

**Local vs Global: Place-based Framing in the Environmental
Politics of Philadelphia**

A Thesis

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by

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ABSTRACT

Cities can serve as powerful centers of meaning for the construction of place-based identities. How do these identities figure into discourse around environmental issues? Research on discursive framing and identity has thus far focused on identity constructs such as race, class, gender, and ethnicity. Through a mixed methods analysis of several data sources including transcripts of Philadelphia City Council meetings from 2007 to 2017, I analyze how policy-makers, local environmental groups, and national/regional environmental groups employ place-based framing to define, explain, and propose solutions to environmental problems. I contrast place-based frames with “global” frames that center arguments for policy change on the national or global implications of environmental problems such as climate change and deforestation. My results reveal that place-based framing is a dominant mode of discourse in Philadelphia environmental policy discussions and that actors may employ frames strategically so as to appeal to place-based identities and further political goals.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Danny Rosenberg Daneri was raised in Miami, Florida and is a dual citizen of the United States and Spain. Before coming to the Natural Resources Department at Cornell, he served as Project Manager of the Environmental Dashboard, a technology that provides building occupants with real-time feedback on electricity/water consumption and city-wide environmental quality indicators.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Since at the least the late 1960s, environmentalists across the globe have rallied around the phrase, “think globally, act locally¹” (Heise, 2008). Environmental groups often invoke the spirit of this slogan by using local or “place-based” rhetoric in their public appeals. This thesis employs a frame analysis to study how what scholars refer to as place-based identity may be used as a resource by different actors in order to appeal to stakeholders. The literatures on place-based identity and sense of place offer important insights into how place-based identities are constructed and can be measured. What is less understood is how these attachments or identities are invoked in language. Rather than view place-based identity solely as a psychological property of an individual, I shift the emphasis to understand how individuals and groups use the language of place to influence others and shape outcomes with regards to environmental policy.

In a public hearing of the Philadelphia City Council in 2016, a representative of a local environmental advocacy organization used place-based framing to urge lawmakers to pass legislation that would shift the city’s electricity source from fossil fuel power stations to more sustainable sources:

...all Philadelphians have the right to clean air and water in a safe and healthy community sustained by good-paying jobs, a robust economy that treats people fairly and respects our shared environment. And the City of Philadelphia's municipal government is obligated to protect its citizens' health, economic stability, and well-being...The City should not just give away \$60 million to outside companies and actors when it could invest in local renewable energy created here that creates good-paying jobs and permanent jobs. – Anthony Giancattarino, Green Justice Philly (Philadelphia City Council Environmental Committee [PCCEC], 03/02/2016, p.60)

¹ Although the exact origins of the phrase are uncertain, some scholars claim the idea behind the phrase originated in the work of Scottish urban planner, Patrick Geddes, in the early 20th century (Tarantola, 2013). Others claim that the phrase was coined by American environmentalist and founder of Friends of the Earth, David Bower in 1969 (Reed, 2000) or by French-American molecular biologist and Nobel Laureate René Dubos during his tenure as chair of the United Nation Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 (Noel, 2002).

In contrast, a representative of the Pennsylvania chapter of the national environmental advocacy organization, Interfaith Power and Light, used global framing to appeal to city councilors in a 2017 hearing on local energy-use:

This is our choice today, and our choice means life or death not only for the people of Philadelphia...We at Interfaith Power & Light implore the City Council to do the right thing, to make choices that will be a blessing, not a curse, to future generations, for climate disruption is the starkest kind of injustice...with climate change, the local is global, and what we do in Philadelphia can make a world of difference. – Cheryl Pyrch (PCCEC, 3/22/17, p.175-176)

How does use of these two discursive frames, place-based and global, vary across social movement organizations and local politicians? Through a text analysis of language used by local politicians in Philadelphia as well as local, regional, and national non-profit groups, I show how different actors in Philadelphia variously employ global and place-based framing to define, explain, and propose solutions to environmental policy problems.

I begin with a literature review on social identity and how identification with large social categories has important implications for individual and group behavior. Next, I introduce the concepts of place and place-based identities and explain how these identities may drive political behaviors such as engaging in political speech or participating in social movement activities. The final section of the literature review focuses on how “social movement organizations” and other societal actors use particular discursive framing strategies in their public appeals so as to influence stakeholders and mobilize potential adherents. This larger discursive context will help to shed light on the motivations for the particular kinds of frames I analyze in the study. In the next chapter, I introduce my data sources and methodology. I use a mixed methods approach that employs qualitative and quantitative analysis of two over-arching frames, place-based and global, and six sub-frames. I rely principally on transcripts of Philadelphia City Council hearings and meetings in order to investigate framing strategies used by different actors (local politicians,

local non-profit groups, and national/regional non-profit groups) in environmental policy debates from 2007 to 2017. In chapters 4 and 5, I present my qualitative findings organized by type of frame, followed by a summary of my quantitative findings. In chapter 6, I elaborate on these findings in a discussion, and I conclude with implications for future research in chapter 7.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Social Identity and Behavior

The literature on social identity theory explains the link between individual behavior and collective behavior by examining how cognitive self-representations manifest as identification with larger social categories (Tafjel & Turner, 1986). Early explications of the theory emphasize that group identification involves a self-representation that is depersonalized. In other words, it involves “a shift towards the perception of self as an interchangeable exemplar of some social category and away from the perception of self as unique person” (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987, p.50). This phenomenon of social identification, or the extent to which an individual develops a cognitive and affective attachment to a larger group, has important consequences for the perception of others and the likelihood of cooperation. Engaging a shared identity among individuals can promote cooperation by activating a common understanding of group attributes, norms, and goals (Brewer & Silver, 2001). Social identification is thus a foundational construct for virtually all research on inter-group and intra-group dynamics (Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 2002; Haslam, Egghins & Reynolds, 2003; van Veelen, Otten, Cadinu & Hansen, 2016).

According to the model proposed by Brewer and Silver (2001), social identification is driven by two opposing processes—the need for inclusion and the need for differentiation. The desire for inclusion within an “in-group” is rooted in our evolution as a social species. The larger the in-group, the more this need for inclusion is satisfied. The need for differentiation, on the other hand, drives motivations for smaller in-groups, individuation, and personal identity. According to the theory of optimal distinctiveness, group mobilization efforts that promote highly inclusive values at the expense of distinctiveness are likely to fail. A study involving

university students asked participants to complete scales of group identification and loyalty for three groups to which they belonged—Americans, Ohio State University students, and a more distinctive subgroup such as an honor society or political party that they personally identified (Brewer & Silver, 2001). Not surprisingly, the researchers found that group identification and loyalty were strongest for the subgroup. This tendency to strongly identify with more distinctive subgroups is supported in many other studies, particularly when the distinctive subgroup is an underrepresented minority group (Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998; Heere, Walker, Yoshida, Jordan & James 2011). Based on these findings, places at the scale of cities or towns may serve as important loci for the construction of social identities (as will be explored below).

Social identities have important implications for individual and group behavior. Simpson (2006) argues that social identity influences language and behavior by leading actors to maximize positive outcomes for the in-group and minimize in-group inequalities. Since maximizing in-group outcomes often comes at the expense of out-groups, social identity is also a basis for inter-group conflict. In the case of environmental politics, social identity may shed light on many common phenomena. Environmental justice scholars, for example, argue that siting decisions for factories and power plants in the United States are dominated by elite, predominately white actors (Mohai & Roberts, 2009, Taylor, 2000). As higher-income whites seek to maximize positive outcomes for their neighborhoods by making sure industrial pollution does not contaminate their living spaces, they may influence decisions that lead heavy industry to low-income neighborhoods.

Social identity also has important implications for how we wield and process information. Research shows that individuals pay more attention to information they perceive as self-relevant. Bem (1981, 1984) provides clear evidence that identity affects information

processing by showing how individuals with strong gender identity are more likely to pay attention to gender-relevant information and to cognitively process information by dividing it into gendered categories. Research also shows that in-group biases lead individuals to have more positive evaluations of entities with which they share an identity (Hogg 2001; Smits et al., 2008; Tafjel & Turner, 1986). Rhetorical framing that invokes shared identities among receivers of a communication may therefore have important consequences for behavior and cooperation. In the present study, I explore how the framing of environmental policy arguments in terms of place-based identity may invoke a shared identity among stakeholders and policymakers that in turn may influence policy outcomes. In the following sections, I introduce the concept of place and place-based identities and then describe how framing discourse in terms of particular identities has consequences for political behavior.

Place and Identity

According to Tuan (1977), a place is a geographically bound center of meaning based on human experience, social relationships, emotions, and thoughts. As Williams (2008) writes, “space is little more than location or container. It is only when we begin to fill it up with particular events and meanings does a space become a place” (p.14). While “place” refers to a geographic area, the exact physical boundaries of that area are socially constructed and precise definitions may vary from individual to individual. Although New York City, for instance, has official geographic boundaries that are codified in New York State law, people who identify as being from New York City may have very different notions of its boundaries. Those who live in nearby suburbs that are technically outside the municipal boundaries may still identify as being from the city, for example. In other words, boundaries can be either symbolic or rooted in

official or legal designations (Cohen, 2004). According to Cohen (1985), words like “community” are “boundary-expressing symbol[s].” He writes:

As a symbol, [community] is held in common by its members; but its meaning varies with its members' unique orientations to it. In the face of this variability of meaning, the consciousness of community has to be kept alive through manipulation of its symbols. The reality and efficacy of the community's boundary—and therefore, of the community itself—depends upon its symbolic construction and embellishment (Cohen, 1985, p.15).

Much of the research on place has centered on how cognitive and emotional attachments to places influence “pro-environmental behaviors” such recycling, water and electricity conservation, and sustainable transportation use. Enqvist, Campbell, Stedman, and Svendsen (2017), for instance, show how place attachment in New York City influences participation in local stewardship activities on waterfronts and water bodies within the city. The findings from this body of literature strongly suggest that higher place attachment drives pro-environmental behavior (Larson et al 2018, Halpenny, 2010, Fresque-Baxter 2012, Scannell & Gifford 2010).

