***

Pledges to escalate leave students in a bit of bind, however. What do you do after you’ve escalated and still been declined? Escalate the escalation? There are only so many ways to scream before you grow hoarse and destroy your own credibility. To date the fossil free divestment movement has been peaceful; the most aggressive actions have involved sit-ins and blockades. Most activists have taken pledges to remain nonviolent. But the environmental movement has a history of vandalism and violence. Earth First, organized in 1979 with the motto “No

compromise in the defense of Mother Earth!” has vandalized property in the name of protecting the Mother. Others, such as the Deep Green Resistance movement, ask their members to take pledges of nonviolence with the expectation that such pledges hold only during “phase 1” of the “resistance,” during which the Resistance develops “a solid foundation—an organization and community that can be resilient and adaptive.”<sup>70</sup> After that comes “Phase II: Sabotage and Asymmetric Action.” During Phase II, activists “push for acceptance and normalization of more militant and radical tactics where appropriate” and “vocally support sabotage when it occurs.”<sup>71</sup> “Phase III: Systems Disruption” involves “underground networks organized in a hierarchical or paramilitary fashion.” The last phase, “Decisive Dismantling of Infrastructure,” requires an all-out war on capitalism, and the “collapse” of “civilization.” The divestment movement’s claims about the imperative urgency of its program, combined with the intolerance it has already exhibited at places such as Swarthmore, make it legitimate to wonder if divestment advocates will keep to non-violent tactics if the movement encounters sustained resistance.

Fall 2014 and spring 2015 were punctuated by campaigns fishing about for new ways to turn divestment into a wedge issue. Swarthmore students set the goal of “polarizing” their campus.<sup>72</sup> “#WhoseSide” became the Twitterspeak rallying cry for the spring semester.

70 “Deep Green Resistance Campaigns,” Deep Green Resistance. <http://deepgreenresistance.org/en/what-we-do/deep-green-resistance-campaigns>.

71 “Phase II – Sabotage and Asymmetric Action,” Deep Green Resistance. <http://deepgreenresistance.org/en/deep-green-resistance-strategy/decisive-ecological-warfare#phase2>.

72 See “Swarthmore Mountain Justice’s Campaign Schedule, 2014-2015” in Appendix IX.

## People's Climate March

Three events gave students an excuse to escalate into confrontation: the People's Climate March in September 2014, Global Divestment Day in February 2015, and the so-called "Divestment Spring"/"Escalation Season" in March and April 2015.

The New York Environmental Justice Alliance organized the People's Climate March in the streets of New York City on September 21, 2014, to signal popular support for climate regulations to be debated in Paris at the end of 2015. The organizers estimated that 50,000 students came, while 350.org believed that there were 400,000 marchers in all. (The number has been disputed. The *New York Times* reported 311,000;<sup>73</sup> *Wall Street Journal* "hundreds of thousands";<sup>74</sup> and the Associated Press "tens of thousands."<sup>75</sup> 350.org's Jamie Henn said his organization had guessed based on the crowd density shown in photographs of the street marchers, inflated the figure by 10 percent to include people on sidewalks, and then added another 90,000 to count those who left the march midway and drifted into Central Park.<sup>76</sup>)

One day before the march, on Saturday, September 20, some two or three hundred divestment activists met for another "convergence" at the Martin Luther King, Jr. High School on New York City's Upper West Side. Leaders of the Divestment Student Network circulated the escalation pledge and introduced an alumni pledge, meant to prevent students from "graduating out" of the movement. Their mottos for the year were "dig deep, link up, and take action." There would also be a series of seven training sessions scattered around the country, training students to escalate toward victory. Students from "UnKoch My Campus" leafleted students with pamphlets decrying the influence of oil money in higher education. Varshini Prakash, a paid Go Fossil Free Fellow who organized her UMass-Amherst campus, declared "This is about power! This is about our power!" and cast divestment as a tool against oppressive authority structures that excluded young people.

