THE MEANING OF ACTION: LINKING GOAL ORIENTATIONS, TACTICS, AND STRATEGIES IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

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Social movement scholars cite the importance of strategy as a critical component of collective action. But what is a movement strategy, and what role does it play in facilitating movement processes? We conceptualize strategy as both the reason for engaging in collective action as well as the tools used in the course of action. More than a rational means-ends calculation, strategy is inherently a meaning-making process, providing the movement and its participants a sense of purpose. Using the U.S. environmental movement as a case study, and employing a data-driven and inductive strategy that combines both computational and qualitative methods, we find that strategy emerges as organizations link their actions to their goal orientation: what level of society the organization views as the locus of change. We conclude by illustrating changes over time in attention to different movement strategies, highlighting strategic differences between organizations working together in the same social movement.

Social movements consist of group action oriented toward a collective goal of promoting or halting social change. Collective action is a necessary but insufficient condition for a social movement; each action must also be linked to symbols and discourse that, taken together, work toward a coherent purpose. In other words, a social movement must have a strategy (Jasper 2004). Despite the importance of strategy to social movements, operationalizing strategy remains challenging. In this article we develop an inductive, data-driven analytic approach to systematically describe and explain movement strategies. Using the environmental movement as a case study and employing a combination of computational and qualitative methods, we extract the complete range of actions used by the environmental movement and the different meanings associated with those actions. In doing so, we identify how meaning is constructed through social movement discourse, specific mechanisms through which actions are attached to meaning, and how these processes are linked to produce movement strategies.

The theoretical implication of our analysis is to view social movement organizations' strategies not merely as rational, purposeful pursuits of social change but also as meaning-making projects that orient individuals to broader social change patterns. At the organization level, strategies give purpose and a reason for organizations to exist. They differentiate organizations within the ecology of the social movement sector inasmuch as they create unique means for individuals and groups to express their political and social commitments. Collectively, movement strategies represent both possible pathways to large-scale change as well as a narrative about why change is necessary. In some cases, organizational strategies are complementary, but they sometimes represent divergent ways of making sense of the world. Our approach—and the purpose of the article—is to uncover the multiple strands of meaning as manifest in the organizational strategies exhibited in one social movement.

Research on movement strategies often a structural point of view, seeing strategies as reflections of the environmental constraints or opportunities that movements face, or an agency-centered perspective that analyzes tactical choices involving tradeoffs of individual players (see

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Jasper 2004). Both approaches tend to focus on the use of a particular set of tactics in isolation (King and Cornwall 2005; McCammon 2012), including studies on protests (King and Soule 2007; Walker, Martin, and McCarthy 2008), boycotts (Luders 2006; King 2008), community-building (Crossley 2017; Taylor 1996), consciousness raising (Scott 1985), and expressive tactics (Tuğal 2009). In contrast, research on meaning and movement culture tends to downplay movement strategy and instead highlights the collective meaning making that movements engage in through framing (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986), ideology (Luker 1984; Oliver and Johnston 2000), discourse (Brulle 2000; Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, and Rucht 2002), the expression of political logics (Armstrong 2002), and grievances (Simmons 2014).

The approach of this paper is to consider movement organizations' strategies and meaning making as inherently linked. We conceptualize strategy as the linking of a specific type of purpose—their goal orientation—to a set of actions that they believe help them realize that purpose. Thus, strategy consists of both the reason for engaging in collective action as well as the tools used in the course of action. To identify both purpose and actions we first use movement discourse to inductively identify and operationalize movement strategy. Second, we inductively identify the complete ecology of activities within the environmental movement and relate different types of actions to one another. Third, we measure how meaning is mapped onto actions in this particular domain. We end with an example of an empirical application of our framework: measuring how attention to different organizations, tactics, and overall movement strategy has changed over time.

In addition to more precisely operationalizing movement strategy, this analysis yields three important implications for future theoretical development. First, building on the work by James Jasper (2004) and others, we identify three types of strategy, captured by variation in organizational goal orientations: mobilizing communities, institutional change, and personal transformation. Second, we find that organizations rarely use just one kind of tactic, and a substantial portion of what social movement organizations do (around twenty percent in our data) include noncontentious, unobtrusive, and practical tactics such as hands-on arts shows with kids, hunting lessons, and gardening. Third, we find that a movement's goal orientation changes the meaning given to particular actions. The same tactic or action, when embedded in different goal orientations, will have different meanings. These meanings are empirically mapped along three dimensions: the intended purpose of the action, how the action is related to the process of change, and how actions lead to consequential change. When scholars analyze tactics in isolation they may miss this variation in meaning. We conclude with a call for more studies that map the full ecology of movement strategies, moving beyond the traditional qualitative case study or narrow quantitative approaches to further advance social movement research.

GOAL ORIENTATIONS AND TACTICS IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS RESEARCH

Despite the importance of strategy to movements and their organizations (Brulle, Turner, Carmichael, and Jenkins 2007), empirically studying this element has proven difficult. Movement goals are diverse and are aimed at all levels of society: policy and institutional change, changing individual beliefs and practice, cultural change, building alternative lifestyles and communities, shifting language and discourse, and so on. Goal typologies have helped scholars make sense of this complexity (Curtis and Zurcher 1974), but have not gained widespread traction in empirical research. This is, in part, because typologies tend to become quite mechanical and have difficulty capturing the complexity of meaning and purpose in social movement organizations. We contend that movement strategy is both constructed and communicated through language, as discourse links disparate actions to one another and links them all to a collective goal, creating the semblance of a coherent purpose (Benford and Hunt 1992; Brulle 2000; Espinoza-Kulick 2020; Ferree et al. 2002; Ganz 2000; Laclau and Mouffe 2001; Snow et al. 1986). Language, then, provides a medium to both identify and measure movement strategy. To understand strategy, we must understand both the actions movements take and the discourse that links each of those actions to a collective purpose.

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Tactical Diversity and Social Movements

One of the advances in social movement theory since the 1960s is a steady broadening of our understanding of what social movements do. Some scholars have conceived of social movements as inherently conflictual, focusing on dramatic and unorthodox tactics such as protests and marches, strikes, civil disobedience, and violence (Diani 1992; Tarrow 1994; Tilly 2004). New social movement theorists coming primarily out of Europe, as well as scholars of feminist and LGBT movements in the United States, challenged this almost exclusive focus on conflict and protest, expanding the definition of social movements to include those with cultural goals that use a variety of nonconfrontational tactics and strategies (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Habermas 1985; Melucci 1996).[1] Yet another branch of social movement scholars built on this more expansive definition of social movement tactics, but bridged it back to institutional targets. This "civil society" approach is rooted in attempts to offer alternatives to hegemonic practices associated with industrialized societies (Althusser 2001; Gramsci 1971; Laclau and Mouffe 2001). These tactics are not always captured in discrete actions and include peaceful forms of resistance that are sometimes difficult to directly observe (Hill Collins 2000).

These three alternate (but not necessarily competing) theories about what social movements do and why often dictate how scholars study social movements. Identifying and counting protest events, for example, has a long history in social movement scholarship and is rooted in the conflictual definition of social movements (King and Soule 2007; Walker, Martin, and McCarthy 2008).[2] Research that focuses instead on cultural, identity building, lifestyle politics, and everyday practices has followed a different methodological path. This research typically involves qualitative interviews, ethnography, and comparative historical analyses, and the findings are based on the accounts of movement participants themselves (Crossley 2017; Katzenstein 1990; Reger 2012; Tuğal 2009).

By focusing our analyses on tactics, we ignore how a variety of actions, goals, and even identities are inextricably linked in practice within social movements. Most organizations perform numerous activities in pursuit of their goals, but it is not always easy to identify those activities, especially when they are activities not typically associated with the organizational category (Hannan, Pólos, and Carroll 2007). For example, when we consider social movement organizations, we assume that the category of movement organization is clearly linked to a set of activities—call them the categorical code—that involve disruption and conflict. While this certainly fits the expectations of the organizations' audiences, it may not fit the particular needs of the organizations and therefore may be less frequently used by certain social movement organizations than others. If our theoretical lens instructs us to narrowly define a movement around a particular tactic, purpose, or category, we fail to see and understand the full range of actions, interactions, and identities within and across social movement organizations.

Additionally, organizations need to know how to do more than they actually do because their environments are constantly changing and because they engage in interactions with different kinds of actors. In this sense, organizational tactics are like culture—each organization knows more tactics than it usually performs (Swidler 1986). Social movement organizations must either have, or develop, the know-how to deal with new contingencies, including responses from their targets and from the accrual of their experiences over time (McAdam 1982). To account for this, research on tactics should not be limited to what we already know social movements do, but should employ an equally broad and adaptive approach to capture what social movements actually do.

Social Movement Strategy

In this article we connect the literature on tactics and goals with that on discourse and meaning to operationalize movement strategy. To do so, we do not assume we know a priori the types of actions organizations take, nor do we assume the underlying relationship between discourse, mission, and tactics. To uncover these emergent relationships, we first inductively cluster organizations across the discursive space, and then use a combination of computational and

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qualitative methods to link discursive categories to organizational mission and actions. We find that an organization's goal orientation can be thought of as a fundamental organizing principle of any movement organization. Movement strategy is produced as organizations link their discrete actions to their goal orientation, imbuing each action with meaning. We explore what this means in the results section below.