A much smaller body of work suggests that place attachment may also drive political behaviors such as the form of political participation investigated in the present study. In their research on place attachment and community participation in environmental planning efforts, Manzo and Perkins (2006) note that our thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about places “impact our behaviors toward such places, thus influencing whether and how we might participate in local planning efforts” (p.336). In his 2002 study of a lakeside region of Wisconsin, Stedman showed how opposition to a new housing development was correlated with strong place attachments and attachments to specific place meanings including viewing the lake as an “up north escape” rather than viewing it as a community of neighbors. Residents who interpreted the place as “up north” and who had stronger place attachments were more likely to report intentions to engage in oppositional behaviors such as join a protest group or vote for new laws. Brown, Perkins, and Brown (2003) found that communities in which individuals have strong place attachments are

more likely to participate in neighborhood revitalization efforts than communities in which individuals have weak place attachments. They argue that weak connections to place result from transience (high turnover within the neighborhood) and weak social ties among neighbors.

While most of this literature examines connections to place on the basis of cognitive and emotional attachment to places, or “sense of place,” some scholars argue that place should be viewed as the basis for the formation of social identities (Devine-Wright & Clayton, 2010). These place-based identities may function similarly to other more prominent identity constructs such as national identities. Benedict Anderson (1983) argues in his classic work on nationalism, *Imagined Communities*, that “all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact...are imagined. (p.49)” Since it is impossible in most communities for all members to know each other, the “image of their communion” and the meanings associated with their society exist primarily in the mind. For Anderson, the content of this imagination need not be particularly coherent or similar across individuals for it to be a unifying social force. National identities, he argues, are often less defined by particular meanings than they are by their distinction from other national identities. In Anderson’s words, “communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” (p.49). One could import this same logic to the concept of place-based identities constructed around places at the scale of a city.

Fresque-Baxter and Armitage (2012) suggest that shared place-based identity is a potentially important and understudied basis for collective action around environmental issues such as climate change. These kinds of behaviors have been conceptualized by Devine-Wright (2009) as “place-protective actions.” This framework views action taken in opposition to potential disruptions or changes to a place as predicated on threats to place-attachment and

identity formation processes. Environmental problems pose potential disruptions to the historical continuity and distinctiveness that individuals' place meanings and attachments are founded on. Whether the issue be litter on public streets or the prospect of polluted groundwater and altered land-use patterns caused by hydraulic fracturing (issues which will be examined below), people have a range of psychological responses to environmental problems. This can trigger a path towards place-protective action that Devine-Wright (2009) has summarized as beginning with mere awareness of change, followed by processes of interpretation, evaluation, coping, and action. These processes occur on individual or "intra-psychic" levels but they also manifest at larger interpersonal scales whereby coping may take the form of engaging with trusted others through social networks or having community discussions to make sense of change (Devine-Wright, 2009).

Rather than view individuals' participation in the environmental politics of Philadelphia as a manifestation of conventional political ideologies (conservatism, liberalism, leftism etc.) or as predicated upon their connection to more traditional identity constructs (race, class, gender, age etc.), which have been dominant paradigms in the study of political participation (Flanigan, Zingale, Theiss-Morse, & Wagner, 2015; Lewis-Beck & Steigmaier 2007, Kinder & Kiewet, 1979; Norris 2004), I attempt to understand the political behavior of Philadelphians as place-protective action that is a response to threats to place-based identity. In some instances, however, the political behavior examined in this study is more of a manifestation of intentional political strategy than it is an expression of identity or place-protective action. Accordingly, in the following section, I describe how actors use framing strategies to invoke shared values and identities to further political agendas.

Discourse and Framing

In *Discourse on Language*, Michel Foucault (1969) differentiates between mere speech and what he refers to as “discourse,” speech that is governed by a set of socially constructed procedures that define what can and cannot be said in a given context. Foucault links discourse to the exercise of power—discourse can be used to prohibit the use of specific words or phrases, to marginalize the speech of certain individuals or groups so as to represent them as “mad” or insane, or to deny certain perceptions of reality (p.219). Ingalls and Stedman (2016), in their work on how power dynamics figure into environmental governance regimes, suggest that discourses are “political constructs of power that legitimize certain policy orthodoxies and materialize in laws and programmatic prescriptions with practical and material outcomes” (p.5). Ingalls and Dwyer (2016), for instance, show how state authorities in Laos invoked a long-standing narrative that cast traditional “shifting cultivation” practices in upland communities as backward and destructive to forest reserves. With a vested interest in reducing deforestation as part of the United Nations Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) program, the state mobilized a scientific discourse on emissions reductions to cast a traditional cultivation practice as threatening progress. By centering the causal interpretation of deforestation on the knowledge and practices of poor farmers, state authorities were able to legitimize interventions such as enclosing commons lands and creating forest preserves. Ingalls and Dwyer argue that the logic propagated by state entities in Laos may actually serve to undermine anti-deforestation efforts by centering the analysis on “local” rather than “structural” drivers. They explain:

“REDD-as-practiced may reduce landscape heterogeneity and biodiversity by disrupting local disturbance regimes, undermine the resilience of local communities by simultaneously curtailing livelihood processes and allowing structural drivers of change to remain unchallenged and, by incentivizing centralization, undermine local adaptive governance.” (Ingalls and Dwyer, 2016, p. 363)

The literature on framing has produced compelling insights into the ways certain discursive “framings” of environmental issues serve to legitimate and advance the interests of particular actors (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005; Stedman & Ingalls, 2016). According to Entman (1993), to frame is to “select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p.52). Since the mid 1980’s, scholars have devoted considerable attention to how different societal actors frame their appeals to their constituents, stakeholders, and antagonists. Much of the literature on framing has focused on the language mobilized by social movement organizations. As one group of scholars emphasizes, “social movements [in this literature] are not viewed merely as carriers of extant ideas and meanings that grow automatically out of structural arrangements, unanticipated events, or existing ideologies” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p.613). Instead, social movements should be viewed as active participants in the creation of the meanings associated with their causes. Social movement frames can be analyzed along many dimensions, including rigidity, inclusivity, the range of problems they cover, and perhaps most importantly, their resonance or mobilizing potency.

Research has shown that the mobilizing potency of a frame is partially a function of how inclusive it is (Carroll & Ratner 1996; Davies, 1999; Morris, 1992; Valocchi, 1996). Noonan (1995) argued, for instance, that Chilean women’s groups that framed themselves as “leftists” in the 1950’s and 1960’s were not as effective as they might have been because their framing focused too heavily on working-class issues and did not appeal to feminists more broadly. Later, in the 1980’s, the “return to democracy” frame was found to be far more inclusive and, therefore, more successful at mobilizing diverse actors. Carroll and Ratner (1996) also argue that framing

in terms of broad, inclusive identities may be able to link diverse actors and organizations. In their study of cross-movement activism in British Columbia, Canada, they found that an identity formed around being the victim of a material injustice is broadly resonant and conducive to forming diverse coalitions. The finding of many of these studies is ultimately that appeals to inclusive values are more effective than appeals to more narrow political ideologies such as “leftist.”

Frames can also be used to mobilize particular identity groups. As Hunt, Benford, and Snow (1994) note, framing processes “proffer, buttress, and embellish identities that range from collaborative to conflictual” (p. 185). They use the example of the rhetoric of anti-war and anti-racist groups in Nebraska to show how social movement organizations intentionally frame their messages to target identity groups such as African-Americans. Other studies have shown how organizations use framing processes to target identities based on gender (Chikafa-Chiporo, 2016; Mayer, Ajanovic, & Sauer, 2014; Taylor, 1999; Walsh, 2016) sexuality (Berstein, 1997; Gamson, 1996; Miceli, 2009) nationality (Billings & Eastman, 2003; Nacu, 2010; Skey, 2014), race (Feagin, 2010; McVeigh, Myers, & Sikkink, 2014; Shahin, 2015), class (Carroll & Ratner 1996; Tarrow, 2011; Zald, 1996) and religion (Driessen, 2014; Shahin, 2015; Walsh, 2016).

Identities based on places at the scale of towns or cities appear to be overlooked in the literature on identity and framing in social movements. My findings demonstrate, however, that politicians and social movement organizations make abundant use of place-based identity frames. Moreover, for reasons that will be discussed below, place-based identity frames may have a special kind of resonance that make their use strategically advantageous for social movement organizations. In order to address this gap in literature on how place-based identities figure into collective action processes, I seek to understand how different societal actors, who

may or may not share an emotional and psychological connection to Philadelphia, use the rhetoric of place as a resource to persuade politicians and other stakeholders to support policy change. In the analysis that follows, I investigate how rhetorical invocations of place-based identities figure into the discourse on environmental policy through qualitative and quantitative analysis of political speech in Philadelphia from 2007 to 2017.

Chapter 3: Methods

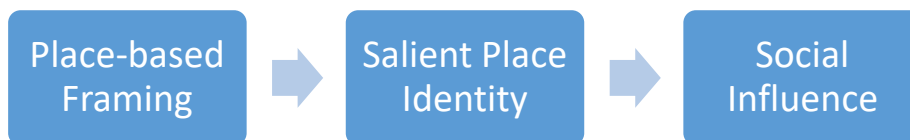
Research Questions

1. How do local politicians, local non-profit groups, and national/regional non-profits use place-based frames and global frames in their arguments regarding environmental policies?
2. What sub-frames are invoked in these over-arching frames?
3. Are certain kinds of frames connected to particular environmental policy outcomes?

Summary of Methods

I employ a mixed methods approach to understanding the use of place-based and global frames using a variety of textual data sources that contain records of the speech of different actors in Philadelphia. As illustrated in Figure 1, this methodology is founded upon the idea that arguments that use place-based framing may make the place-based identity of the speaker and potential receivers salient. Making place-based identities salient in turn may have important implications for social influence as research shows that activating shared identities may promote cooperation.