A second action, illegal and never officially sanctioned by the march organizers, brought hordes of students streaming into the financial district. Much like its predecessor Occupy Wall Street, Flood Wall Street demanded radical economic changes, wealth redistribution, greater use of renewable energy, and more divestments. Naomi Klein called it "a critical new phase of the climate movement, one built on

73 Lisa W. Foderaro, "Taking a Call for Climate Change to the Streets," *New York Times*, September 21, 2014. [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/22/nyregion/new-york-city-climate-change-march.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/22/nyregion/new-york-city-climate-change-march.html?_r=0).

74 Joe Jackson, "Hundreds of Thousands Attend Climate March," *Wall Street Journal*, September 21, 2014. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/thousands-attend-peoples-climate-march-in-new-york-city-1411324590>.

75 Verena Dobnik and Michael Sisak, "Global Marches Draw Attention to Climate Change," *AP: The Big Story*, September 22, 2014. <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/2088bf3bdb974f23a979326f519f9640/march-global-warming-expected-draw-thousands>.

76 Hayley Munguia, "How Many People Really Showed Up To The People's Climate March?" *Five Thirty Eight Science*, September 30, 2014. <http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/peoples-climate-march-attendance/>.

peaceful, focused and fierce resistance.”<sup>77</sup> Divestment activists concurred. The convergence on Saturday was abuzz with talk of joining Flood Wall Street. Marching with thousands down Broadway was fine, and historic, but running through Wall Street on Monday, with the tantalizing threat of arrest very much real, was appealing. On Monday, protesters sat in the streets for eight hours. More than 100, including some students, were arrested.<sup>78</sup>

One day after the People’s Climate March, the same day that students flooded Wall Street, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, heir to John D. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil fortune, announced a partial divestment. The fund would reduce its exposure to coal and tar sands to 1 percent of the portfolio by the end of the year. Trustees would perform a “comprehensive analysis” of oil and natural gas investments and “determine an appropriate strategy for further divestment over the next few years.”<sup>79</sup>

Two months later, in November, as other campuses diligently trained their new recruits, and as the Divestment Student Network traversed the nation holding training sessions, Divest Harvard kicked off the second part of its escalation campaign. Seven students filed a lawsuit against Harvard for failing to divest from fossil fuels. The suit, *Harvard Climate Justice Coalition v. Harvard*, listed as its plaintiffs Alice M. Cherry, Benjamin A. Franta, Sidni M. Frederick, Joseph E. Hamilton, Olivia M. Kivel, Talia K. Rothstein, Kelsey C. Skaggs, plus “future generations.” It alleged that by investing in fossil fuel companies whose products contribute to climate change, the university was guilty of “mismanagement of charitable funds” and “intentional investment in abnormally dangerous activities.” It also argued that Harvard’s investments embroiled it in funding climate change denial, had “a chilling effect on academic freedom,” and undermined both the graduates’ quality of education and their job prospects.<sup>80</sup> In March 2015, a judge dismissed the case.<sup>81</sup>

Also in November, students calling themselves “THE General Body” at Syracuse University occupied the president’s office demanding a litany of reforms, including divestment from fossil fuels, greater racial diversity, more support for victims of sexual assault, and satisfaction of other grievances.<sup>82</sup> The same

77 “Statements of Support,” Flood Wall Street. <http://floodwallstreet.net/statements-of-support/>.

78 Flood Wall Street. <http://floodwallstreet.net/>.

79 “Divestment Statement,” Rockefeller Brothers Fund, September 2014. <http://www.rbf.org/content/divestment-statement>.

80 Harvard Climate Justice Coalition Vs. President And Fellows of Harvard College, Harvard Management Company, Inc., and Martha M. Coakley, Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. <http://www.divestproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Read-the-Complaint.pdf>.

81 Mariel A. Klein and Theodore R. Delwiche, “Judge Dismisses Divestment Lawsuit,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 24, 2015. <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2015/3/24/judge-dismisses-divestment-lawsuit/>.