Our Case: The Evolving Form of Environmental Movement Organizations

We explore the connection between movement strategy, organizational goals, and organizational actions using the environmental movement as a case study of an evolving social movement. The environmental movement is one of the more complex movements in U.S. history and has been active for over 185 years.[3] The broad goal of this movement is changing societal norms and government policies to embrace environmental sustainability, conservation of resources, public health quality, environmental justice, and environmental protection. Since its inception, the environmental movement has included a wide array of actors, from official government programs, to charities and nonprofits, to militant grassroots organizations. Over the course of the history of the environmental movement, different ideas have emerged around the best ways to curtail the depletion of the environment, including prioritizing different specific goals, drawing attention to a variety of issues, and adopting tactical innovations that attempt to counter the influence of powerful incumbents. In the most recent years, the environmental movement has continued to develop new tactics to reach their goals. Kayaktavists, for example, have disrupted oil rigs near Seattle, Washington, Greenpeace activists have rappelled off bridges near Vancouver to stop oil tankers moving in and out, and young students have participated in global climate strikes. Others, including Sierra Club and the World Wildlife Fund, have brokered new types of partnerships with international businesses such as Avon and Clorox to promote sustainable business practices.

As social movements are continually evolving phenomena, we must also be able to measure how actions and strategies, once identified, then change over time. In our final analysis we demonstrate how our approach allows us to more precisely track changes in the discourse around the environmental movement over the recent history. Our approach thus ultimately provides a method to not only inductively identify tactics and connect them to movement strategies, but to also capture strategic shifts within social movements over time.

DATA AND METHODS

We conceive of the environmental movement as all actors that engage in collective action for the explicit purpose of protecting or conserving the environment. To study the goal orientations and actions taken by the environmental movement, we compiled a list of environmental movement organizations (hereafter, EMOs) using two sources: a list of tax-exempt organizations related to the environment and conservation, and all organizations in the online version of the Encyclopedia of Associations produced by Gale Cengage Learning that were tagged with the keywords conservation, environment, or environmental in the subject. We found a total of 527 EMOs. The organizations range from large, membership-based organizations such as The Nature Conservancy (with over one million members), to smaller, local organizations such as the Florida Keys Wild Bird Rehabilitation Center (a small group of dedicated staff and volunteers); direct-action organizations such as Greenpeace and Earth First! and more consumer-based organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund and Climate Counts; and long-running successful organizations such as Sierra Club, founded in 1892 and still influential today, to less successful, short-lived organizations such as the American Wilderness Coalition, founded in 2001 and active only until around 2005. While our list does not include every EMO in the U.S., we believe this list is diverse, systematic, and, importantly, does not exhibit tactical or strategic sample selection bias.

To capture the full range of discourse and actions associated with this movement, we follow other social movement research and used news media as our data. We analyzed language used to describe organizations, rather than the language used by the organizations themselves (for

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example, in mission statements or newsletters), for three reasons. First, social movement scholars have long used news media to study historical movements (Soule 2013). Keeping in this tradition allows comparability to other studies. Second, attention in the media is both a resource and outcome of social movements. Media coverage remains a sign that an organization is gaining some form of influence on the collective level (Amenta, Caren, Olasky, and Stobaugh 2009). Third, and most importantly, organizations craft their own view of themselves and may strive to strategically place themselves within the larger discourse. We sought to uncover this collectively established discourse, not individually crafted or aspirational discourse. The media provides one way this collective discourse is both created and reinforced (Ferree et al. 2000).

To triangulate our findings, we followed this news media analysis with a qualitative analysis of mission statements from a sample of organizations. From these mission statements we reverse engineered the principles linking organizations in the discursive space, confirming that patterns uncovered in the news media held outside of this medium (see below for more details on this verification step).

Because our sample includes small, local organizations not typically covered in large, nationally oriented newspapers like the *New York Times*, we collected our data from two major news databases, the LexisNexis newspaper database and the EBSCO Regional Business News database. The choice of these two databases was both practical and theoretical. They include a variety of national, regional, and local English-language newspapers and thus avoid the regional bias that is inherent when looking at a limited number of newspapers (Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule 2004). As of 2016, LexisNexis contained over 11,000 distinct sources, making it one of the most comprehensive digital databases specializing in news and business information (as well as legal information, which we did not use). To ensure adequate coverage of local and regional newspapers, we supplemented LexisNexis with the EBSCO Regional Business News database, which includes smaller, more locally focused news and has many regional sources not present in LexisNexis.[4] Both of these databases additionally contain not just print news but also radio and TV transcripts, adding another layer of diversity to our data, beyond what is used for most social movement studies.

From these two databases we obtained all of the articles that mentioned at least one of the 527 EMOs between 1998 and 2014.[5] The articles from LexisNexis come from 406 distinct sources, and the EBSCO data add an additional 53 distinct sources, for a total of 459 distinct sources. After removing duplicate and near-duplicate articles, our complete dataset includes 371,181 articles from these 459 sources. We then limit each newspaper article to only the sentences that are most likely connected to an EMO by including every sentence that mentions at least one EMO and the subsequent nine sentences.

To analyze these data at the level of detail and at the scale we sought, we combined a human-driven abductive and grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss 2017; Tavory and Timmermans 2014) with computational methods (Baumer, Mimno, Guha, Quan, and Gay 2017; Espinoza-Kulick 2020; Nelson 2020). Our approach entailed a fluid movement between computational methods and output, and qualitative interpretation (Charmaz 2014; Franzosi 2004; Franzosi, De Fazio, and Vicari 2012).

Part I: Discourse and Goals

In Part I we inductively derived movement strategy within discourse, identifying generalizable principles to understand how actions are mapped onto meaning to produce movement strategy.

Consider the following: “Greenpeace activists boarded an oil rig in the Norwegian Arctic on Tuesday to try to stop exploration plans in the far north. . . .” In this sentence, there is a clear connection between the organization (Greenpeace), their action (boarded an oil rig), and their goal (to stop exploration plans). Much of the time, however, these linguistic connections are spread over many paragraphs. More importantly, Greenpeace’s larger strategy (why did they choose to target an oil rig? why direct action?) is not contained in this specific sentence, or any

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other single sentence, but is communicated throughout all of the sentences describing Greenpeace's actions and goals. If strategy is contained somewhere in this discourse, as the literature suggests, we intuit that organizations that are close to one another in the discursive space may have a similar strategy. We used computational and inductive methods to cluster organizations based on their position in public discourse, assessing the validity and the meaning behind those categories through a qualitative analysis of select organizational mission statements within each cluster.

To cluster organizations we used an inductive but theory-driven approach. First, we transformed the full news media corpus into an organization by term matrix by joining all articles that mentioned each organization into one document (for a total of 527 documents), calculating how often every term in the corpus occurred in each document.[6] We then used topic models to reduce this organization by term matrix into a lower dimensional discursive space. Topic modeling, originally an information retrieval method in computer science, is a reliable data reduction tool for large corpora (Bonilla and Grimmer 2013; Grimmer and Stewart 2013; Mohr and Bogdanov 2013; Roberts, Stewart, Tingley, Lucas, Leder-Luis, Gadarian, Albertson, and Rand 2014). Topic models calculate the co-occurrence of words within documents compared to their distribution across all documents, and output (1) a weighted distribution of terms for each topic and (2) a weighted distribution of topics for each document. Rather than specify the number of topics a priori, we used a variation of probabilistic topic modeling called Structural Topic Modeling (STM) (Roberts et al. 2014)[7] to produce a 200-topic model, and then used hierarchical clustering to further reduce these 200 topics into a lower dimensional, theoretically driven, thematic space. To do so each author independently examined the hierarchical clustering and, using qualitative analyses of the words associated with each topic as well as the visual cutoff method often used in clustering analysis, independently decided the thirteen-cluster topic solution produced the most semantically coherent and comprehensive themes based on our understanding of the environmental movement.[8] The result was an EMO matrix with thirteen-dimensions and the cells consisting of the corresponding topic weights for each organization's extended document.

We considered this the organization's discursive vector. We then used Pearson's correlation coefficient to calculate whether two organizations' discursive vectors were correlated, producing a similarity measure between each pair of organizations. We assigned a negative or positive correlation (-1 or + 1) between two organizations if the correlation coefficient was significant at the $p<0.05$ level, in the respective direction, and no correlation (0) if the p-value was greater than the 0.05 cutoff. Using this organization by organization similarity matrix, we hierarchically clustered organizations using the Nearest Point Algorithm and Euclidean distance (Gordon 1996).

We assumed that organizations clustered together in this discursive space might have similar strategies. To verify the validity of this assumption, we followed this clustering analysis with a qualitative analysis of the mission statements from the most frequently mentioned organizations in each cluster. We first read the mission statements and the websites from the ten most frequently mentioned organizations in each high level cluster, and then did the same for the next three levels into the hierarchical cluster. As we did so, we wrote brief descriptions of any patterns we found connecting the most frequent organizations in each cluster. After completing this exercise for all three levels, we then reviewed our descriptions to identify patterns within and across the different clusters. Finally, we identified representative quotes from the mission statements and websites to verify our interpretations. We present some of these quotes in the results section below.