Figure 1. Place-based Framing Pathway to Social Influence



The principal data source is the database of transcripts of Philadelphia City Council meetings and hearings maintained by the City of Philadelphia. In contrast to many previous studies of framing in environmental politics, which primarily use secondary sources such as news media reports, I use these transcripts to capture the direct, unmediated verbiage used by

actors in their attempts to influence public policy. In order to capture how the framing strategies of certain actors vary across different media, I also analyzed text from local newspaper articles, websites of environmental groups, and transcripts of interviews I conducted with leaders and members of environmental groups. To address research questions one and three, I employ a quantitative coding method described below to look for patterns in the usage of frames among different actors. This involved coding the speech of city legislators, political appointees of the city mayor, and representatives of local, regional, and national non-profit organizations for salience of two over-arching frames, “place-based” and “global.” To answer research question two, I began by coding for the over-arching frames (place-based and global) I identified a-priori and then used an open-end emergent coding approach to identify additional frames that appear in my data. Through this method, I identified six sub-frames:

- **Place-based sub-frames:** “local environmental risk,” “local economy,” “local beautification,” and “local justice”
- **Global sub-frames:** “global environmental change” and “global/national economy”

Data Sources/Procedure

I compiled a database of transcripts of all hearings and public meetings of the Philadelphia City Council and the Philadelphia City Council Environmental Committee Hearing held between 2007 (the first year the Environmental Committee was convened) and 2017. These transcripts are available for public access on the official website of the City Council of Philadelphia. I excluded City Council meeting transcripts that did not concern legislation that was reviewed by the Environmental Committee to confine my analysis to environmental policies. I coded the testimony of each actor that appeared in the transcripts for a total of 237 data points, including 94 local politicians and political appointees, 62 representatives from

national/regional non-profits, and 74 representatives of local groups. In meetings in which actors spoke multiple times, their entire testimony was coded together. Actors that provided testimony in multiple meetings received separate scores for each meeting. Testimony was given on a total of 36 different bills and resolutions over the 11-year period. After coding each testimony, I conducted a search of the legislative database maintained by the City of Philadelphia to identify whether the bills were ultimately passed or rejected by the City Council.

To support my quantitative analysis of City Council transcripts, I also examined framing of environmental policy issues from local newspapers, conducted interviews with representatives of local, regional and national environmental groups, and reviewed website content of environmental groups. I used keyword searches on LexisNexis to compile a database of relevant newspaper and magazine articles that concerned three major policy debates that were discussed in City Council sessions: a plastic bag ban debate from 2007-2009, a debate on the impacts of hydraulic fracturing from 2010-2012, and a debate on reducing municipal waste from 2012-2017. These particular topics were chosen because they represented a large segment of my City Council transcript data-set as they were the only topics for which four or more City Council hearings or meetings were held. For my analysis of the plastic bag ban legislation, for example, I used the following search terms: “plastic bag,” “bag-ban,” “plastic container,” “polystyrene,” “compostable bag,” “compostable container,” “city council,” “litter,” “disposable container,” and “disposable bag.” I restricted my search to the three largest local publications in terms of readership, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Philadelphia Daily News*, and *Philadelphia Magazine*.

To identify environmental groups that operate in Philadelphia for interviews, I relied on a database titled “Philadelphia STEW-Map” which was compiled by researchers at the United

States Forest Service in 2013 (Svendsen et al., 2016). They define a “stewardship group” as “a civic organization or group that works to conserve, manage, monitor, advocate for, and/or educate the public about their local environments” (p.2). “STEW-MAP” researchers have collected information from thousands of organizations in New York City, Baltimore, Chicago and Seattle. To build the map in Philadelphia, the researchers developed relationships with a few large “umbrella organizations” in the city of Philadelphia and requested that they provide lists of their partner organizations. In addition, the researchers used a snowball sampling method whereby each of these “large-scale data providers” was asked to suggest additional data providers within the city until saturation was reached (Fisher, Campbell, & Svendsen, 2012). This process resulted in a list of 541 organizations, 177 of which responded to a survey that requested information on the organizations’ missions, capacity, funding, partners, and geographic location. Of these 177, 97 identified addressing environmental issues as a “primary focus” of the organization.

The vast majority of the STEW-Map environmental organizations in Philadelphia (90 of the 97 groups in the database) are groups that engage in some form of direct stewardship such as land management (as in the case of “friends of parks” groups), tree planting, community gardening, recycling initiatives, litter cleanups, and invasive species removal. What is left out of this approach is what Sirianni and Sofer (2012) refer to as “advocacy organizations” in their typology of environmental non-profits. Rather than engage in direct stewardship, advocacy groups instead further their agendas by influencing public policy, court decisions, and election outcomes. Many of these are national or regional non-profits that have local chapters or organizers in the city of Philadelphia. I used a snowball sampling approach to identify such groups by interviewing members of STEW-Map organizations and asking my interviewees to list

other environmental groups that they worked with or had heard of. From this method, I identified five additional advocacy groups that are included in this study. I then compiled this list of organizations with the original STEW-Map list along with organizations identified in City Council Transcripts and newspaper reports, which ultimately led to a total of 166 unique groups, including 110 local stewardship groups, 30 local advocacy groups, and 26 regional or national advocacy groups. For a complete list of these groups, see appendix 1.

Additionally, I conducted interviews with individuals from a sub-set of these groups to gain insights into their operations, political strategy, organizational history, and place-based identity. These groups were chosen by randomly sampling 25 groups from the 97 environmental organizations in the STEW-Map List and the five additional advocacy organizations that were identified through snowball sampling. A total of 17 groups responded to my requests and I conducted semi-structured interviews with one to two members from each group for a total of 29 interviews. I also conducted an analysis of the websites of these 17 groups in addition to a random sample of 33 additional groups from my database for a total of 50 groups. To obtain a sample of text that was consistent across all groups and control for variable sizes of websites, I only coded home pages and “about” pages. Evidence from consumer research studies shows that these are the most visited pages on websites (Huff and Edmond, 2014).

Frame Analysis of City Council Transcripts

I coded the arguments of each actor in each of the City Council transcripts for presence of place-based and global frames. These frames are not mutually exclusive—an actor’s testimony can have both place-based framing and global framing. These two frames were identified a priori based on insights from interviews with environmental groups. I applied Entman’s (1993) classic definition of framing to code the content of each website for presence of three elements (problem

definition, causal interpretation, and treatment recommendation) for each of the two frames, global and place-based. This is similar to previous work done by Matthes and Kohring (2008) which analyzed Entman's frame elements in media reports on biotechnology.

My codebook contains guidelines on what kinds of words, phrases, and discursive patterns indicate the presence of each frame. Place-based frames tend to limit discussions of environmental problems to issues affecting the city of Philadelphia or particular neighborhoods in Philadelphia without reference to environmental problems at larger regional, national, or international scales. They also tend to view the problems as caused by local factors such as the consumer behavior of individuals, decisions by local developers to site factories in particular neighborhoods, or laws passed by city officials that affect air or water quality. Global frames would instead emphasize the role of larger forces such as global capitalism or the cultural foundations of environmental problems that extend beyond the city of Philadelphia. Place-based treatment recommendations focus on local residents and other local actors such as city government officials and local business owners as agents of change whereas globally framed treatment recommendations focus on global forces that cut across individual cities, national and international governance bodies, and/ or multi-national corporations. The table below, adapted from Creed, Langstraat and Scully (2002), summarizes my codebook with ideal types of each frame dimension.

Table 1. Place-Based and Global Frame Dimension Descriptions

	Place-based Frame	Global Frame
Problem definition (What is the problem?)	The problem is that that the air, water, and land in the city of Philadelphia is polluted, unsafe, and/or inhospitable to the community. Philadelphia as a city is environmentally unsustainable.	Human society is unsustainable. A confluence of systemic factors and decisions by individual agents have produced a world that is polluted, unsafe, and/or inhospitable.
Causal Interpretation Elaboration: (Who or what is responsible? What outcomes can be projected with or without interventions?)	The city government is part of the problem because it is too focused on appeasing special interests. Large non-local businesses are a problem because they are focused on profit maximization, not the livelihood of Philadelphia neighborhoods. Philadelphians will physically and psychologically suffer if these problems aren't addressed.	Larger historical economic, social, and political forces have shaped outcomes. The problem is structural in nature and relates to the inequities resulting from global capitalism, racism, sexism, and/or xenophobia. Philadelphia's problems are not unique. Philadelphia's problems are situated in a global context in which the survival of the species is threatened.
Treatment Recommendation: (What action should be taken?)	Give power to local residents, leaders, and businesses to make political decisions that affect their neighborhoods. Exclude large non-local corporate interests and outside entities from crafting the vision for Philadelphia's future.	Work at all levels of government and society to promote decisions that promote clean air, clean water, and renewable energy. Push for state-wide, regional, national, and/or international coordination.

Using Entman's framework yielded a total of six frame dimensions: place-based problem definition, place-based causal interpretation, place-based treatment recommendation, global problem definition, global causal interpretation, and global treatment recommendation. I coded each variable dichotomously as present or absent (1 or 0) based on a holistic evaluation of each speaker in a given meeting transcript. Rather than code each speech act that appears in the transcript, I code the speech of each actor regardless of how long their testimony may have been. A city councilor, for instance, might speak several times in a given hearing. Her speech would be evaluated along each of the six possible frame dimensions and presence or absence of each frame

dimension would be entered into ATLAS.ti. I applied the same process to every politician and member of civil society who gave testimony. Websites of local environmental groups also were coded for each frame dimension. I aggregated the scores along each frame dimension to obtain a measure of salience for the over-arching place-based or global frames. An actor that employed all three dimensions of the place-based frame, for instance, received the maximum place-based salience score of 3. On the other hand, a website that received a 1 for global problem definition, a 0 for global causal interpretation, and 0 for treatment would receive total global salience score of 1.

I divided the actors that provided testimony in my sample into three categories, local politicians, local non-profit groups and national/regional groups. The local politician group includes members of the City Council as well as political appointees of the mayor such as the city's Director of Sustainability or the Commissioners of municipal agencies such as the Department of Health. The local non-profit group includes representatives of local stewardship and advocacy groups, which are listed in appendix 1. The national/regional non-profit group includes representatives of national or regional organizations that have headquarters outside the city of Philadelphia. Many of these organizations are based in cities such as Washington, DC but they may have regional offices in cities such as Philadelphia, Pittsburgh or Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (see appendix 1 for a complete list). I divided non-profit groups into these two categories, local and national/regional, in order to analyze how the scale at which organizations operate affects their use of place-based and/or global frames. In total, I coded 245 different testimonies from 114 unique actors (some actors spoke at multiple hearings/meetings so they receive a coding entry for each meeting/hearing they appear in), including 99 testimonies from local politicians, 83 from local groups, and 63 from national/regional groups. To reveal

additional patterns in frame usage between Democrats and Republicans, I also coded all politicians for party affiliation.