82 Dave Tobin, “SU Students Plan Protest Today to Call for More Racial Diversity; More Student Input for Campus Policies,” *Syracuse.com*, November 3, 2014. [http://www.syracuse.com/news/index.ssf/2014/11/su\\_students\\_plan\\_protest\\_today\\_to\\_call\\_for\\_more\\_racial\\_diversity\\_and\\_student\\_inp.html](http://www.syracuse.com/news/index.ssf/2014/11/su_students_plan_protest_today_to_call_for_more_racial_diversity_and_student_inp.html).

month, Canada's first Fossil Free Convergence brought together 80 student divestment activists for the country's first divestment convergence.<sup>83</sup>

### Global Divestment Day

"Break Up with Fossil Fuels" is a well-worn divestment demand. On Valentine's Day 2014, Divest Harvard delivered 130 paper hearts to President Faust, asking her to "Be my Valentine this year, not Exxon's," and exclaiming "You belong with clean energy!"<sup>84</sup> The earliest oil-break-up sketch dates to 2013, when students at the University of Vermont<sup>85</sup> and at McGill University<sup>86</sup> made a similar request.

Global Divestment Day, scheduled for February 13-14, 2015 by 350.org, asked the whole world to "break up" with fossil fuels. 350.org counts 450 events in 60 countries.<sup>87</sup> These included an "oil spill die-in" at Rutgers University,<sup>88</sup> a Mardi Gras float at Tulane University reading "Keep New Orleans A-float,"<sup>89</sup> and a ceremony at the University of California–Santa Cruz marking the "unholy matrimony" of the university and its "long time beau, Fossil Fuel Industry."<sup>90</sup> Presumably the groom looked slick.

Harvard activists held a sit-in of the president's office, armed with snacks, diapers, and cell phones to sustain them until President Faust agreed to meet inside and hear their demands.<sup>91</sup> Northwestern University students, perhaps mimicking Harvard's November legal ploy, staged a mock lawsuit, *People vs. the Climate*, to put coal on trial for crimes against humanity.<sup>92</sup>

As the fracking boom sent oil prices plummeting, 350.org urged students to play the oil glut to their advantage. "Kick it while it's down" was the internal slogan. As part of a web workshop video training

83 Kate Aronoff, "Fossil Free Canada Convergence Deepens an International Movement," *Waging Non-Violence*, November 14, 2014. <http://wagingnonviolence.org/2014/11/fossil-free-canada-convergence-deepens-international-movement/>.

84 Divest Harvard, "It's Valentine's Day! Break Up with Fossil Fuels," Facebook, February 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.520555694728708.1073741840.279651215485825&type=3>.

85 Audrey Clark, "Push to Divest Fossil Fuel Companies From Vermont College Endowments Is Gaining Momentum," *Vermont Digger*, February 21, 2013. <http://vtdigger.org/2013/02/21/push-to-divest-fossil-fuel-companies-from-vermont-college-endowments-is-gaining-momentum/>.

86 Hera Chan, "Divest McGill Stages Break-Up With Fossil Fuels," *McGill Daily*, February 18, 2013. <http://www.mcgilldaily.com/2013/02/divest-mcgill-stages-break-up-with-fossil-fuels/>.

87 "Global Divestment Day Was Huge!" Go Fossil Free, February 2015. <http://gofossilfree.org/wrap-up/>.

88 "Rutgers Global Divestment Rally," Go Fossil Free, February 13, 2015. <http://act.350.org/event/gdd/10254>.

89 "Keep New Orleans A-Float: Divestment Day of Action, Mardi Gras Edition," Go Fossil Free, February 13, 2014. <http://act.350.org/event/gdd/10199>.

90 "Unholy Matrimony of the University Of California and the Fossil Fuel Industry," Go Fossil Free, February 13, 2015. <http://act.350.org/event/gdd/10333>.

91 Mariel A. Klein and Theodore R. Delwiche, "Demanding Divestment, Protesters Occupy Mass. Hall," *Harvard Crimson*, February 12, 2015. <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2015/2/12/mass-hall-divest-harvard-occupy/>.