Part II: Tactical Repertoire

To identify the full range of tactics used by the organizations in our data we created a custom-made dictionary. Dictionaries, or lists of words associated with given categories, have a long history in content analysis and the social sciences (Oliver and Rahn 2016; Schwartz and

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Ungar 2015; Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). Rather than attempting to create a comprehensive dictionary of all known tactics, we allowed tactics to emerge from the data, leaving open the possibility that there were some tactics used by this movement of which we were not yet aware. Tactics are the actions and practices organizations take as they try to achieve their goals. Tactics include actions such as strikes, demonstrations, petitions, and voting, as well as things like writing editorials or tweeting, but not actions such as receiving or believing. Thus, all tactics are verbs, but not all verbs are tactics.

To construct an inductive dictionary of tactical categories, we began by extracting all the verbs and verb phrases from the text using the standard part-of-speech tagger in Python's NLTK library[9]. This tagger identified a total of 49,737 unique verb phrases in our data (excluding those that only occurred once, which are typically typos or mistakes). We then went through each verb phrase by hand, classifying them as a tactic or not. This process left us with 841 unique tactics. Each author reviewed these tactics, and together we inductively identified nine tactical categories from these unique tactics. Each author then independently tagged each tactic as belonging to at least one, and up to three, of those nine tactical categories. The two authors agreed on at least one of the categories for 67% of the tactics. We took the intersection of the tagged categories for each of the tactics where the authors agreed on at least one categorization. For the remaining tactics, we mutually agreed on the best categories for each. These tagged words became our tactical category dictionary: a list of words associated with each of the nine categories (see the appendix for a complete list of tactic words and categories; the categories are not mutually exclusive).

To confirm the validity of these categories we followed this analysis with a qualitative reading of texts with the most frequent mentions of words from each tactical category. We provide representative quotes from some of these texts in the results section below.

Parts III and IV: Comparing Tactics and Strategies Over Time

In Parts III and IV we demonstrate the theoretical and empirical relevance of the inductive mapping of movement strategies. In Part III we quantitatively compared the prevalence of tactical categories within each discursive cluster, and then qualitatively examined how similar tactics were used by organizations across the three clusters, providing three examples as illustrations. In Part IV we quantitatively examined the frequency of mentions from each tactical category and discursive cluster over time. We did this by simply counting the number of times each tactic word or organizational name was mentioned in the public discourse text, and then aggregated by both year and organizational cluster.

RESULTS

Figure 1 shows the hierarchical dendrogram for 463 organizations in our data, with the most frequently mentioned organizations within each high-level cluster labeled.[10] Each line represents one organization. The hierarchical clustering revealed three high-level clusters (using a distance cutoff of 600) with a similar number of organizations in each cluster: 159 organizations in cluster 1, 148 organizations in cluster 2, and 156 organizations in cluster 3. These emergent clusters represent organizations that were similar to one another across the news media discourse. The remainder of this section is based on our qualitative analysis of the mission statements and/or *About* sections from the organizational websites of the most frequently mentioned organizations in each cluster (see figure 1).

Cluster Features. We found the most cohesive feature distinguishing the three high-level clus-ters in this movement was not the type of action or tactic (e.g. expressive versus instru-mental), the type of authority targeted (e.g., institutional versus cultural), specific tactics used, issues addressed, nor social identity (e.g., conservative versus liberal). We instead found that

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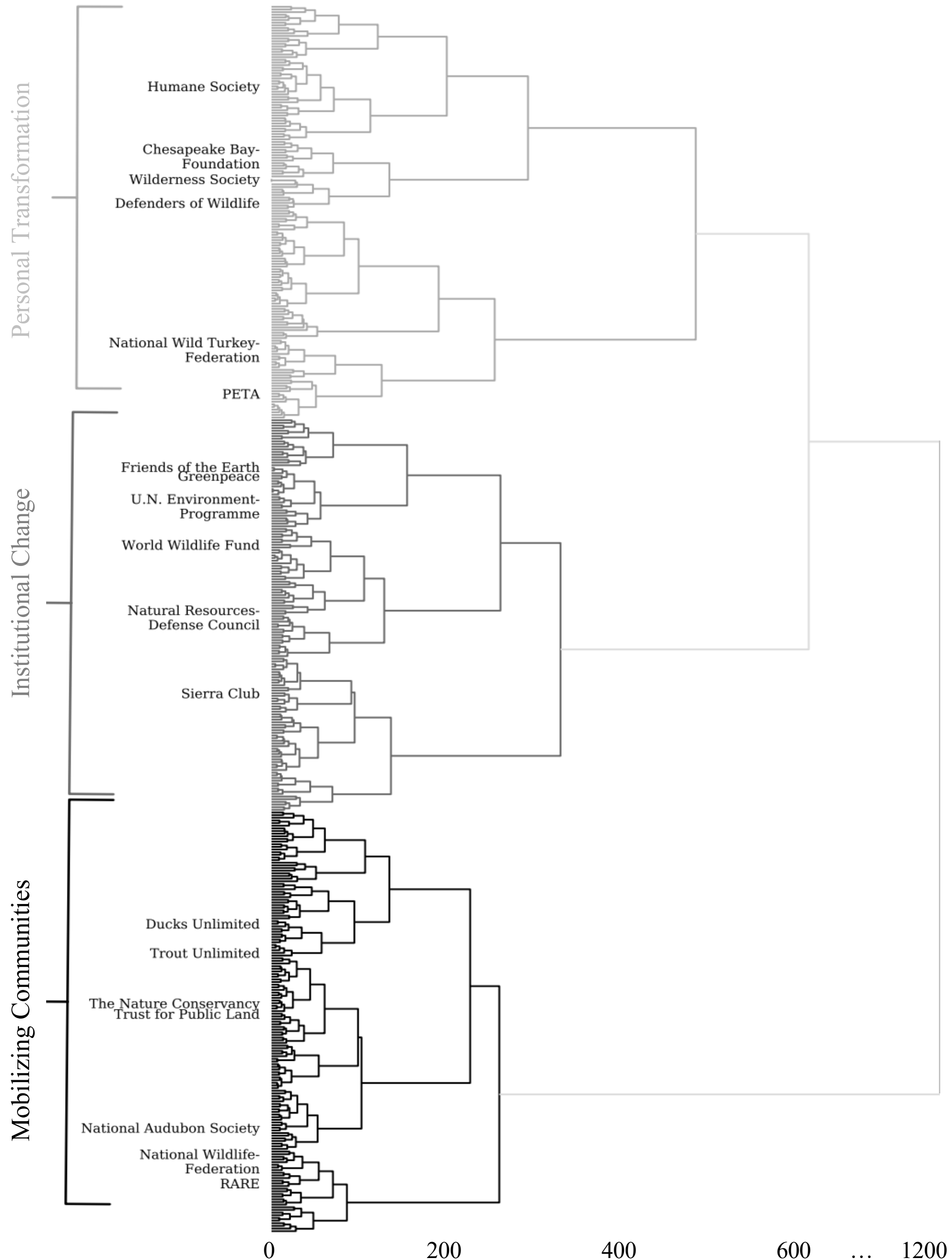
Figure 1. Discursive Clusters



Note: This figure is based on documents from the LexisNexis and EBSCO news media databases that mention at least one EMO, 1998-2014. It shows the dendrogram produced through a hierarchical clustering of the organizational discursive similarity matrix. Each row indicates one EMO. The dendrogram was produced using the Nearest Point Algorithm and Euclidean distance on the organization by organization distance matrix. The distance matrix was produced using Pearson's correlation coefficient for each pair-wise discursive vector (the weighted vector over the 13-topic space produced using structural topic modeling). The distance between organizations was negative (-1) or positive (1) if the correlation coefficient was significant at the $p<0.05$ level, in the respective direction, and zero (0) if the p-value was greater than the 0.05 cutoff. The labeled organizations are the most frequently mentioned organizations in the news media from each cluster. The three high-level clusters (using a cutoff distance < 600) were labeled by the authors, and describe the goal orientation of the organizations in each cluster.

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the organizations in the three high-level clusters were distinguished by what level of society the organization assumes is responsible for social change: the community, institutions, or individuals. We call this feature the organizational goal orientation. From our analysis, we derived three goal orientations in the environmental movement: (1) mobilizing communities, (2) institutional change, and (3) personal transformation.

The distinctions between the assumption about what level of society is responsible for change is sometimes subtle, but always profound. To illustrate this with a concrete example, one specific movement goal in the environmental movement is lowering carbon emissions. Organizations across all of the three goal orientations pursued this specific goal, but the way they approached this goal, and the associated meaning of their actions, was different in each of the three clusters. The Nature Conservancy, for example, an organization with the mobilizing communities goal orientation, proposed reforesting sixty acres of farmland in Delaware to offset carbon emissions. The environmental effect of this action was three-fold: return the farmland to its original state for the community to enjoy, provide shelter for endangered bird populations, and offset harmful carbon emissions. The ultimate purpose, however, was to mobilize and empower the community to be involved in conservation. The community, for The Nature Conservancy, is responsible for change. Friends of the Earth, an organization with the institutional change goal orientation, instead pursued reducing carbon emissions by promoting the government-sponsored Carbon Trust label, which can be obtained by companies that cut down their "food miles," or the number of miles their products are shipped before they are sold to consumers. In addition to reducing emissions from the food industry, the ultimate purpose of this action was to hold the food industry accountable and encourage institutional changes. Institutions, for Friends of the Earth, are responsible for change. Polar Bear International, an organization with a personal transformation goal orientation, produced a commercial that showed a polar bear trekking through its natural habitat, walking into a suburban community, and hugging the owner of a Nissan hybrid car. Their goal: encourage lower emissions through the use of hybrid cars. The purpose of this work, however, was to transform individuals into environmentally responsible actors. These three organizations are linked by their specific goal of lowering carbon emissions but are differentiated by their goal orientation. This distinction, we argue, is crucial to understanding both actions and strategy.