After an initial coding for place-based and global frames, I identified six emergent sub-frames of the over-arching frames. These frames include “local environmental risk,” “local economy,” “local beautification,” “local justice,” “global environmental change,” and “global/national economy (see Table 2).” These sub-frames represent the most common approaches to framing the problem definitions, causal interpretations, and treatment recommendations that I observed in my sample. They help illuminate the specific content of the over-arching place-based and global frames. All transcripts of City Council hearings and meetings were then recoded to identify these six sub-frames. Table 2 summarizes the sub-frames with ideal type descriptions:

Table 2. Place-Based and Global Sub-Frame Descriptions

Place-Based Sub-frames	
Beautification	“Philadelphia is dirty and environmental policies serve to clean the city up”
Local Economy	“Environmental policies reduce costs and create jobs”
Local Environmental Risk	“Environmental policies improve public health and safety”
Local Environmental Justice	“Environmental policies improve living conditions for low income and minority residents”
Global Sub-frames	
Global Environmental change	“Environmental policies help to address large-scale environmental problems such as climate change, deforestation, and regional air-pollution which affect global health and safety”
Global/National Economy	“Environmental policies can spur growth in industries that would contribute to a more robust national or global economy.”

Statistical Analyses and Hypotheses

I quantified the use of each over-arching frame and conducted independent samples t-tests in R to look for significant differences in the use of frames by different actors. To look for differences in the use of sub-frames across different actors, I conducted binomial logistic regressions. I also conducted logistic regressions to look for patterns in frame usage among bills that were ultimately successfully passed by the legislature versus bills that failed to pass. I began my study with three hypotheses in order to better address research questions one and three. Based on the idea that place-based framing may be an effective framing strategy for persuading stakeholders and that the scale at which an actor operates should match the scale of their overall framing (e.g., we should expect local politicians to use more place-based framing than global framing because they operate at the level of municipal politics), I developed the following hypotheses:

H1) place-based frames are more prevalent than global frames for all types of actors

H2) testimonies on legislation that were ultimately passed by City Council have higher place-based framing scores than testimonies on legislation that failed to pass

H3) national/regional advocacy groups use more global frames than local non-profit groups and local politicians

Chapter 4: Qualitative Findings

I begin with a review of each sub-frame starting with the four place-based sub-frames followed by the two global sub-frames in order of relative abundance, respectively. For each sub-frame, I chronologically review several key policy discussions in order to illuminate the content of each frame and provide some preliminary insights on patterns of usage among different actors (research questions one and two). To further detail these patterns and more fully address research questions two and three, I follow this qualitative chapter on sub-frames with a chapter on quantitative findings.

Place-based sub-frame 1: Local Economy—“Local environmental policies reduce costs and create jobs for the city of Philadelphia”

“We want to be the greenest city in the country. How fast and to what extent and how quickly do we want to do that? And how does it impact employment, the need to purchase new equipment, the need to retrofit equipment, how much does it cost to now pave streets as a result of those kinds of things?...we, I think, are elected to be the balancer of that.” - Councilman Kenney (D) (PCCEC, 4/30/14, p.35)

The “local economy” sub-frame was the most common frame in the overall sample of City Council Transcripts. The frame was used by 45.1% of local groups, 45.8% of Democratic Politicians, 69.2% of Republicans, and 62.5% of regional/national groups. While most other frames were used overwhelmingly to support environmental legislations, the “local economy” frame was used variously to both support and oppose environmental legislation during the study period. Instances in which the local economy frame was used to support legislation tended to emphasize the cost-saving benefits of reduced energy and water use and the creation of new “green jobs” that environmental policies would promote. Local economy frames that were used to oppose environmental legislation often highlighted the higher costs of “green” products or technologies and the comparatively low price of fossil fuels.

In 2009, Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter (D) launched “Greenworks,” a comprehensive environmental sustainability plan managed by the newly minted Mayor’s Office of Sustainability. In announcing the creation of the plan to the *Philadelphia Daily News*, he made his strategy and priorities clear by framing the issue of sustainability explicitly in terms of local economic matters: “Greenworks Philadelphia is the about the future of Philadelphia. First and foremost, it’s about jobs and the economy, it’s about energy savings, it’s about reducing our dependence on foreign oil and about decreasing our carbon footprint” (Lucey, 2009).

In a hearing in December of 2011 on a bill that would reduce permitting costs for solar panel installations, the dominant frame used by both city councilors and environmental groups was “local economy.” A representative of the regional non-profit, PennFuture, began her testimony:

First I wanted to start by stating that solar energy creates numerous benefits for Philadelphia. Solar energy improves the reliability of our electric grid by reducing demand during peak hours of the day, helping to prevent blackouts and brownouts. It provides a valuable hedge to electric consumers against fossil fuel price uncertainty, and creates local jobs. (PCCEC, 12/5/11, p.22)

The bill eventually passed with unanimous support. In a Committee on the Environment hearing in June of 2012 on a proposed bill that would mandate that buildings of a certain size publicly report their energy usage, Councilwoman Blondell Reynolds-Brown framed the issue similarly in terms of local economic benefits in her opening remarks:

There is no time like the present to become more energy efficient. As energy prices continue to rise, energy independence becomes increasingly critical to our City's economic vitality. So in short, this bill aims to provide all parties with the tools needed to make informed decisions toward our collective goal, which is reduced energy consumption, typically equals [sic] cost savings.” (PCCEC, 6/6/12, p.3)

Several local and regional environmental advocacy groups also invoked the local economy to frame the problem (local energy use is too expensive and is a drain on the economy), its causation (local energy efficiency and reporting standards are inadequate), and its treatment recommendation (local legislation mandating public reporting and monitoring) in place-based

terms. A representative of the local non-profit, Energy Coordinating Agency, offered the following testimony:

Energy efficiency is the cleanest, cheapest and safest form of energy and it also creates the most jobs. Most importantly these jobs are local. This bill will create jobs for energy auditors, installers, inspectors, analysts and many others helping to strengthen our local economy. (PCCEC, 6/6/12, p.56)

The executive director of regional nonprofit the Delaware Valley Green Building Council employed similar framing in her brief remarks on the benefits of the legislation to local building owners and tenants, arguing that the legislation would promote “cost-effective ways to save energy in their buildings, to make them more comfortable, to make—to save them money” (PCCEC, 6/6/12, p.59). The bill passed with unanimous support a few weeks later.

In April of 2014, in a bill that would have delegated more power to the Philadelphia Department of Public Health’s Air Pollution Control Board to regulate fossil fuel emission standards in the city, Councilman Jim Kenney used a “local economy” frame, in this case to express opposition to the bill:

Obviously we're interested in the environment, because I started [this] committee... We choose and volunteer to serve on the Committee, and we've done environmentally sound things since the Committee has been in existence. But I still think to put it in the hands of a well-meaning and competent and qualified group of people who have a different view of the world than industry and have them have total control of that discussion, without us in the middle arbitrating it, to me I think is not in the best interest of the economy of our city, especially in light of the fact that Harrisburg [the state capital]... will issue standards that will put us in a situation that we could go more extreme than what Harrisburg is recommending, putting our economy and the jobs and businesses that depend on these kinds of issues in further jeopardy. (PCCEC, 4/30/14, p.36)

Other councilors promptly echoed this concern and the bill never made it out of committee for a full Council vote.

Although the focus of this study is the framing employed by environmental groups and local politicians, representatives of industries with a stake in environmental policies also often employed the “local economy” frame, usually to express opposition to legislation. During the debate on the bills relating to banning and/or dis-incentivizing plastic bags from 2007 to 2009,

for instance, the President of the Pennsylvania Restaurant Association argued that the bills would have a “negative impact on businesses in Philadelphia” and would negatively affect “families in the City of Philadelphia” (PCCEC, 5/01/09, p.105). During that same time period, the City Council considered a bill that would effectively ban the use of polystyrene containers by Philadelphia businesses. Several representatives from the plastics industry presented oppositional testimony at Council hearings that employed a “local economy” frame, including the Solo Cup Company, the American Chemistry Council, and the Alliance for Foam Packaging Recyclers (PCCEC, 10/24/11).

Industry representatives aren’t the only actors that use place-based frames to oppose environmental legislation, however. During a 2009 hearing on a bill that would have charged consumers 25 cents per plastic bag used in retail and grocery stores, the president of Philadelphia’s Community Land Trust Corporation, Viviane Vanstory, made her case using a local economy and justice frame:

For twenty five years, I've studied urban environmental changes here in Philadelphia. I—the community—opposes the fee for 25 cents. If you have [a Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program] access card and you have 20 bags once a month, how can you afford 25 cents? (PCCEC, 5/01/09, p.76)

While the use of a local economy frame to oppose environmental policies was relatively rare for environmental groups, Ms. Vanstory’s comments joined those of a chorus of City Councilors and plastics industry representatives, which would ultimately contribute to the bill’s ten to six defeat in the City Council.

Place-based sub-frame 2: Local environmental risk—“Local environmental policies improve public health and safety”

“Local environmental risk” was the second most prevalent frame in the sample. The frame was most used by local non-profits (56.6%) followed by regional/national groups (47.6)

and local politicians (29.1%). Whereas a global framing of a local energy policy, for instance, might emphasize global warming and downwind air quality, “local environmental risk” frames highlight the local impacts of environmental policies. Even in cases where direct local environmental impacts would be difficult to measure, “local environmental risk” framing was used to appeal to stakeholders and policymakers to support legislation. In many cases, environmental groups that frame issues in global terms in other venues (e.g. in local media, public websites, and interviews) frame those same issues in local terms in the context of City Council hearings. This suggests a strategic deliberation on the part of actors to match the scale of their frames with scale of the governance regime they seek to influence.