92 "The People Vs. Climate: A Mock Trial," Go Fossil Free, February 13, 2015. <http://act.350.org/event/gdd/10388>.

series in the weeks leading up to Global Divestment Day, Naomi Klein, author of the bestseller *This Changes Everything: Capitalism Vs. the Climate* and a board member of 350.org, urged activists, “it can be a really, really good time to get off fossil fuels.”<sup>93</sup> Abandoning the now-defunct “peak oil” argument, Klein held that the capitalist system was killing itself, as competition forced companies to pull back on production and leave their reserves in the ground.

### Divestment Spring

Eleven colleges and universities saw sit-ins for divestment during spring 2015. They ranged from a one-hour sit-fest at Whitman College<sup>94</sup> to a 32-day occupation at Swarthmore College.<sup>95</sup> Fossil Free Yale paraded 48 people through President Peter Salovey’s office before settling in a hallway for a day.<sup>96</sup> Bowdoin Climate Action lasted two days outside President Barry Mills’ office.<sup>97</sup> Divest UMW arranged a rotating line-up of 150 students, alumni, and activists for 21 days at the University of Mary Washington.<sup>98</sup> Wesleyan University’s Coalition for Divestment and Transparency,<sup>99</sup> Fossil Free CU at the University of Colorado Boulder,<sup>100</sup> Tufts Climate Action,<sup>101</sup> Divest Tulane,<sup>102</sup> and UC Berkeley’s Fossil Free UC<sup>103</sup> also held sit-ins. Divest Harvard held a five-day “Harvard Heat Week,”<sup>104</sup> with vigils; a Fight for \$15 minimum wage rally; speeches by Bill McKibben, filmmaker Darren Aronofsky, former

93 Naomi Klein, “Global Divestment Day: This Changes Everything,” Go Fossil Free Europe, January 28, 2015. <http://gofossilfree.org/europe/watch/>.

94 Sierra Dickey, “Butts on the Floor,” *Fossil Fuel Divestment Students Network*, May 4, 2015. [http://www.studentsdivest.org/butts\\_on\\_the\\_floor](http://www.studentsdivest.org/butts_on_the_floor).

95 Erin Arvedlund, “Swarthmore Sit-In Ends With Fossil-Fuel Divestment Support,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 22, 2015. [http://www.philly.com/philly/education/20150421\\_Swarthmore\\_sit-in\\_ends\\_with\\_fossil-fuel\\_divestment\\_support.html](http://www.philly.com/philly/education/20150421_Swarthmore_sit-in_ends_with_fossil-fuel_divestment_support.html).

96 Larry Milstein, “Fossil Free Yale Stages Woodbridge Hall Sit-In,” *Yale Daily News*, April 9, 2015. <http://yaledailynews.com/blog/2015/04/09/fossil-free-yale-stages-woodbridge-hall-sit-in/>.

97 BowdoinClimateAction, “28 Bowdoin Students Sit in for Climate Justice,” *Fossil Fuel Divestment Students Network*, April 1, 2015. [http://www.studentsdivest.org/28\\_bowdoin\\_students\\_sit\\_in\\_for\\_climate\\_justice](http://www.studentsdivest.org/28_bowdoin_students_sit_in_for_climate_justice).

98 Lindley Estes, “DivestUMW Sit-In Spans Two Weeks,” *Fredericksburg Lance Star*, April 11, 2015. [http://www.fredericksburg.com/news/education/divestumw-sit-in-spans-two-weeks/article\\_bd2239eb-9947-53ec-949a-d8f087ad0df8.html](http://www.fredericksburg.com/news/education/divestumw-sit-in-spans-two-weeks/article_bd2239eb-9947-53ec-949a-d8f087ad0df8.html).

99 Gabe Rosenberg and Sofi Goode, “Coalition for Divestment and Transparency Occupies South College; Roth Endorses Prison Divestment,” *The Wesleyan Argus*, April 16, 2015. <http://wesleyanargus.com/2015/04/16/coalition-for-divestment-and-transparency-hosts-sit-in-in-roths-office/>.