Mobilizing Communities. The goal orientation here is embraced by organizations that aim to mobilize communities to take an active part in the movement to find solutions to environmental problems that also benefit the communities. The organizations associated with this goal orientation recognize that communities need to use natural resources for recreation, enjoyment, and for their own livelihoods. Far from preventing the use of these resources, the only way to achieve sustainable change is to achieve a healthy balance between conservation and consumption. To do this, communities need to be actively involved in the process of change. These organizations tend to be nonconfrontational and pragmatic, working directly with communities to improve the local air, water, and habitat. The organizations mentioned most frequently in this cluster are The Nature Conservancy, Ducks Unlimited, Trout Unlimited, RARE, The National Wildlife Federation, Trust for Public Land, and the National Audubon Society.

The Nature Conservancy works with local communities, businesses, government, and individuals to develop practical conservation solutions. In their words, they use "a nonconfrontational, collaborative approach." Their mission is representative of the integration of conservation and community consumption: conserve nature "for its own sake and its ability to fulfill our needs and enrich our lives" (The Nature Conservancy 2020). Their primary focus is direct conservation; their most common tactic is to partner with the private sector, using land trusts, conservation easements, and private reserves to protect and conserve privately held land and then open these lands to the local community for general enjoyment and use. The Trust for Public Land and the Audubon Society have similar missions: the Trust for Public Land saves private lands from development "for people to enjoy," (The Trust for Public Land 2018) and the Audubon Society envisions a world where "both people and wildlife thrive" (Audubon n.d.).

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Ducks Unlimited, Trout Unlimited, and Pheasants Forever are also primarily conservation organizations, working with various levels of the community and government to conserve habitats for wildlife. Their main constituency is hunters, fishers, and outdoor sportspeople and enthusiasts who want to preserve habitats to benefit wildlife, but also to use these lands for outdoor sports, in particular hunting. The websites for all three organizations are a mix of conservation information, facts, and methods, with hunting and outdoor sports tips and strategies. Their main tactics are a similar mix of direct conservation efforts, with events to teach people new and old hunting techniques. Their hunting activities help them raise money for their conservation efforts, but these activities also serve to mobilize this traditionally more politically conservative population around community-based conservation efforts.

Institutional Change. This goal orientation refers to organizations and actions that seek changes in and/or through institutions. *Institutions* include corporations, states, national bodies, or global and transnational organizations. *Change* includes changes in the basic values and beliefs held by the institution and the practices that reinforce those beliefs, as well as changes in rules, policies, and regulations within or supported by the institution. In the environmental movement, organizations clustered in the institutional change goal orientation more often directly target corporations, state, national, and global organizations, and the public figures that represent those institutions. Unlike the organizations in the mobilizing communities cluster who seek a balance between conservation and consumption, the EMOs clustered in the institutional change goal orientation typically view environmental protection as a zero-sum game: if institutions are left to their own devices, the environment will lose. The most frequently mentioned organizations in the institutional change goal orientation are Greenpeace, Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, the World Wildlife Fund, the Natural Resource Defense Council, and the United Nations Environment Programme.

Greenpeace, the most frequently mentioned organization in this cluster, is one of the most widely known and recognized environmental organizations. They are popularly known for their direct actions—scaling oil rigs for banner drops, disrupting events that they think contribute to environmental harm, or organizing large public demonstrations. They use these direct-action tactics to compel corporations, governments, and transnational organizations to change their practices to be more environmentally friendly, or, alternatively, to push for policies to force a change in these practices.

Sierra Club, the next most frequently mentioned organization in this cluster, is in many ways quite different than Greenpeace, and on the surface looks more similar to organizations in the mobilizing communities cluster. Like The Nature Conservancy (a frequently mentioned organization in the mobilizing communities goal orientation), one of Sierra Club's goals is to ensure all communities have access to public lands and nature, and they do so by organizing activities such as community hikes to encourage people to enjoy nature (Sierra Club 2020). The difference between these two organizations, however, is important. Where The Nature Conservancy works with the private sector to buy land for use by communities, Sierra Club believes the government is responsible for increasing access to public lands, backed by public policies to ensure continued access. The focus on the role of the government in land access is demonstrated in Sierra Club's public statements about environmental policy. For example, in 2018 they released a report titled "Rubber Stamp Approval of Fracked Gas Pipeline Highlights the Need to Fix FERC," criticizing the Federal Energy Regulatory Committee for allowing the construction of a gas pipeline (Jackson 2018). Friends of the Earth is similarly focused on national public institutions and their representative figures as the source of change. Recent 2018 headlines from Friends of the Earth include "Tell Congress to Fire Pruitt!," "Stop the Trump Administration from Opening our Oceans to Big Oil," and "Tell Congress: Stop Trump's New NAFTA."11

These statements, and the public direct-action tactics popularized by Greenpeace, are representative of the more combative approach used by organizations in the institutional change goal orientation, as well as their assumption that change is best pursued through institutions.

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Personal Transformation. This goal orientation refers to organizations and actions that try to change the beliefs and/or practices of individuals. This goal orientation assumes that if change is going to be successful and enduring, individuals must take responsibility for their own activities. In other words, individual agency is essential to change. In the environmental movement, organizations in this cluster often encourage, through different types of actions, individuals to reduce their carbon footprint, go vegan, adopt from shelters, hunt and fish, and reduce their own impact on wildlife. The most frequently mentioned organizations in this cluster are People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Humane Society, National Wild Turkey Federation, Chesapeake Bay Foundation, and Defenders of Wildlife.

PETA, like Greenpeace, is a publicly visible, direct-action, and controversial organization. Although they also target corporations and pressure them to change their policies, their most well-known actions and campaigns include their public actions, billboards, and advertisements that encourage, typically through shame, individual lifestyle choices related to animals. They are known, for example, for throwing red paint on fur coats at public events, for having near-naked women caged in public areas to dramatize caged, farm-raised animals, and for their public, aggressive billboards, such as their "Save the Whales" billboard that featured a woman whose "blubber" was spilling out of her swimsuit and the tagline "lose the blubber: go vegetarian" (PETA 2009). Like PETA, The Humane Society encourages individuals to change their everyday actions, but they do so in a much less controversial way. They hold events, for example, to encourage people to adopt from shelters rather than breeders, or events where people can bring their pets to be spayed and neutered.

The National Wild Turkey Federation (NWTF) is in many ways similar to Ducks and Trout Unlimited from the mobilizing communities cluster. NWTF's main conservation tactic is hunting. Their ultimate goal, however, is to simply recruit more individuals to take up hunting. Hunters, they claim, pay for around eighty percent of wildlife conservation efforts through excise taxes on guns and ammunition and hunting licenses. They work to increase the number of hunters and by doing so, increase the money going toward conservation.

Defenders of Wildlife, almost in direct contradiction to NWTF yet in the same discursive cluster, seeks to "speak for wildlife" who cannot speak for themselves (Defenders of Wildlife 2020a). They emphasize that individual action is the primary threat to wildlife, and individual change must be the solution. For their grizzly bear recovery campaign, for example, they motivate their focus on bear-human conflict: "The primary factor limiting grizzly bear recovery is human-caused mortality. Bears die when they get into trouble with people's garbage, livestock, when they are hit by cars and trains or illegally killed. By preventing these conflicts we help both people and bears" (Defenders of Wildlife 2020b). Their philosophy is representative of the motivation of the organizations in this cluster more generally: people impact the environment through their choices and actions, so people must change their behaviors in order to protect the environment.

In sum, our analysis shows that movement organizations were most clearly distinguished by their goal orientation, not by their use of tactics. Goal orientation in turn provides a discursive context through which movement organizations understand their use of tactics. In the next section we examine variety in tactical repertoire.

Part II: Tactical Repertoires

Table 1 on the next page presents the nine tactical categories we identified using our computational and inductive method, and sample tactics for each category (see the appendix for a complete list of words for each category). These nine categories, we claim, represent the full range of tactical repertoires used by the U.S. environmental movement between 1998 and 2014, and each word in each category represents a social movement tactic.