In September 2010, the Philadelphia City Council engaged a larger national debate on the risks and benefits of hydraulic fracturing for natural gas resources. Pennsylvania, home to a large portion of the methane-rich Marcellus shale formation, is major source of natural gas through hydraulic fracturing (Vengosh et al., 2014). Widespread public concern led the City Council to hold a public hearing on fracking led by the Joint Committees on the Environment and Transportation/Public Utilities. In his opening remarks, Councilman Curtis Jones Jr. (D) framed the debate as one of “local environmental risk:’

What we hope to do today is to review the facts, dispel the myths and to create the best public policy which is in the interest of all Philadelphia. I am not necessarily a long-term environmentalist. I have a lot of titles. One of them is Chairman of this Committee, but the one that I care most about is Grandfather, and what we do today will determine the quality of water in Philadelphia for my grandchildren. (PCCEC, 9/28/10, p.4)

While some local and national environmental advocacy organizations expressed concern about fossil fuel dependency and articulated a connection between a reliance on natural gas and climate change, most of the five and a half hour hearing on fracking (the Committee on the Environment’s longest hearing ever) centered on the potential risks for the city of Philadelphia.

The director of a local non-profit, Protect Our Waters, for instance, made mention of climate change but framed the problem definition in terms of local risk:

So we're talking about increased global warming, but no one, not DEP, not EPA...has any plans to regulate these massive routine methane emissions. Philadelphia cannot afford more global warming, which threatens to inundate the wetlands and eventually the City itself.” (PCCEC, 9/28/10, p.192)

Local media reports struck a similar tone, focusing overwhelmingly on the local risks regarding pollution of drinking water. In late October, nearly a month after the public hearing, the Philadelphia City Council adopted a resolution calling for a three-year moratorium on fracking in the Delaware River Basin.

Policy debates on legislation relating to local energy-use standards and energy efficiency have also been characterized by “local environmental risk” frames. In mid-2014, the City Council’s Committee on the Environment held two hearings to debate proposals to modify the environmental standards for the sale of fuel oil in the city. Councilwoman Blondell Reynolds-Brown (D), who presided over the hearings, emphasized the local impacts of sulfur dioxide emissions on air quality and asthma rates among children. Two regional environmental non-profits, PennFuture and Clean Air Council, presented testimony that also framed the issue as one of local air pollution. Joe Minnot, the Executive Director of the Clean Air Council, began his testimony with a clear emphasis on local environmental risk in articulating the problem definition and causal explanation: “The Clean Air Council strongly supports the bill to amend Section 3-207 of The Philadelphia Code...The combustion of fuel with high sulfur content significantly affects the health of citizens in Philadelphia” (PCCEC, 6/11/14, p.27).

Over the course of my study period (2007-2017), representatives from the Clean Air Council presented testimony to the Environmental Committee eleven times regarding nine different bills and resolutions. The dominant frame in these testimonies was “local

environmental risk.” In my interview with the Executive Director of the Clean Air Council in 2017, however, he emphasized the regional focus of the organization’s activities and framed environmental problems in terms of regional and global environmental change. When asked about ongoing campaigns and public policies that the organization had recently or was currently advocating, he cited a range of issues in rural areas of Pennsylvania and in the state capital of Harrisburg. After being asked specifically about the organization’s activities in the city of Philadelphia, he quickly reframed the conversation to focus on statewide issues:

Right now, the sort of biggest environmental threats, one of the biggest environmental threats in Pennsylvania is very rapid expansion of natural and gas and so were working with a number of communities sort of along pipeline routes and what have you.

The mismatch between the group’s framing of environmental problems in Philadelphia during environmental policy hearings and elsewhere is also made evident on their website, which made abundant use of global environmental change frames. This disparity in framing suggests an intentional strategy on the part of the organization to frame environmental issues to Philadelphia politicians and stakeholders in place-based terms so as to influence local environmental policy. The local environmental advocacy group representing the Eastwick neighborhood of Philadelphia, Eastwick Friends and Neighbors Coalition (Eastwick), also exhibits this mismatch. While my analysis of rhetoric on their website reveals extensive use of the “global environmental change” frame and articulations of the impact environmental change will have on disadvantaged groups in developing countries, these frames were virtually absent in the testimonies they presented to the City Council during my study period. In testimony in a public hearing held to investigate the state of the environment in Philadelphia in 2017, an Eastwick representative instead made abundant use of local environmental risk frames:

We are a grassroots community organization of residents, Eastwick residents. Within our coalition, we have environmentalists, scientists, and some legal folk. Joanne and I represent a community that floods. So we have direct human experience on what that's like, the trauma, the

sense of loss, and just the anxiety when weather changes that the folks in my neighborhood experience as a result. (PCCEC, 3/22/17. P.148-149)

Another representative from Eastwick followed that testimony with a brief review of environmental issues that the organization was concerned with, including the oil refinery in the city, high local asthma rates as a result of air pollution, and EPA “Superfund sites” in her neighborhood. She then doubled down on the “local environmental risk” frame by ending her testimony with a forceful appeal for flood mitigation. She concluded:

But what I want to emphasize here is, our number one issue for this community is flood mitigation. We also have vacant properties in Eastwick, and while we are fortunate to be in the midst of a planning process, we really need to make sure that any development that takes place in Eastwick is sustainable development. We do not and we cannot afford to see development that is going to exacerbate existing flooding conditions. (PCCEC, 3/22/17, p.155)

When she finished speaking, Councilwoman Blondell Reynolds-Brown (D), in a rare offer to extend her services, responded:

Your testimony is incredibly compelling, and I would welcome a chance to sit down with you all and the District Councilperson, because any and all development matters start with the District Councilperson, and to further deepen that discussion about where Eastwick is headed from a development perspective...my office will be more than glad to coordinate a meeting with Councilman Kenyatta Johnson on that matter. (PCCEC, 3/22/17, p.158)

Councilman Taubenberger (R), echoed his colleague’s sentiments:

I just want to thank all the witnesses. A lot of the things, particularly the last table, were brought up to us that, you know, you don't know unless somebody tells you. I think we all have concern for the environment...but to have individuals come up with their collective knowledge only helps our own knowledge. (PCCEC, 3/22/17, p.183)

Even issues that are seemingly unrelated to issues of local environmental risk are often framed in such terms. A resolution on composting that was debated in November of 2014 was framed by Brenda Platt of the national non-profit, Institute for Local Reliance, as one of storm-water management: “Compost-amended soil, I like to say, equals storm-water management...it's because what you're doing is you're changing the structure of the soil. You're increasing its porosity. It now can hold more water.” (PCCEC, 11/12/14, p.62). At a hearing regarding a

resolution on urban agriculture in 2016, many politicians and environmental groups used a “local environmental risk” frame in advocating for zoning laws that would support community gardens. The first to testify was the Commissioner of Parks and Recreation, Kathryn Lovell, who framed the problem, its causation and her treatment recommendation all in terms of local environmental risk:

With the creation of FarmPhilly, an interagency collaboration, we work with neighborhood residents to build urban gardens, reclaiming underutilized land in their neighborhoods and actively cultivating healthy communities. Our FarmPhilly program increases healthy food access and physical activity, improves the natural environment and air quality, increases beautification, mitigates heat island effect, and empowers communities to be the change they want to see in the world. (PCCEC, 9/21/16, p.9)

Others engaged similar themes regarding the potential of local food to address local public health problems and to mitigate the local effects of climate change. A representative from the local environmental organization, Soil Generation, testified using explicitly place-based rhetoric and framing:

Members of the Coalition are, first and foremost, local residents who participate in growing food for the communities in which we work or live...We're in West Philly, we're in South Philly, we're in Southwest, we're in North....Our spaces provide cool temperatures in a warming climate, and we de-stress when we enter our gardens. (PCCEC, 9/21/16, p.50)

Place-based sub-frame 3: Beautification—“Philadelphia is dirty and local environmental policies should serve to clean the city up”

“Beautification” frames were used widely by all actors in debates regarding waste and urban agriculture policies in my study period. My interviews suggest that much of the content of individuals’ place-based identities relates to the perceived cleanliness of the city. When asked to name the first three things that come to mind when they think of the city of Philadelphia, among the most common responses from representatives of Philadelphia environmental organizations was “dirty” or “trash.” Seven out of 27 interviewees explicitly talked about the cleanliness of the city and/or their neighborhood in particular. The only more common place-meaning mentioned

in interviews was poverty and inequality (eight of 27). The salience of the issues of litter and waste is strongly reflected in the activity and rhetoric of the Philadelphia City Council. Indeed, of the 36 bills and resolution considered by the Environmental Committee in my study period, 12 of them concerned waste and/or litter policies.

In 2007, for example, the city of Philadelphia became embroiled in what would turn out to be a decade-long debate over whether to ban the use of light-weight disposable plastic shopping bags and polystyrene containers. In the late 2000's, many cities around the country considered legislation that would tax, dis-incentivize, or altogether ban the use of plastic bags at retail shopping firms such as grocery stores. In his opening remarks on a proposed bill in 2007 that would tax the use of plastic bags and containers, Councilman Frank DiCicco, the sponsor of the legislation, was explicit in his intentions:

...while this legislation partly deals with the environment, benefit to the environment was not my primary goal, although it's extremely important. Philadelphia is a dirty city. We've had the reputation and some people have called us 'Filthadelphia,' and that's been around for a very long time and something that I take personal....not too long ago, if you remember, the Mayor of New Orleans visited our city, and although I didn't think it was appropriate for him to make that those comments, the truth of the matter is that he was right. This city is a dirty city. (PCCEC, 10/24/07, p.21-22)

Much later in the testimony, after hearing remarks from a representative of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce that expressed opposition to the bill on the grounds that it would hurt local business, Councilman Darrell Clarke offered his perspective, using a place-based frame to center the causal explanation on the behavior of individual Philadelphians:

If I may, it may necessarily be a question, but I guess it will end up being a question...I hear Councilman Rizzo brought up a valid point about the trash bags, and Councilman DiCicco parried and thrust, but at the end of the day, from my perspective, in a significant portion of my district the issue centers around trash, the little plastic bags coming out of the corner stores and the Rite Aids and all of the other stores in the neighborhood. And I understand that this is really conduct that is unbecoming of the individuals who do it, but the bottom line is, they come out, they take out their product and throw the trash bag, and it flies all over the neighborhood and gets caught in the fence, along the edge of the fence and it just gets captured everywhere. And that's the biggest concern as it relates to these little trash bags—I'm sorry; these little bags as it relates to the conditions in a lot of these communities. (PCCEC, 10/24/07, p.52-53)

After three hours of heated testimony, including forceful opposition from various chemical and plastic companies such as the Solo Cup Company, the bill was tabled for further review. The first local media report on the issue, in the Philadelphia Daily News, framed the matter similarly, emphasizing the problem as a place-based matter:

When the winds kick up, the urban tumbleweeds start to roll, but there's nothing organic about these weeds. They're the plastic bags that retailers hand out like candy, the detritus of an oil-based economy, cheap to produce but far more costly to landfill. And then there are the plastic foam cups and containers that overflow trash bins and end up gray and crushed along curbs across the city, and that are later dumped in landfills, where they persist for decades. City Councilmen Frank DiCicco, who got his start in neighborhood cleanups, and Jim Kenney, chairman of Council's new environment committee, are fed up with the waste. (McDonald, 2007)

The issue wouldn't come back into the spotlight until two years later, in May of 2009, when councilman DiCicco introduced amended legislation that would effectively ban plastic bags and polystyrene containers by mandating that retailers in Philadelphia offer compostable bags and containers unless they are able to prove that there is "no affordable alternative." The bill would also charge a "green fee" of 25 cents to any shopper who chose to use a disposable bag of any kind. Once again, the legislation stirred public controversy and the Environmental Committee's hearing on the issue lasted nearly four hours, its longest meeting since the previous plastic bag-ban was proposed in 2007.