100 Paul Aiken, “Fossil Fuel Divestment ‘Sit-In’ at CU Campus in Boulder,” *Daily Camera*, April 14, 2015. <http://mediacenter.dailycamera.com/2015/04/14/photos-fossil-fuel-divestment-sit-in-at-cu-campus-in-boulder/#1>.

101 Aneri Pattani and Laura Krantz, “Tufts Protesters End Sit-In Demanding Fossil Fuel Divestment,” *Boston Globe*, April 24, 2015. <http://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2015/04/24/tufts-university-students-continue-sit-urge-fossil-fuel-divestment/YPR12juMzknLJTSJt4oy0N/story.html>.

102 Jed Lipinski, “Tulane Students Occupy President’s Office to Protest Fossil Fuel Investments,” *The Times Picayune*, April 14, 2015. [http://www.nola.com/education/index.ssf/2015/04/tulane\\_divest\\_fossil\\_fuels.html](http://www.nola.com/education/index.ssf/2015/04/tulane_divest_fossil_fuels.html).

103 “Cal Students Host Overnight Sit-In Demanding Chancellor Endorse Divestment,” *Common Dreams*, April 8, 2015. <http://www.commondreams.org/newswire/2015/04/08/cal-students-host-overnight-sit-demanding-chancellor-endorse-divestment>.

104 “Schedule,” Harvard Heat Week. <http://harvardheatweek.org/schedule/>.

Senator Tim Wirth; and one more blockade of Massachusetts Hall, plus a sit-in at the alumni building.<sup>105</sup> (See Appendix VI for a directory of all campus fossil fuel divestment sit-ins.)

“Divestment spring” is what activists called the sit-ins.<sup>106</sup> Other monikers include “sit-in season” and “escalation season.” The nod to the “Arab spring” is intentional. In activists’ eyes, their cause is cut from the same cloth as the Middle Eastern push for democracy. Both demand paying attention to the opinions of people who currently don’t have much say in decisions they would very much like to influence.

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“President Mills has been allowed to act with unilateral conviction and disinterest (sic) in the opinions of the students and faculty around him,” Bowdoin Climate Action members charged after 28 students marched into Mills’ office on April 1.<sup>107</sup> His refusal to “compromise” by divesting made “meaningful dialogue...impossible” and evinced a “dangerous and deeply cynical view of higher education” in which administrators, not students, made administrative decisions. They decided to sit in “in order to form a more transparent and accessible relationship with the college.”

Parents of Bowdoin students wrote an open letter endorsing the sit-in, noting that after Bowdoin Climate Action garnered the support of 1,000 students and 70 faculty members, “the Board has ignored any further conversation for more than 140 days.”<sup>108</sup> Among the signatories was Harvard historian of science, Naomi Oreskes, author of the book *Merchant of Doubt*, which accuses fossil fuel companies of buying mercenary scientists to cast doubt on climate science and prevent political action. Oreskes’ daughter, Clara Belitz, was among the Bowdoin students sitting in President Mills’ office. Belitz wrote an op-ed for the student newspaper, the *Bowdoin Orient*, recounting how the board had “disappointed” her by rebuffing students with “a token meeting and continued silence.” She held that “Bowdoin students, faculty and alumni deserve better.”<sup>109</sup>

105 Mariel A. Klein, “On ‘Heat Week’ Day 3, Divest Protesters Target University Hall,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 14, 2015. <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2015/4/14/divest-blockade-university-hall-tuesday/>.

106 Deirdre Fulton, “With Sit-Ins Around Country, Students Escalate ‘Divestment Spring,’” *Common Dreams*, April 9, 2015. <http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/04/09/sit-ins-around-country-students-escalate-divestment-spring>.

107 Allyson Gross, “Standing Up to Hillary and Standing for Divestment Come From the Same Roots,” *Bowdoin Climate Action*, September 30, 2015. <https://bowdoinclimateaction.wordpress.com/>.

108 “Alumni and Parent Endorsement of BCA’s Sit in for Climate Justice,” *Bowdoin Climate Action*, April 1, 2015. <https://bowdoinclimateaction.wordpress.com/2015/04/01/endorsement-of-bcas-sit-in-for-climate-justice/>.