Our method identified four categories that are well covered in social movements research: disruptive protest, nondisruptive protest, political, juridical, verbal statements, and education/raising awareness. The disruptive protest category includes direct action tactics such as blockade, chain, and damage.[12] Direct protest actions but within the bounds of the law fall into the non-

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Table 1. Sample Tactics by Tactical Category

Verbal Statements	*Political*	*Juridical*	*Lifestyle/ Culture*	*Business*
announce	campaign	audit	kayak	boycott
claim	donate	enforce	harvest	brand
communicate	elect	inspect	trek	downsize
declare	endorse	represent	cycle	export
explain	regulate	testify	cook	subsidize
portray	amend	prosecute	beekeep	purchase
quote	debate	summon	appreciate	sponsor
respond	ratify	ban	backpack	certify
support	repeal	fine	garden	assess

Nondisruptive Protest	*Disruptive Protest*	*Education/ Raising Awareness*	*Direct Environmental Protection*
chant	blockade	editorial	build
demonstrate	chain	outreach	improve
organize	prevent	publish	preserve
petition	damage	report	protect
protest	sabotage	tweet	recycle
challenge	naked	teach	pollinate
rally	obstruct	distribute	retrofit
march	rappel	study	volunteer
parade	videotape	write	weed

Note: The tactical categories are based on documents from the LexisNexis and EBSCO news media databases that mention at least one EMO between 1998 and 2014. They were inductively created from extracting and categorizing all verbs and verb phrases in the news media corpus. Each tactic was categorized into at least one, and up to three, tactical categories. See the appendix for a complete list of all tactics in each category.

disruptive protest category, which include tactics such as demonstrate, gather, chant, and march. Evidence of the common social movement focus on the state, policy, and law, are the political and juridical categories. These include tactics such as campaign, elect, and lobby in the political category, and courtroom actions such as testify and litigate for the juridical category. Two other categories capture the desire to reach and educate the public and raise awareness about environmental issues. The verbal statements category covers ways organizations make public statements about an issue, including the tactics comment, denounce, insult, and promote. The education/raising awareness category is focused on social movement constituencies, including tactics such as educate, publicize, tweet, and engage.

We also identified three categories that are not as well represented in the social movement literature: business, direct environmental protection, and lifestyle/culture. While the Business category does include some confrontational tactics such as boycott, it also includes more cooperative tactics such as sponsor and brand. We see the use of these tactics in recent green branding partnerships such as those between Clorox and Sierra Club, and the partnership between the World Wildlife Fund and Avon. These companies pledge to make their products more environmentally friendly and in return get a stamp of approval from the organization, displayed on product packaging.

The direct environmental protection category captures actions that directly contribute to conserving the environment. This includes individual tactics such as recycle, carpool, and reuse, as well as collective conservation efforts, including preserve, sustain, and reintroduce (e.g., reintroducing wolves into Yellowstone). The lifestyle/culture category is another unobtrusive

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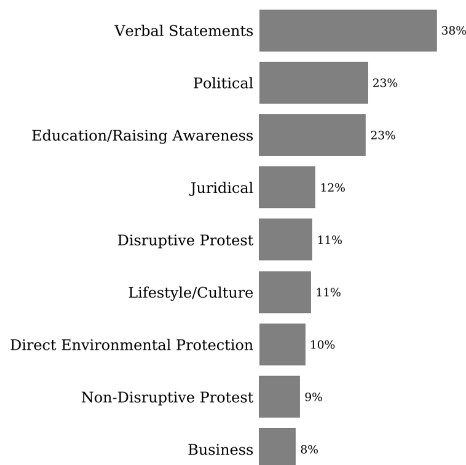
tactical category, aimed at changing everyday practices of individuals. This category includes lifestyle actions such as backpack, camp, and bake*,* and represents attempts by organizations to promote green lifestyles—for example, sustainable gardening and cooking—as well as promoting backpacking and hiking trips in order to increase the public's appreciation of nature.

Figure 2 shows the proportion of total tactic words from each tactical category across the entire corpus. As these are news articles, which are often quoting spokespersons from organizations about an issue or action, it is not surprising that there were close to fifty percent more verbal statements compared to the two next most prevalent categories, political and education/raising awareness (thirty-eight percent of the tactics were categorized as verbal statements compared to twenty-three percent categorized as political and another twenty three percent as education/raising awareness). The remaining six categories occupied a smaller proportion of the discussion of tactics in these news stories, with similar attention given to each. The business category was the least prevalent in the news media, comprising just eight percent of the total tactics mentioned. Surprisingly for us, the lifestyle/culture category was almost equally as prevalent as the disruptive protest category, at close to eleven percent each. In all, the mention of unobtrusive and practical tactical categories, including the education/raising awareness, lifestyle/culture, direct environmental protection, and some tactics within the business categories, comprised twenty percent of the total mentions of tactics. Given the known bias of news media toward covering large, confrontational, and even violent events, we believe this vastly under counts the actual prevalence of these tactics, and suggests scholars should be paying more attention to these unobtrusive tactics.

Figure 2. Proportion of Total Tactic Words by Tactical Category



Note: This figure is based on documents from the LexisNexis and EBSCO news media databases that mention at least one EMO between 1998 and 2014. It shows the proportion of total tactic words from each tactical category, as mentioned in the news media. The tactical categories are not mutually exclusive, so the sum is greater than 100. The category labels were chosen by the authors. See the appendix for a complete list of tactics in each category.

Part III: Mechanisms Linking Actions to Meaning

When considered independent from movement strategy, tactics may appear as seemingly disconnected; social movements must work to link each of their actions into a coherent mission. We analyze this process by examining tactics in the context of the organizations' goal orientation. Figure 3 on the next page shows the proportion of tactics mentioned from each tactical category across the three goal orientations. This figure shows that each goal orientation did favor certain tactics over others. Organizations in the mobilizing communities goal orientation, for example,

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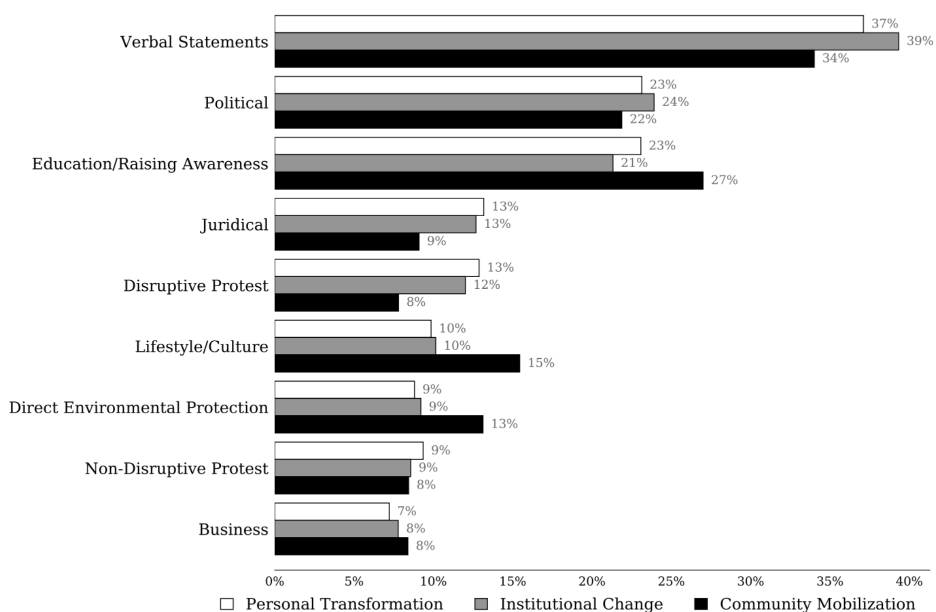
were more likely to use education/raising awareness, direct environmental protection, and lifestyle/culture tactics, reflecting their desire to include the community at all levels of organizing. Organizations in the institutional change goal orientation were more likely to use political tactics, reflecting their focus on state institutions and representatives and their desire to hold these representatives accountable. Organizations in the personal transformation goal orientation were more likely to use disruptive and juridical tactics. PETA is a good example of how these tactics are used in this goal orientation: they use disruptive tactics, such as illegally filming factory farms and being arrested while doing so, to encourage individuals to not buy meat.

Figure 3, however, also suggests that there were more similarities than differences between the relative frequency of tactics across the three goal orientations, and that organizations used tactics across all tactical categories to achieve their goals. Classifying organizations according to their main or primary tactical category, we suggest, obscures two processes: (1) a tactic or action gets its meaning only from its relationship to the variety of other tactics and actions used by an organization, and (2) the same tactic has a different purpose depending on the goal orientation of the organization using it. To illustrate these processes, we return to our qualitative deep reading, providing examples of how three tactics—buycotts, business partnerships, and recycling—were used by organizations across the three goal orientations. These examples also illustrate three principles through which tactics are discursively linked to meaning to then construct a strategy: through the specific purpose of the action, the role of the action in the process of change, and how the tactic contributes to change that is consequential.

Figure 3. Proportion of Total Tactic Words by Tactical Category and Goal Orientation



Note: This figure is based on documents from the LexisNexis and EBSCO news media databases that mention at least one EMO between 1998 and 2014. It shows the proportion of total tactic words from each tactical category by goal orientation. The tactical categories are not mutually exclusive, so the sum over all categories within each cluster is greater than 100. The category labels were chosen by the authors. See the appendix for a complete list of tactics in each category. Clusters were produced from the hierarchical clustering over the organizational discursive similarity matrix (see figure 1).

The Purpose of Action: Buycotts. An increasingly popular tactic used by the environmental movement is the buycott: rather than boycott companies or products that are harmful to the environment, buycotts encourage the spending of money on companies or products that are more sustainable. There were many ways organizations participated in buycotts, and we found that this variation was directly related to their goal orientation.

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Seacology, for example, an organization with the mobilizing communities goal orientation, promotes a particular type of buycott that is focused on vacation destinations. They use advertising campaigns and outreach to encourage middle- and upper-class consumers from the developing world to spend their vacation money on environmentally friendly ecolodges, or tourist destinations that benefit both the environment and the local community. By helping to promote ecolodges, Seacology is targeting individual behavior. But the ultimate goal—the purpose or meaning attached to this tactic—is to mobilize developing communities to use their natural resources to generate income in a sustainable fashion, and to "preserve their cultures and improve their lives while saving precious island habitats" (Seacology 2020).