As in the previous hearings, most of the testimony on the legislation was framed in terms of place. Councilman Jones (D), for instance, framed the problem as an issue of city beautification in his opening remarks before the first witness:

Just—let me say, first of all, I want to thank the members of this committee, in particular Councilman Kenney and Councilman DiCicco, for having the vision, foresight, and stamina to deal with the issue of the environment and, in particular, plastic bags. It is one of those issues that transcends neighborhoods, transcends economics, and transcends racial/social barriers, because these bags know no barriers. They go to every part of the City of Philadelphia and have an impact one way or another on those neighborhoods that they are in. (PCCEC, 05/01/09, p.9-10)

Jones's comments were followed by remarks from Suzanne Biemiller from the Mayor's Office of Sustainability who articulated support for the legislation as it would further the city's waste reduction goals and contribute to the Mayor's vision "to make Philadelphia America's greenest city by making our buildings more energy-efficient, creating new jobs, increasing what we recycle, planting thousands of trees, and improving our air quality (PCCEC, 05/01/09, p.12)." What followed were hours of testimony from schoolchildren, non-profit groups, grocery store owners, and representatives from large chemical corporations such as Hilex and trade groups such as the American Chemical Society.

The vast majority of city councilors and non-profit groups continued to frame the issues as one of litter and beautification. Councilman Curtis Jones Jr. (D) claimed that the lower-income areas of his district suffered from public litter problems and that a strong financial incentive for behavior change was necessary (thus implying a place-based causal explanation for the problem by centering the causation on the behavior of individuals in the city). In a hearing the next month Councilman Rizzo (R) framed the problem similarly as an issue of litter rather than a broader environmental issue relating to waste, plastics, and/or fossil-fuel use. A member of the Philadelphia Recycling Alliance for instance, commented:

I mean, I walk down the street all the time, and I was going to actually walk down and pick up all of the plastic bags that I saw on my way to work this morning, but it was raining and they're kind of disgusting, so I didn't, but it's really sad. So I really just hope that, you know, that City Council will consider this legislation because it's better for the environment, it's better for the public health and the citizens of Philadelphia, and that, you know, you really consider it in relation to what the citizens of Philadelphia want and not in relation to what the industry wants, because they don't live here, they're not a part of our community. And if they want to come clean up our streets, then that's fine, but they're not the ones that are, you know, out every day like the citizens are, you know, cleaning up our parks and our neighborhoods (PCCEC, 05/01/09, p.52).

Anne Misak, the Philadelphia organizer for Clean Water Action, in response to comments from representatives of the plastics industry framed the problem itself in explicitly place-protective terms:

“A couple of the issues I wanted to talk about is: One, the plastic lobby that's very strong and that's here. They have a lot of money, and it's evident by the fact that there's a lot of them here today. My question is: How many of them actually live in Philadelphia? You know, they're currently fighting these fees and bans in other cities, states, and countries, and they continually do this. They'll try to convince you that this legislation is unnecessary. They've gotten some other cities to cave to their pressure and money, and I hope that members of Philadelphia's City Council are able to put the interests and well-being of the citizens of Philadelphia above the demands of industry lobbyists. (PCCEC, 05/01/09, p.45-46)”

The Committee on the environment ultimately voted to favorably report the plastic-bag ban out of committee for a council-wide vote. An article in the *Philadelphia Daily News* the next day documented the controversy:

Councilmen Frank DiCicco and Jim Kenney proposed the measure in 2007 as a way to cut down on litter. They chafed yesterday at talk that the city was moving too fast on the issue. Shari Jackson, of Progressive Bag Affiliates, part of the American Chemistry Council, stumbled when Kenney asked what the plastic industry was doing to help Philadelphia eliminate litter. Jackson described her group's efforts as "in its infancy." "It's been two years. Don't tell me you're still working on it," Kenney retorted. "Why is it still in my streets and my trees? Why is it still in my river? Why does the city of Philadelphia have to buy a piece of equipment to skim the river to get them out of there? (Brennan, 2009)

After weeks of lobbying and public debate, the full Council swiftly voted ten to six against the bill, pitting the Environmental Committee against most of the other councilors. Many of the councilors cited concerns that the ban would pose an undue burden on local businesses and that the bill was being moved along the legislative process too quickly. In his final statement on the bill, councilman Kenney used salient place-based rhetoric to frame the problem (litter in Philadelphia), causation (the behavior of individuals and local businesses), and treatment recommendation (boycott a local businesses that hasn't contributed adequately to the recycling effort and has opposed the plastic bag-ban):

...I worked very hard over the past two years to come to a conclusion on this issue, which we believe and other members of Council, obviously not enough, believe that are environmentally sensitive to issues surrounding the condition of the dirt in our streets, the refuse and litter in our trees, the trash and litter in our river...I think that people in this city and this region...who care about the condition of our environment should not spend their money at ShopRite, should look for someplace else to go that cares about the condition of our town. (Philadelphia City Council [PCC], 06/18/2009, p.157-160)

Despite the failure of this particular bill, the debate on litter and public waste would continue for several years and serve as a rare source of common ground for the City Council's 14 Democrats and 3 Republicans. In 2015, two bills that expanded requirements for businesses and the city government to provide public waste containers were reviewed by the Committee on the Environment and passed by the Philadelphia City Council with unanimous support. The public hearing on the bills centered overwhelmingly on waste as an issue of litter and beautification, rather than a broader environmental issues relating to waste cycles and pollution. In fact, the word "litter" was repeated 80 times over the course of the hearing. The trend of bipartisan support around these issues would continue into the next legislative session in 2016, which set the stage for the only bill ever sponsored by a Republican member of the Committee on the Environment. The bill, which requires that the City government seek alternative to purchasing polystyrene containers, passed unanimously with support from all three of the Council's Republican members. Councilman Al Taubenberger (R), the bill's sponsor, made his views on the problem clear in a hearing on the state of the environment the following year in which he framed the problem of plastics and litter as one of beautification:

I'm not a fan of plastic bags, even though I'm former President of the Northeast Philadelphia Chamber. Please write that down, because long ago and far—remember, Al Taubenberger really hates plastic bags. You know why? Because I was ground supervisor of Friends Hospital for three and a half years. Plastic bags—and that was a long time ago. There were plastic bags all around then. It's even worse now. They're in trees. They're everywhere. If you have someone with a fence and you have a prevailing wind either coming out of the east or the west, it's probably coated with plastic bags. It's really an obscenity. So I'm no fan of plastic bags, and any kind of reasonable legislation to prevent their or to curtail their usage, I will support. (PCECC, 4/17/2017, p.166)

The emphasis on beautification was also evident a year later in a hearing on a resolution calling for the investigation of a "zero waste" policy for the city that newly-elected Mayor Jim Kenney (D) was advocating for. After a representative from the Philadelphia Food Policy Advisory Council (a local group convened by the Mayor's Office of Sustainability) made lengthy

statements on the environmental benefits of a zero waste policy, Councilwoman Cindy Bass (D) reframed the issue as one of beautification:

Your testimony was very good, but it also struck me as very academic, and so I was wondering if you could talk about some of the things as a District Councilmember that I hear on a regular basis, not about 2035. I think that people are really concerned, and justifiably so, about the amount of trash that we see throughout the City. Our city is—it's dirty. It's dirty. We all have to acknowledge. We ride past locations on a regular basis. The Streets Department, they do their very best. They're out there cleaning up. We do clean up. We always schedule cleanups in our districts and throughout the City of Philadelphia. We work very closely with the Streets Department, but—Commissioner, you can probably speak to this as well—we clean up an area and then the very next day, the very next week, it's as if we didn't touch it. And so that is some of what we hear on a regular basis. I was wondering if you could just speak to some of that. (PCCEC, 4/17/2017, p.29)

An editorial in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (2017) about the zero waste initiative in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* titled “It’s time to clean up the city,” struck a similar tone, noting: “We have the dubious distinction of being named by Forbes as one of America’s dirtiest cities.”

While much of the legislative activity around issues framed in terms of beautification occurred between 2014 and 2017, the framing strategy was hardly new. In the first ever hearing of the Council’s Committee on the Environment, for instance, Councilman Kenney (who would go onto to win the mayoral race in 2015) presided over a hearing regarding investigating the use of rubber sidewalks that would promote the growth of trees. Rather than emphasize the environmental benefits of trees, the issues was primarily framed by politicians and environmental groups as one of beautification. Sarah Corlett, the Policy Director from a local community development corporation, offered her perspective:

It is clear that trees are a valuable resource in our neighborhood, because not only do they provide shade and a sense of intimacy, they represent a community renaissance to individuals who have witnessed neighborhood economic decline for decades. (PCCEC, 05/02/07, p.34-35)

In my analysis of the websites of local tree-planting groups and environmental committees of civic associations that support the planting and tending of trees, beautification was the dominant frame for most webpages. The “about” page of local group Tree Philly makes no

mention of the environmental benefits of trees, focusing instead on beautifying neighborhoods: “Planted in sidewalks and other public rights-of-way, street trees beautify neighborhoods and bring communities together. Request yours today!” (Tree Philly, 2017). The local group Philly Tree People is similar in its framing with its succinct mission statement on its home and about pages: “Beautifying the neighborhood by bringing tree coverage to the streets of East Kensington, Kensington and Fishtown” (Philly Tree People, 2017). Indeed, “trees” emerged as an important place meaning in my interview with environmental stewards and organizers. When asked about things that characterize their neighborhoods, four of my interviewees spoke about tree coverage in their neighborhood and contrasted their tree canopies with the lack of tree coverage in the rest of the city. My interviews with executive directors and volunteers of litter cleanup groups also revealed a bias towards “beautification” frames over other types of frames. In my interviews with organizers from Ray of Hope, a small local litter cleanup group in Northeast Philadelphia, environmental issues relating to waste were hardly mentioned. Instead, the “beautification” frame was used as the problem was described in terms of neighborhood blight as a result of poverty and community neglect.