109 Clara Belitz, “Committing to the Climate: Taking a Stand for Divestment by Sitting In,” *Bowdoin Orient*, March 27, 2015. <http://bowdoinorient.com/article/10079>.

At Yale, where 48 students were sitting in President Salovey's office to convince him that "social justice" was a "new" reason to support divestment, 19 who refused to leave were escorted out by campus police and cited for trespassing. Fossil Free Yale reprimanded the administration: "Yale's failure to engage in a conversation on climate justice shows just how unaccountable the true decision-makers are to the Yale community."<sup>110</sup> President Salovey had spoken with and listened to the protestors shortly after they arrived at his office on the morning of April 9, but "conversation" has now become social-justice code for "capitulation." Hence Fossil Free Yale Project Manager Mitch Barrows could report with a straight face, "Yale would rather arrest its students than re-engage in the conversation."<sup>111</sup>

None achieved divestments. Five of the 11 sit-ins resulted in meetings with trustees or college presidents. Some lingered long enough for the headline and photo-op but closed up right on schedule. Seven students at the University of California pitched tents on the quad the night before a board meeting but tore down the tent town immediately afterwards.<sup>112</sup> Divest Tulane scheduled its three-day sit-in down to the fifteen-minute mark and ended right on schedule.<sup>113</sup>

Two sit-ins prompted campus police action. Nineteen of Fossil Free Yale's sitters-down refused to leave at the close of Woodbridge Hall at the end of the day and were ticketed for trespassing.<sup>114</sup> Thirty at the University of Mary Washington, after a 21-day camp-out in George Washington Hall, were escorted out by campus police. Two students and a local resident were charged with trespassing but acquitted.<sup>115</sup>

## Analysis

Did any of this work? The pace at which colleges have announced full or partial divestments from fossil fuels has increased since fall 2014. During the first four years of the divestment campaign, from Swarthmore Mountain Justice's founding in October 2010 to the People's Climate March in September 2014, 16 colleges and universities announced divestments. From September 2014 to June 2015, another 13 did.

110 Statement on our Sit-In," *Fossil Free Yale*, April 12, 2015. <https://fossilfreeyale.org/2015/04/12/statement-on-our-sit-in/>.

111 "Yale Police Arrests 19 Students Calling for Conversation on Fossil Fuel Divestment," *Fossil Free Yale*, April 11, 2015. <https://fossilfreeyale.org/2015/04/11/yale-police-arrests-19-students-calling-for-conversation-on-fossil-fuel-divestment/>.

112 Ishaan Srivastava, "Fossil Free Cal Camps Outside California Hall, Demands Dirks' Support for Fossil Fuel Divestment," *Daily Californian*, April 9, 2015. <http://www.dailycal.org/2015/04/09/fossil-free-cal-camps-outside-california-hall-demands-dirks-support-for-fossil-fuel-divestment/>.

113 Jed Lipinski, "Tulane Students to Occupy President's Office in Fossil Fuel Divestment Protest," *The Times Picayune*, April 13, 2015. [http://www.nola.com/education/index.ssf/2015/04/tulane\\_students\\_sit-in\\_divest.html](http://www.nola.com/education/index.ssf/2015/04/tulane_students_sit-in_divest.html).

114 "Yale Police Arrests 19 Students Calling for Conversation on Fossil Fuel Divestment," *Fossil Free Yale*, April 11, 2015. <https://fossilfreeyale.org/2015/04/11/yale-police-arrests-19-students-calling-for-conversation-on-fossil-fuel-divestment/>.

115 Lindley Estes, "Charges Dropped Against Divest UMW Protesters," *Fredericksburg Free Lance Star*, August 5, 2015. [http://www.fredericksburg.com/news/crime\\_courts/charges-dropped-against-divest-umw-protesters/article\\_3df9598c-3ad0-11e5-81cd-cf7d77487340.html](http://www.fredericksburg.com/news/crime_courts/charges-dropped-against-divest-umw-protesters/article_3df9598c-3ad0-11e5-81cd-cf7d77487340.html).