Contrast Seacology's goal of community preservation to the desired outcome of this tactic from the organization Climate Counts, with the institutional change goal orientation. Climate Counts ranks companies based on a variety of environmental measures, and then publishes these scores to consumers. Similar to Seacology, Climate Counts wants to encourage people to spend their money on sustainable businesses by persuading "consumers to use the scores in deciding which brands to buy" (Deutsch 2008). Unlike Seacology, Climate Counts uses this tactic to pressure businesses to change their existing practices to be more environmentally friendly.

PETA also uses buycotts to encourage people to buy animal-friendly products. One way they do so is to encourage individuals to be vegetarian or vegan through creative advertising and websites, often adopting "a pop-culture approach to make meat-free eating seem cool and 'cruelty-free' to animals—or, at the very least, contrarian to the adult world" (Carman 2012). They often target young people, to transform them early into environmentally responsible adults. While the tactic is similar to ecolodges and environmental ratings, the intended purpose for PETA is at least partly to encourage personal change.

The Process of Change: Business Partnerships. Another tactic that is becoming more popular in the environmental movement is partnerships between environmental organizations and businesses. The increase in use of this tactic is a result of a change in the environmental opportunity structure and is related to buycotts: as businesses are being rewarded by consumers for being sustainable, they are now more open to partnering with environmental organizations, creating a new avenue for public influence. The way organizations are utilizing this new opportunity illustrates how the three goal orientations differently approach the process of change.

River Network, for example, which has a mobilizing communities goal orientation, uses the desire for organizations to appear environmentally friendly to directly improve specific communities. One way they have done so was by partnering with Coca-Cola to reduce stormwater pollution in communities:

> … Coca-Cola is partnering with River Network to donate more than 1,000 syrup drums for reuse as rain barrels in communities all across the country. Rain barrels capture rainwater and help reduce stormwater pollution …Water can then be saved until needed during dry periods to water plants, wash cars and for other non-drinking water needs (Business Wire 2012).

River Network is not interested in Coca-Cola's environmental practices. They instead recognize that Coca-Cola has resources that communities need to better protect their local environments. The process of change for River Network involves investing in, and empowering, communities.

The Environmental Defense Fund, with an institutional change goal orientation, instead considers the institutional context of these business partnerships. Rather than seeking a partnership with a particular company as River Network did, the Environmental Defense Fund works with all companies to grow an entire industry. Recognizing that, as the federal government sets limits on methane emissions from oil and gas operations (as the U.S. government did up until 2018), the demand for methane mitigation equipment will grow, the Environmental Defense Fund worked with industry to fill this institutional need through methane mitigation companies. These companies, they claim, "offer opportunities for the oil and gas industry to increase operational efficiencies, improve public and worker safety and

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reduce air and methane pollution," and support "good-paying U.S. jobs that largely can't be outsourced" (Environmental Defense Fund 2014). The process of change for the Environmental Defense Fund is to provide a sustainable institutional solution that can impact many levels of society and the environment.

As we saw above with the Nissan commercial, Polar Bear International, with a personal transformation goal orientation, alternatively uses business partnerships to provide opportunities for individuals to make environmentally sustainable choices. The process of change for Polar Bear International is opportunities for individual agency, not structural change.

Change that is Consequential: Recycling. Differences in the process of change is related to the final dimension of tactical meaning: how an action contributes to consequential change. Encouraging recycling is a staple tactic of the environmental movement with a relatively straightforward outcome: recycling reduces the waste that would otherwise end up in our landfills. The way organizations employ this tactic illustrates how organizations believe small changes, such as recycling a plastic bottle, become environmentally meaningful.

One of the main campaigns for Keep America Beautiful, for example, which has a mobilizing communities goal orientation, is their community recycling programs. They claim that changes in social and community norms are necessary in order to reach a recycling rate that will actually impact the environment. They thus focus on engagement and culture, not just the individual act of recycling:

> We know that social norms drive human behavior, and we believe that helping businesses and organizations weave recycling into company culture will lead to more recycling in the workplace…To make meaningful progress, we need to concentrate on recycling not just at home, but also at work, school and on the go (Keep American Beautiful 2013).

Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition, which has the institutional change goal orientation, instead believes that for change to be consequential, it must come from the institutional context of recycling. They focus on raising awareness about recycling companies that cut corners and either do not actually recycle products, or they use other questionable methods to dispose of waste:

> More than a dozen electronics recyclers pledged Tuesday to keep hazardous products out of landfills, out of incinerators and out of the hands of children in Third World countries who work for pennies to strip recyclable parts from obsolete machines…[B]y raising awareness across the country, [they] hope to start a groundswell and attract the attention of politicians in Sacramento and Washington (Diaz 2003).

Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition recognizes that individuals do not control the institution of recycling; individuals on their own thus cannot effect consequential change.

The Chesapeake Bay Foundation, which has a personal transformation goal orientation, does not believe that consequential change can come from these broader, overarching programs, either at the community or institutional levels. Another popular recycling effort is to recycle waste into energy. Doing so at a community or state level is, so far, economically infeasible, and according to some, these broad changes, such as those promoted by Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition, typically have unintended and adverse consequences. Instead, Chesapeake Bay Foundation focuses on the individual, helping to "build small-scale units for individual farmers to process their own chicken waste and produce enough oil to, say, heat their chicken coops in winter" (Somashekhar 2009). Meaningful change that produces real consequences, they claim, must be incorporated into the everyday practices of individuals.

Part IV: Change Over Time

One of the challenges for social movements research is to accurately track how a movement changes, or does not change, over time. We demonstrate how the framework and approach developed here can help researchers more precisely analyze changes to movement strategy over time. Figure 4 shows the proportion of total tactic words from each tactical category in three

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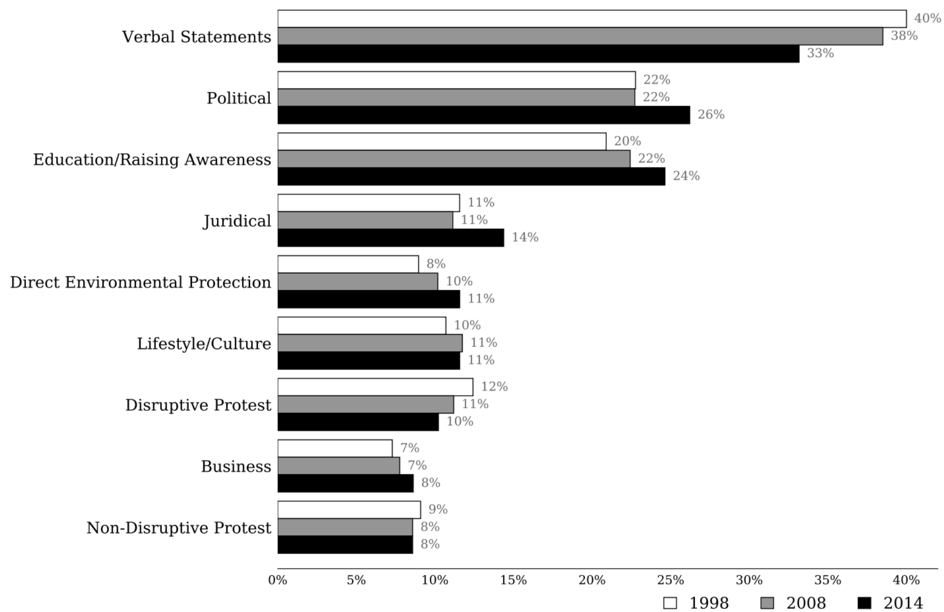
Figure 4. Proportion of Total Tactic Words by Tactical Category and Year



Note: This figure is based on documents from the LexisNexis and EBSCO news media databases that mention at least one EMO between 1998 and 2014. It shows the proportion of total tactic words from each tactical category in three years—1998, 2008, and 2014. The tactical categories are not mutually exclusive, so the sum over all categories within each year is greater than 100. The category labels were chosen by the authors. See the appendix for a complete list of tactics in each category.

years: 1998, 2008, and 2014. Our results suggest coverage of tactics in the education/raising awareness, direct environmental protection, and business tactical categories in the period of our data collection was slowly but steadily increasing over time, while the prevalence of verbal statements and disruptive protest tactics declined over time. By 2014, Business tactics comprised a higher proportion of mentions than nondisruptive protest tactics, and lifestyle/culture tactics were more prevalent than disruptive protest tactics. This trend suggests that the news media is increasingly covering unobtrusive tactics used by the environmental movement at the expense of disruptive tactics.