Many of the tree plantings, litter cleanups, and community gardening programs in Philadelphia are managed by civic associations that explicitly call themselves “beautification committees” rather than “environmental committees.” When asked whether the East Passyunk Crossing Civic Association’s Beautification Committee sees itself as an environmental group, the leader of the group responded:

I think the people that are *on* the committee and come to the meetings see it more environmental. I think people that maybe come to the general membership meetings or contact me for questions and stuff see it more as garbage cleanup and how to trim their trees or get rid of their trees (laughs).

This suggests that beautification may be an effective strategy for engaging larger constituencies in environmental stewardship activities.

Place-based sub-frame 4: Local Environmental Justice—“Local environmental policies improve living conditions for low income and minority residents”

Of the four place-based frames identified in the discourse in City Council transcripts, the least observed was the “local environmental justice” frame. This frame was primarily used by local environmental groups and Democratic City Councilmembers in reference to issues of local air quality, the affordability of energy prices, and the adverse effects of litter on property rates and crime. Regarding the latter issue, a representative of the Clean Air Council spoke passionately about his observations of the effects of litter in his community in a 2015 hearing on the state of Philadelphia’s environment:

Neighborhoods with high amounts of litter have high crime rates, low property values as we heard repeatedly today, less economic vitality. Businesses are hesitant to move into neighborhoods completely trashed with litter. They have got higher, let's say, higher rates of obesity and poor health. (PCCEC, 3/18/2015, p.205)

In a December 2009 hearing on an eventually successful bill that mandated that buildings constructed with public funds meet certain sustainable design standards, Councilman Kenney (D) reframed the issues as a matter of environmental justice and argued that the bill should be a first step towards expansion of green infrastructure to affordable housing developments. Until then, the hearing was largely dominated by a local economy frame which emphasized the potential savings the bill could afford to the city and its residents. Councilwoman Reynolds-Brown (D) and Councilman Jones Jr. (D) promptly concurred with Councilman Kenney. Councilman Jones Jr. expressed his frustration with the narrow scope of the bill: “but my position is this, that the most expensive thing in the City of Philadelphia is being poor. We pay more for everything. The people that need it most, which are people of low income, are going to be the last to have these

kinds of green applications” (PCCEC, 12/2/2009, p.24). Representatives of the Delaware River Green Building Council who had thus far employed the “local economy” and “local environmental risk” frames in their arguments responded to the framing of the councilmembers by re-framing the issue as one of justice:

As a non-profit in the area who has just recently adopted social equity as one of the pillars of our organization, we are absolutely here to stand as resources and partners...to try to build capacity in those areas...we very much also feel as strongly as Councilman Jones does, that we don't want the people who need these buildings the most to be the last ones to get them. (PCCEC, 12/2/2009, p.34)

“Local environmental justice” frames showed a marked increase in hearings in 2016 and 2017. From 2007 to 2015, 27 actors in City Council hearings and meetings used the frame compared to 22 actors who used the frame in just 2016 and 2017. In a hearing on a resolution to investigate the installment of solar panels on public school buildings, a representative of the Clean Air Council explained: “Philadelphia's resource-strained neighborhoods are often impacted the most from air pollution and weather extremes...but they could also reap the positive health effects of a city that focuses on using more clean sources of energy that displace dirtier fossil fuels” (PCCEC, 4/11/2016, p.71) Later in the hearing, a representative of the local Sustainable Business Network explained that expanded solar capacity could present an opportunity to “diversify the contractors” that operate in the city. In 2017, the Director of the Mayor’s Office of Sustainability explained the consequences of climate change in Philadelphia in a hearing on the state of the environment in the city:

“Most of those red neighborhoods, those hottest neighborhoods, are majority African American or Latino neighborhoods. So we want to focus on the disparities that again have helped to create this situation where we have neighborhoods that have such varying degrees of heat.” (PCCEC, 3/22/2017, p.13)

A representative of a local Quaker group, Serenity House, echoed these comments later in an appeal for policies on climate change mitigation and adaptation: “Here in Philadelphia we

already see the sick, the elderly, the poor among us faring worse through summer heat waves and winter cold blues” (p.180).

Global sub-frame 1: Global Environmental Change—““Environmental policies help to address large-scale environmental problems such as climate change, deforestation, and regional air-pollution which affect global health and safety”

The “global environmental change” frame was the more prevalent of the global frames. The frame was most used by national and regional groups (used by 42% of actors), lending support to the hypothesis that the scale of discursive frames should generally match the scale at which organizations operate. The frame was most often used to invoke the global impacts of climate change including increased average global temperatures, erratic weather, and rising sea levels. Nevertheless, the use of global environmental change frames was usually paired with more extensive rhetoric that was framed in terms of local environmental risks or impacts on the local economy.

In a 2017 hearing on the state of Philadelphia’s environment, Cheryl Pynch of national non-profit, Interfaith Power and Light, connected the decisions of city councilors to impacts of climate change in foreign countries: “This is our choice today, and our choice means life or death not only for the people of Philadelphia but for the people of Sudan and Bangladesh. Our choice means life and death, not only for those old enough to vote but for our children and our grandchildren” (PCCEC, 3/22/17, p.175). While most local groups at the hearing primarily used “local environmental risk” and “local economy” frames in their appeals, national and regional groups tended to use a mix of global and place-based frames. In one instance, a representative of the national group Clean Water Action even implored councilmembers and fellow activists to “think globally, act locally” and proceeded to articulate the connection between local initiatives

on clean water/energy use to global and national concerns such as climate change and the lead poisoning crisis in Flint, Michigan (PCCEC, 3/22/2017, p.75).

The “global environmental change” frame was also sometimes used in hearings regarding waste policies such as the legislation that would have banned the use of plastic bags in retail stores in 2009. At a hearing on that bill, Anne Misak of Clean Water Action argued that the ban would help address the issue of micro-plastics and plastic pollution in the earth’s oceans and made reference to a “growing plastic soup island in the Pacific” (PCCEC, 5/1/2009, p.47). Before commenting on the issue of plastics pollution, however, she used local framing when she identified herself as Philadelphia resident and a member of national group that does extensive work in the city. In a public meeting of the City Council a few months later, after the bill was defeated in a ten to six vote, Councilman DiCicco expressed frustration at his fellow councilmembers for locally framing the issue and omitting the broader global impacts of plastic consumption:

Thank you, Madam Chair. Not to belabor the point, but just to follow up on some of the comments by my colleague, Councilman Clarke. This isn't about people throwing paper or plastic bags in the street. It goes really beyond that. Plastic bags just never go away. We became, as a society, conditioned to believe that everything that is convenient for us is better somehow. But living in a throw-away society, I always wonder and ask the question, where is away? We live on a planet. Whatever we do affects this planet. Plastic bags, plastic bottles and all those convenience things that we've become accustomed to in the last 30, 40, 50 years are things that never go away. They remain there for thousands of years. So it's not just about somebody throwing a plastic bag into the street. It's about the impact on the environment. (PCC, 6/18/2009, p.175-176)

In a typical instance of pairing global and place-based frames, Saleem Chapman of the local non-profit group, Sustainable Business Network, articulated the benefits of installing solar panels on campuses of Philadelphia public schools with regards to global environmental change and the local economy in an Environmental Committee hearing in 2016: “this isn't just about making the planet healthier, which are all important goals, but there are actually practical

realities where you can provide a viable career pathway to individuals” (PCCEC, 4/11/16, p.110). This pairing of frames was also common among Democratic politicians. In a 2017 hearing on a resolution regarding a “zero waste” policy, Councilman Green opened the meeting by framing the bill as an attempt to “address the issues that impact our climate, impact our city and our state, and our country” (PCCEC, 4/7/17, p.3). The rest of his remarks, however, were framed in terms of the local economic impacts of reducing waste: “we don't spend enough time talking about [how] by having a zero waste or a net waste type of policy, [there are] economic benefits....jobs can be created throughout the City of Philadelphia” (p.101).

Global sub-frame 2: Global/National Economy—“Environmental policies can spur growth in industries that would contribute to a more robust national or global economy.”

The “global/national economy” frame was the least observed frame in the sample and was rarely the only used frame by a given actor. Eleven of the 16 actors that used the frame did so in reference to policies on energy use. Like the “local economy frame,” the “global/national economy frames” tended to emphasize the cost-cutting benefits of green technologies and the jobs that would be spurred by their adoption, but the appeals were framed with reference to the benefits to the national economy and industries that may reside outside of the City of Philadelphia.

In a 2011 hearing on a bill that created new incentives for the installation of solar arrays, Councilman Kenney stressed the local benefits of a solar industry while also highlighting the potential benefits that the development of a solar industry could have for farmers in the region who choose to apportion some of their land for solar array siting, saying, “it will benefit farmers of all kinds, both land farmers and dairy farmers and everyone else out there” (PCCEC, 10/26/2011, p.42). Later in the hearing, a representative of the statewide environmental non-profit, PennFuture, argued that the solar industry had potential to bolster the regional and

national economy, stating that “solar creates more jobs per megawatt than any type of electricity. The estimates are roughly 20 manufacturing jobs and 13 installation and maintenance jobs per megawatt” (PCCEC, 10/26/2011, p.49).

In a few instances, the “global/national economy frame” was also used to argue for policies relating to waste reduction. In the first hearing on the bills regarding plastic bags and polystyrene containers in 2007, Emily Linn, the program director of Clean Air Council, argued that a ban on plastic bags and containers would contribute to a “reduction in the nation’s overall reliance on foreign oil” (PCCEC, 10/24/2007, p. 227). Two years later, in a hearing on similar legislation, another representative from the Clean Air Council argued that plastic waste imposes undue costs on the national economy: “across the country, billions of taxpayer dollars are being spent on litter removal, sewer system repair, and landfill tipping fees as a result of these ‘free’ plastic bags” (PCCEC, 5/01/2009, p.41).