In the five months from the People’s Climate March in September 2014 to Global Divestment Day in February 2015, six colleges and universities announced divestments. In December 2014, California State University-Chico announced plans to divest within four years, after a class taught by geography professor Mark Stemen focused on running a divestment campaign.<sup>116</sup> Five days later, on December 15, California Institute of the Arts, which has no direct investments in fossil fuels, said it would withdraw 25 percent of its comingled investments in fossil fuels and seek to “eliminate exposure to the most carbon-intensive companies such as coal producers over the next five years.”<sup>117</sup>

On January 14, 2015, 209-student Goddard College in Vermont divested.<sup>118</sup> On the 26<sup>th</sup>, the University of Maine system announced it would withdraw direct investments in coal companies.<sup>119</sup> Four days later the University of Maine Presque-Isle, which manages its endowment separately from the rest of the University system, sent a press release announcing that it had secretly decided in 2013 to divest from fossil fuels and completed the process sometime in 2014.<sup>120</sup>

The biggest change in investment policy came from The New School in New York, which announced its divestment from fossil fuels, along with the creation of a climate change curriculum intended to form students into “climate citizens.”<sup>121</sup>

Since Global Divestment Day in February and the start of “Divestment Spring” sit-ins in March, another eight colleges and universities have divested. Brevard College, a Methodist institution in North Carolina,<sup>122</sup> and “multidenominational” Pacific School of Religion in California<sup>123</sup> both divested in February. In March, Syracuse University announced divesting its direct holdings in fossil fuels, before admitting it had none to

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116 Joe Wills, “University Foundation Board Approves Divestment of Fossil Fuel Holdings,” California State University Chico, December 12, 2014. <http://www.csuchico.edu/news/current-news/12-12-14-divestment.shtml>.

117 “CalArts Moves to Divest From Fossil Fuels,” California Institute of the Arts, December 23, 2014. <http://blog.calarts.edu/2014/12/23/calarts-moves-to-divest-from-fossil-fuels/>.

118 “Goddard College Divests,” Goddard College, January 14, 2015. <http://www.goddard.edu/2015/01/goddard-college-divests/>.

119 Minutes of the Board of Trustees Meeting, University of Maine System, January 26, 2015. <http://www.maine.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Board-of-Trustees-Meeting-Jan-26-20151.pdf>.

120 “UMPI Foundation Board Completes Total Divestment From Fossil Fuels,” University of Maine-Presque Isle, January 30, 2015.

121 “The New School Unveils Comprehensive Climate Action Plan: University’s Board Directs Divestiture from Fossil Fuels,” The New School, February 2, 2015. <http://www.newschool.edu/pressroom/pressreleases/2015/ClimateAction.htm>.

122 “Brevard College Commits to Fossil Fuel Divestment,” Brevard College. <https://brevard.edu/news-events/news/brevard-college-commits-fossil-fuel-divestment>.

123 “Pacific School of Religion First Seminary in California to Divest in Fossil Fuels,” Pacific School of Religion, February 25, 2015.

divest.<sup>124</sup> Then came the University of Washington (direct coal investments) in April,<sup>125</sup> followed by Adler University in Illinois,<sup>126</sup> and the University of Hawaii system<sup>127</sup> in May. (Meanwhile, in April the *Guardian* announced its own plan to divest from fossil fuels.<sup>128</sup>) In the first week of June, both Rhode Island School of Design<sup>129</sup> and Georgetown University<sup>130</sup> announced their divestments from direct investments in coal companies.

*None of the divesting colleges was among those whose students took the escalation pledge.*

But none of the divesting colleges was among those whose students took the escalation pledge. None had lengthy embattled campaigns at their campuses. With the exception of Syracuse University, which agreed to divest its \$0 direct holdings in fossil fuels five months after a student sit-in in November, none of the divesting campuses experienced a sit-in or other markedly “escalated” action. Perhaps the lesson is that escalation, if it does help, provides a free riders’ benefit to campus movements elsewhere that enjoy the campaign’s national visibility.