This trend is even more apparent when comparing the attention to EMOs from the different goal orientations over time. Figures 5a and 5b show the proportion of articles mentioning at least one organization from each cluster over time from two different clustering solutions from the hierarchical clustering: the three-cluster solution examined above (cutoff 600), and a more granular eight-cluster solution (cutoff 250). Figure 5a shows the proportion of articles mentioning organizations from the institutional change goal orientation was steadily, but slowly, decreasing over time, while mentions of organizations from the mobilizing communities cluster was steadily, but slowly, increasing over time. Figure 5b shows that this gradual change is obscuring a more dramatic shift over time: attention to one subcluster within the institutional change goal orientation was rapidly decreasing over time while attention to a different subcluster within this goal orientation was slowly increasing over time. The most frequent organizations in the institutional change subcluster that is rapidly decreasing over time, labeled "institutional change: conflictual" in figure 5b, are Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, while the most frequent organizations in the institutional change subcluster slowly increasing over time, labeled "institutional change: cooperative," are the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDF). Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth use aggressive and often illegal tactics to target public and private institutions, while WWF and NRDF have explicit policies to work cooperatively with businesses to encourage them to adopt more environmentally friendly practices.

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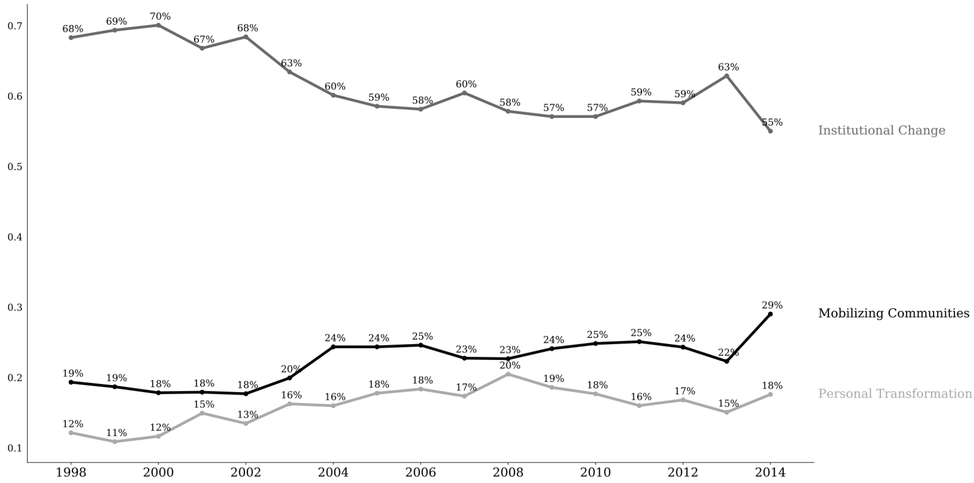
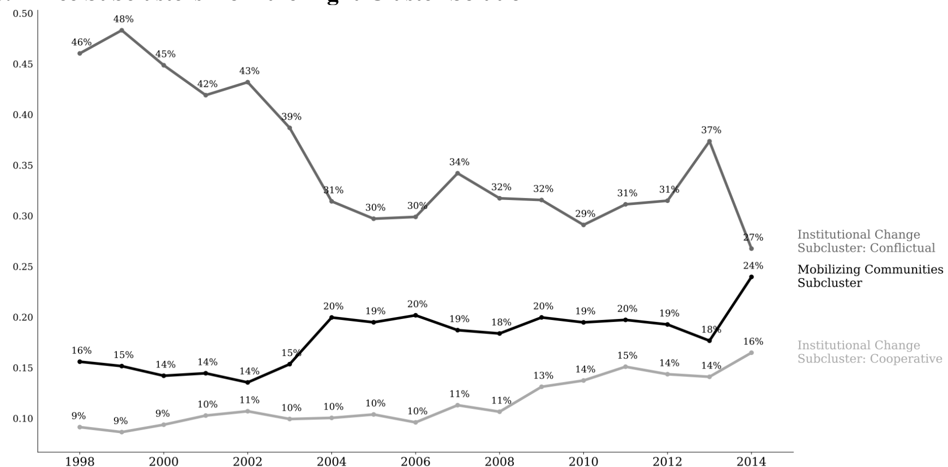
This brief historical analysis suggests that organizations that seek positive, cooperative solutions are receiving more attention in the media over time, at the expense of organizations pursuing conflict-based solutions. Further research could explore the causes and consequences of this change and extend this analysis to a longer time frame.

Figure 5. Proportion of Articles that Mention at Least One Organization by Goal Orientation

a. Three-Cluster Solution



b. Three Subclusters from the Eight-Cluster Solution



Note: This figure is based on documents from the LexisNexis and EBSCO news media databases that mention at least one EMO between 1998 and 2014. Figures show the proportion of articles in the news media that mention at least one organization from each goal orientation cluster, from (a) the three cluster solution (cuttoff < 600) and (b) three subclusters from the eight cluster solution (cutoff < 250). Clusters were produced from the hierarchical clustering over the organizational discursive similarity matrix (see figure 1). This figure shows that the news media is paying more attention over time to organizations that use cooperative tactics, at the expense of organizations that use conflictual tactics.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article gives a holistic picture of the environmental movement, identifying how organizational goals and actions were systematically link together to produce coherent movement strategies. Organizations use a variety of different tactics to work toward their goals, including more unobtrusive ones than social movement scholars typically acknowledge. The linking of each

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of these tactics to an organization's goal orientation, we claim, is the manifestation of movement strategy. This strategy, in turn, is foundational to how movement organizations operate, differentiate from one another, and communicate their purpose to the broader public. We additionally identified three empirical dimensions that link actions to meaning via this goal orientation: the purpose of an action, the process of change, and how change becomes consequential. These three dimensions, we argue, are a starting point to better understand how organizations transform collective action into a coherent movement strategy. Finally, we were also able to offer some preliminary observations about how environmental movement strategies have changed over recent history, as organizations within the movement sought to make stronger connections to the business community and the news media shifted to covering these cooperative actions.

One purpose of the article is to give social movement scholars a more tractable definition and operationalization of movement strategy. Despite being an important concept in social movement theory (Jasper 2004), strategy is conceptually elusive. Generically, strategy is a plan to get what you want. We suggest that a more precise definition of strategy is the linking of a movement's goal orientation—the level of society organizations view as responsible for change—with the tactics they use to achieve their goals. A movement's goal orientation is based on their theoretical narrative about how social change is achieved. For some movement organizations, this means tackling dominant institutions, for others it means empowering communities to control their own fate, and for other organizations it involves the personal transformation of individuals. We contend that goal orientation is a major distinguishing feature of most movement organizations. This orientation becomes strategic when the organization seeks to accomplish its goals through specific tactics. Our definition of strategy avoids overly agentic depictions of strategy that focus solely on situational tradeoffs while also departing from overly structural perspectives, which emphasize strategy as emerging from environmental constraints and opportunities. In our view, movement actors give meaning to opportunities and constraints through discourse and situate their tactical choices within a goal orientation that sets the larger narrative for the social changes they pursue.

We contend that much social movement research has ignored the full variety of strategies movement organizations take, which sometimes creates a narrow vision of what movement actors do and how they do it. An implication of our study is to reaffirm that by only focusing on protests and/or protest organizations or only examining movement organizations that target institutions, we narrow the range of movement actions that we consider theoretically and empirically relevant. This depiction of movements does not always map on to movements' own view of themselves.

Not only is our definition of strategy useful for distinguishing movement organizations, it also helps understanding how movements give meaning to social change and potentially shape historical narratives. Movement actors, if nothing else, are cultural entrepreneurs who give meaning to social actions, injustices, and opportunities (Lounsbury and Glynn 2001). We go one step further to suggest that the very strategies they embrace endow their struggles for social change with a specific kind of meaning. The narrative we use to describe environmental redemption—it is a struggle of nature against human institutions that, if left unchecked, will destroy it—is both an input and product of movement strategy. We contend, therefore, that cultural analyses and how movements create meaning ought to be an important part of social movement theory.

Future research could take a more causal approach to similar questions, asking, for example, if there is a causal relationship between goal orientations and tactical choices and identifying mediating mechanisms. Researchers could also further examine strategic change over time. What forces are driving this change, and what are the implications for the social movement? Is the increasing focus on unobtrusive and cooperative tactics a sign of social movement mainstreaming and success, cooptation, and/or professionalization?

Future research could also incorporate more material produced by the organizations themselves—mission statements, organizational calendars, and newsletters, for example. While difficult to collect in a systematic way, this would enable a comparison between the way the media discusses organizations and the way organizations present themselves. This would further our understanding of the prevalence of different tactical categories in the everyday practices of organizations, as well as the relationship between social movement sectors and the media, a longstanding concern for social movement scholars.

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Of course, this analysis is not without important limitations. Most importantly, while this study incorporated data from a much wider collection of sources than previously done in social movements research, this choice is not without compromises. LexisNexis and EBSCO include a large number of sources in their database, but neither is a random sample of mainstream news sources. As far as we know, this random sample does not exist. Developing an authoritative list of U.S. news sources over time, and providing digital access to those sources or a random sample of those sources, would be an invaluable resource to social scientists and would increase the validity of studies such as this one. We urge the scholarly community to create digital sources such as this. We also did not directly associate each tactic with the organization employing the tactic. Instead, we simply counted whether the tactic was mentioned in the text close to the mention of an organization. Natural language processing algorithms are simply not advanced enough to track the use of a tactic by an organization across multiple paragraphs in a text—a standard way newspaper articles discuss actions. We believe our method is the best method currently available for analyzing the prevalence of tactics, but as natural language processing become more sophisticated, we believe new methods will be available to measure the use of which tactics by whom more precisely.