## Moving Forward

Rejection provides the main momentum to the movement. McChesney, the 350.org organizer, called it “just the motivator we need.”<sup>131</sup> At the convergence training just before the People’s Climate March, activist leaders called everyone who’d “gotten a no” on their divestment campaign to come forward in front of everybody, to be cheered and celebrated. Sara Blazeovic, one of the Swarthmore leaders, wrote for 350.org in November 2014, almost a year since the “escalation” launch, that when she first joined

124 Erin Martin Kane, “University Formalizes Commitment to Prohibit Direct Investment in Coal, Fossil Fuels,” *Syracuse University News*, March 31, 2015. <http://news.syr.edu/university-formalizes-commitment-to-prohibit-direct-investment-in-coal-fossil-fuels-29595/>.

125 Victor Balta, “UW Regents Vote to Divest From Coal Companies,” *UW Today*, May 14, 2015. <http://www.washington.edu/news/2015/05/14/uw-regents-vote-to-divest-from-coal-companies/>.

126 “Adler University Divests from Fossil Fuels,” Adler University, May 19, 2015. <http://www.adler.edu/page/news-events/campus-news/adler-university-divests-from-fossil-fuels>.

127 “Board of Regents Approves Fossil Fuel Divestment,” University of Hawaii News, May 21, 2015. <http://www.hawaii.edu/news/2015/05/21/board-of-regents-approves-fossil-fuel-divestment/>.

128 Damian Carrington, “Guardian Media Group to Divest Its £800m Fund From Fossil Fuels,” *Guardian*, April 1, 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/apr/01/guardian-media-group-to-divest-its-800m-fund-from-fossil-fuels>.

129 Caitlin Dorman, “Breaking: RISD Divests From Coal,” *Blog Daily Herald*, June 1, 2015. <http://blogdailyherald.com/2015/06/01/breaking-risd-divests-coal/>.

130 “Georgetown Divests From Direct Investments in Coal Companies,” Georgetown University News, June 4, 2015. <http://www.georgetown.edu/news/sustainability-policy-regarding-investments.html>.

131 McChesney, “National Escalation Strategy Team #rejectiondenied”

Swarthmore Mountain Justice, she came back from West Virginia “wanting to organize tree sits on the main walkway of our campus and looking forward to attaching myself to a member of our Board of Managers via U-lock.” “I wanted our campaign to escalate,” she said, because “escalating meant bringing that urgency to our Board through highly confrontational tactics.”<sup>132</sup> Just a few months later she was among those occupying the college finance office. Trustees have made divestment a hard fight, McKibben says, but that’s okay. The struggle makes the campaign all the more endearing:

*The fight is just as important as the win in a lot of ways. Sometimes you can win almost too quickly in some of these battles. Instead, when you have to spend a few years fighting, then every freshman and faculty member and parishioner will come to know the story of why it’s so important.*<sup>133</sup>

Divestment campaigns feed on anger, and anger is fostered by the frustrations of failure. Having a board of grey-haired wealthy trustees say no to young aspirations provides activists a convenient excuse to respond with indignation rather than introspection. The old are powerful and suppressing, the young powerless and suppressed, and so the moral imperative is to speak and act rather than to think. They need waste no time contemplating the possibility that divestment might be misguided.

***Divestment campaigns feed on anger, and anger is fostered by the frustrations of failure.***

The movement is gearing up for its third year of escalated campaigns. The Fossil Fuel Divestment Students Networks is raising money to sponsor 20 sit-ins in spring 2016. It is preparing a training schedule for the fall. 350.org is hiring Go Fossil Free Fellows, students paid to organize their campuses. The Responsible Endowments Coalition and Divestment Students Network are signing up alumni to join the protests. The activists are in it, they say, for the long haul.

132 Katie McChesney, “Building Toward Strategic Escalation,” Go Fossil Free, November 12, 2014. <http://gofossilfree.org/usa/building-toward-strategic-escalation/>.

133 Rebecca Leber, “Divestment Won’t Hurt Big Oil, and That’s OK,” *New Republic*, May 20, 2015. <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/121848/does-divestment-work>.