Limitations aside, we sought to present an approach in this paper that provides breadth and depth to social movement research in a way not previously done. We believe that increasing access to digital data and methods is enabling research to take a broader view of social movements and movement sectors, without losing sight of the important context and details that make social movements meaningful. We hope more research extends this approach to increase our holistic yet detailed understanding of social movements as complex and ever-changing phenomena.

NOTES

[1] McCarthy and Zald (1977) say conflictual tactics are strategic choices and not inherent to defining social movements.
[2] See also the Dynamics of Collective Action Database http://web.stanford.edu/group/collectiveaction/cgi-bin/drupal/. Accessed March 1, 2019.
[3] In the late 1730s, Benjamin Franklin promoted environmental conservation and public health. Malthus published his essay on population-caused ecological destruction in 1798; and the modern forest conservation movement started in India in the early 1840s.
[4] For example, *Pittsburgh Magazine* and *Pittsburgh Prospects* are both in the EBSCO database, but neither are in the LexisNexis database.
[5] We chose these years because these databases did not have adequate newspaper coverage prior to 1998 at the time of data collection, which was done in 2015.
[6] For example, if there were 500 articles that mentioned Greenpeace, we treated these 500 articles as one long document, and so on for each organization. If an article mentioned more than one organization, it was included in both documents.
[7] STM can incorporate document covariates into the model. We included year of publication as a covariate.
[8] This way of qualitatively deciding clustering cutoffs and the number of topics remains the gold standard in topic model applications in the social sciences (DiMaggio 2015).
[9] We used the nltk.pos_tag() command using Python 2.7.
[10] Not every organization we identified in the data collection stage was mentioned in our news media data. We dropped the discursive vectors for organizations that were not mentioned.
[11] https://foe.org/projects/fire-pruitt/; https://foe.org/news/trump-administration-open-oceans-corporate-polluters-drill-oil/; https://foe.org/projects/trade/ (retrieved March 1, 2019).
[12] This method also picked up the relatively new disruptive tactic *kayak,* associated with "kayaktivists" who attempt to disrupt offshore oil rigs by physically blocking them in their kayaks. This suggests this method can pick up new tactical repertoires, but it also highlights the need for substantive knowledge in combination with computer-assisted text analysis.

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Appendix. Complete List of Tactics by Tactical Category

Verbal Statements: accuse, address, admire, admit, advise, advocate, affirm, alert, announce, annoy, answer, apologize, applaud, appreciate, argue, articulate, ask, assure, attribute, back, blame, bless, boast, celebrate, characterise, characterize, chastise, cheer, claim, clarify, combat, comment, communicate, complain, conclude, congratulate, convince, criticise, criticize, debate, declare, decried, defend, demand, denounce, depict, describe, detail, discourage, discredit, dispute, dissuade, emphasize, explain, express, inform, insult, lambaste, misleading, name, notify, obligate, oppose, portray, praise, promote, quote, refute, reject, remand, respond, retort, said, say, solicit, suggest, support, thrilled, warn

Political: abstain, adjourn, adopt, advise, amend, analyze, appeal, appoint, approve, assemble, attend, back, ban, block, bribe, call, campaign, caucus, challenge, cheer, classify, commission, comply, conduct, confirm, consider, contest, contribute, convene, debate, define, delay, delist, deny, derail, dismiss, divest, donate, downgrade, draft, earmark, elect, endorse, establish, file, finance, fund, give, govern, grade, impose, influence, inspect, intervene, introduce, issue, label, limit, lobby, mandate, negotiate, nominate, obligate, offset, oppose, oversee, overturn, penalise, penalize, petition, phone, pledge, pressure, prevent, privatize, probe, prohibit, propose, ratify, recall, recommend, recount, reelect, register, regulate, reject, repeal, report, represent, rescind, resign, restrict, retract, revise, revoke, run, sign, submit, suggest, tax, testify, upgrade, uphold, urge, veto, vote, withdraw

Education/Raising Awareness: advertise, alert, announce, ask, attach, attend, attribute, auction, author, award, boast, broadcast, celebrate, champion, chronicle, circulate, clarify, commemorate, commission, communicate, conduct, congratulate, convince, correspond, cover, criticise, criticize, debate, decorate, dedicate, deem, depict, describe, detail, discourage, discuss, display, disseminate, distinguish, distribute, donate, download, dress, editorial, educate, embrace, engage, engage, establish, examine, exhibit, explain, expose, film, forward, fundraise, give, grant, honor, host, identify, improve, inform, initiate, install, instruct, interpret, interview, introduce, join, keynote, launch, lead, lecture, listen, mail, meet, mentor, mobilise, mobilize, mourn, naked, name, organise, organize, outreach, participate, partner, persuade, phone, photograph, picket, plan, pledge, portray, post, praise, preach, premiere, print, promote, publicise, publicize, publish, quantify, quote, raffle, record, recruit, register, report, republish, request, resist, respond, reveal, ridicule, schedule, sing, solicit, speak, spearhead, stage, stimulate, struggle, study, survey, table, talk, teach, teach, telephone, televise, texting, tweet, videotape, visit, witness, write

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Juridical: abide, abstain, accuse, address, adhere, adjourn, admit, affirm, allege, appeal, arrest, arrested, assess, bar, breach, bribe, caught, charge, cite, claim, comply, concede, conclude, condemn, confirm, confiscate, consider, contest, convicted, counsel, deal, deem, defend, define, detain, disclose, dispute, draft, enforce, examine, exercise, exhibit, facing, file, fine, impound, indict, inspect, interpret, investigate, issue, jail, jailed, judge, license, litigate, mandate, negotiate, obligate, observe, override, overrule, overturn, pass, penalise, penalize, permit, persecute, prosecute, regulate, repeal, represent, rescind, restrict, retort, retract, revoke, seize, sentence, spy, sue, suing, summon, sustain, testify, uphold, withdraw, witness, write

Disruptive Protest: abduct, armed, arrest, assassinate, assault, attach, attack, block, blockade, board, boo, break, burn, camp, canoe, capture, caught, chain, choke, clash, climb, combat, confiscate, construct, convoy, cut, damage, delay, derail, descend, destroy, detain, detonate, die, dig, disrupt, dive, drop, dump, enter, erect, escalate, explode, film, fire, flip, force, free, freed, halt, hang, harass, hinder, hoist, hooliganism, hurl, impede, impose, incinerate, infiltrate, inflict, injure, interfere, interrupt, intervene, intimidate, jail, jailed, jeopardize, kayak, kidnap, kill, link, lock, maneuver, moore, naked, obstruct, occupy, paddle, paint, picket, pressure, prevent, prohibit, protest, provoke, push, raid, rappel, refuse, rescue, restrict, sabotage, scale, scare, seize, shoot, shout, shut, sink, sit, slash, smash, smuggle, spit, spy, steal, stop, storm, strike, struggle, surround, swing, taint, tamper, target, threaten, throw, tow, unauthorized, unfold, unfurl, unveil, videotape, violate, violence, yell

Lifestyle/Culture: angling, appreciate, backpack, bait, bake, beekeep, bicycle, bike, blend, build, buy, camp, canoe, carpool, caught, chop, clean, clear, climb, compost, construct, cook, crochet, cycle, dance, decorate, dig, dive, docent, dress, embrace, exercise, explore, farm, garden, golf, grant, grow, handcraft, harvest, hike, hunt, improve, incinerate, install, jog, kayak, knit, modify, paddle, paint, park, peel, picnic, pollinate, pray, preach, preserve, produce, purchase, quilt, rebuild, reclaim, reduce, refurbish, rehabilitate, renovate, reopen, repair, replant, retrofit, reuse, revive, sew, shelter, shoot, skate, ski, snowshoe, spay, support, swim, swing, toss, travel, trek, trim, visit, volunteer, weed, woodwork

Direct Environmental Protection: aid, alert, alleviate, annex, build, carpool, classify, clean, clear, compost, construct, detect, dig, eliminate, eradicate, grow, handcraft, harvest, hunt, improve, neuter, pollinate, preserve, produce, protect, rebuild, reclaim, recycle, reduce, refurbish, rehabilitate, reintroduce, release, relocate, renew, renovate, reopen, repair, replant, rescue, restrict, retrofit, reuse, revive, shelter, shoot, spay, sustain, trim, volunteer, weed

Nondisruptive Protest: annoy, assemble, attend, boo, call, chant, chastise, chide, click, complain, condemn, congregate, convene, convoy, dance, decorate, demand, demonstrate, disclose, discredit, display, disseminate, distribute, download, email, expose, fax, forward, gather, hoist, identify, influence, inundate, jeopardize, knit, mail, march, mobilise, mobilize, observe, parade, perform, persuade, petition, phone, photograph, pressure, print, protest, rally, record, reveal, ridicule, sign, sing, sit, stage, stand, talk, televise, text, toss, troll, tweet, unfold, unfurl, unveil, warn, witness, write, yell

Business: acquire, adhere, admit, advertise, allocate, analyze, assess, audit, ban, bid, board, boycott, brand, certify, consult, cooperate, delist, deny, discontinue, dismiss, divest, downgrade, downsize, export, finance, fine, fire, fund, grade, grow, invest, label, lend, license, limit, merge, monitor, offset, outsource, oversee, partner, pay, permit, privatize, promote, propose, refund, reimburse, resign, revive, reward, reward, sponsor, spy, study, subsidise, subsidize, sue, supplement, tax, upgrade, volunteer

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