Chapter 5: Quantitative Findings

The first four sections of this chapter address research question one using statistical methods to compare mean framing scores of different actors that appeared in Philadelphia City Council meeting transcripts from 2007 to 2017. The final section addresses research question three through several statistical tests that compare the framing scores of testimonies on successful versus failed legislation.

Frame Usage by Type of Actor

Each of the three categories of actors, local non-profits, national/regional non-profits, and local politicians had significantly higher mean place-based framing scores than global framing scores (see Table 3), thus supporting hypothesis one. The mean global score for regional and national non-profits was significantly higher than the global scores of both local politicians and local groups, thus confirming hypothesis 3 ($p < 0.001$). Table 4 displays the results of the logistic regressions comparing sub-frame usage and actor type along with the relative abundance of each frame (expressed as a percentage of a given type of actor that used each frame). Local environmental groups were more likely to use the “local environmental risk” frame than other actors while policymakers were the least likely to use the frame. Although the results of the regression indicate the usage of the “global environmental change” was not significantly different across *all three* actor types, two separate t-tests comparing the national/regional groups to the other actor types revealed that the national/regional groups used the frame significantly more than both local groups ($p = 0.025$) and policymakers ($p = 0.003$).

Table 3. Mean Place-based and Global Framing Score by Type of Actor in City Council Transcripts, 2007-2017

	<i>Place-Based</i>	<i>Global</i>	<i>P value of difference (place-based minus global)</i>
<i>Local Groups</i>	2.22	0.86	p<0.0001 (t=7.37, df=98, SE=0.17)
<i>National/Regional Groups</i>	2.03	1.43	p=0.02 (t=2.38, df=62, SE=0.25)
<i>Local Policymakers</i>	2.05	0.76	p<0.0001 (t=6.82, df=82, SE=0.20)

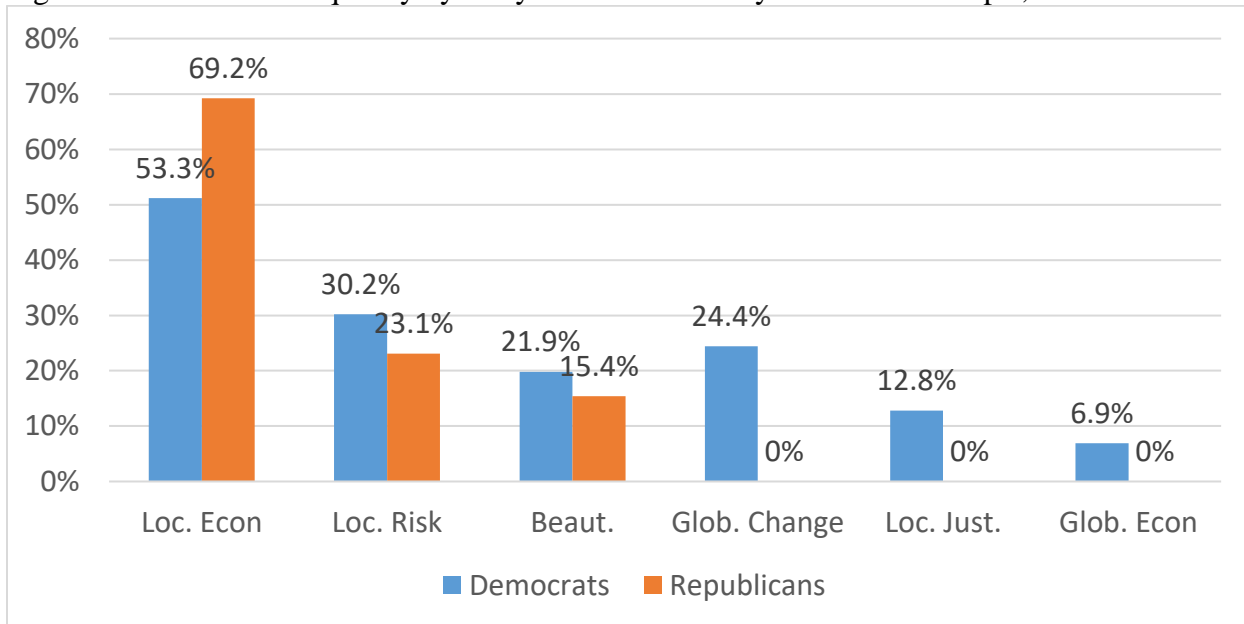
Table 4. Relative Sub-Frame Abundance across all Actors in City Council transcripts, 2007-2017

	Local Economy	Local Env. Risk	Beaut.	Local Env. Justice	Global Env. Change	Global Economy
	$\chi^2=0.94$ df=1 p=0.33	$\chi^2= 14.14,$ df=1 p<0.001	$\chi^2=0.0543$ df=1 p= 0.815	$\chi^2=12.91$ df=1 p<0.001	$\chi^2= 0.55,$ df=1, p=0.457	$\chi^2= 0.08$ df=1, p=0.774
Local Groups	45.8%	56.7%	18.1%	32.5%	25.3%	4.8%
Nat./Reg. Groups	61.9%	47.6%	14.3%	17.5%	42.9%	9.5%
Policymakers	53.5%	29.2%	19.2%	11.1%	21.2%	6.1%

Local Policymakers by Party Affiliation

To reveal additional patterns in frame usage among policymakers, a preliminary analysis was done by coding for political party affiliation and looking for patterns between Democrats and Republicans. Democrats had a mean place-based score of 1.9 compared to a mean place-based score of 2 for Republicans, a non-significant difference. The two groups did, however, have significantly different global scores—Democrats had a mean score of .88 compared to .15 for Republicans (p=0.012). Democrats were more likely than Republicans to use the “global environmental change” frame (p=0.045, see figure 2). The differences between uses of the remaining frames were not significant. The dominant frame across all politicians was the “local economy frame.”

Figure 2. Sub-Frame Frequency by Party Affiliation in City Council transcripts, 2007-2017



Successful vs. failed legislation

Of the 36 different pieces of legislation covered in my study period, 16 were resolutions that never led to proposals for bills, 15 were bills that eventually were passed by the city council and became law, and the remaining five were bills that were rejected by the council. To examine the correlation between framing scores and policy outcomes, a mean was calculated for each over-arching frame for all actors who gave testimony on a given bill. This produced a single mean place-based score, for instance, for each bill in my sample. Testimony on successful bills had a mean place-based score of 2.1 and a mean global score of 0.6 across all actors, yielding a place-based/global ratio of 3.5. Bills that failed had a mean place-based score of 2.2 and a mean global score of 1.4, which yielded a place-based/global ratio of 1.6. Although the higher place-based score for failed bills leads us to reject hypothesis two, the higher overall ratio of place-based to global framing for successful bills is noteworthy. The dominant sub-frame for both successful and failed policies was the “local economy” frame, which was used by 57.4% and 52% of actors, respectively.

A logistic regression of the relationship between the mean global framing scores of the testimonies on successful versus failed bills revealed a strong negative relationship between global framing scores and success of legislation ($p= 0.02, \chi^2 = 5.56, df=1$). A two-sample t-test revealed that the mean global scores of the successful bills (0.6) and the failed bills (1.4) were significantly different at the $p < 0.05$ level ($p=0.02, t=2.53, df=18, SE=0.30$). This suggests that global rhetoric does not promote the passage of local environmental policies; it also raises the possibility that global rhetoric may in fact be detrimental to persuading local policymakers to support environmental policies. The small sample size of 20 bills covering 101 actors, however, poses a limitation to the conclusions that can be drawn from this regression analysis.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Drawing on the notion that place-based frames may have a unique form of resonance in local environmental policy debates, this study examined how such frames are used by three important categories of actors in local politics: local politicians, local non-profit groups, and regional or national non-profit groups. The underlying logic of this investigation is that place-based identities are widely shared identities that societal actors seek to strategically appeal to in order to persuade and garner support for policy initiatives. The widespread use of place-based frames in the discourse on environmental politics in Philadelphia suggests that actors recognize the significance of place-based identities and the potential resonance of place-based frames. Place-based frames were used abundantly across all actors in the sample (the overall place-based/global ratio was 2.6) but were particularly prevalent in discussions on policies that ultimately were successfully passed (place-based/global ratio=3.5) compared to policies that failed (place-based/global ratio=1.6).

My quantitative and qualitative analyses lend support to my hypotheses that 1) place-based frames are more prevalent than global frames and 2) that national/regional advocacy groups use more global frames relative to local non-profit groups. Although my hypothesis that testimonies on ultimately successful legislation would have higher place-based framing scores was not confirmed, the data did show that global framing was much higher for failed legislation, suggesting that the ratio of place-based to global framing may be more important than either score in isolation. These findings have important implications for the way environmental activists, planners, and policymakers might go about framing their causes.

The literature on social identity tends to overlook the importance of place-based identities. Dominated by other identity constructs such as gender and race, place gets short shrift

in studies that try to connect social identities to the policy process. In cities with a range of diverse and even conflicting identities, attachment to place may be the only component of identity that everyone shares. Even entities with no connection or attachment to a particular place may seek to seize upon place-based rhetoric in order to appeal to relevant stakeholders. At the scale of a city, a place-based-identity may have a sufficient level of inclusivity so as to be resonant with local policy-makers. Insofar as this identity is strongly held, groups may be at an advantage if they use place-based rhetoric to make the identity salient. Activating this shared identity may foster a group dynamic whereby the city officials see the local advocacy group as in-group members with which they should cooperate. This may in turn impact decision-making with regards to environmental policies.

The literature on framing and social movements views actors as highly agentic and strategic with regards to the kind of rhetoric they employ (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Benford & Snow, 2000). From this perspective, place-based framing isn't just an expression of place-based identity or place attachment, but rather an intentional strategic decision on the part of actors to mobilize stakeholders and potential adherents to a political agenda. This phenomenon is perhaps best examined by highlighting the place-based framings used by representatives of national/regional groups in this study. These are actors that represent organizations whose missions pertain to large-scale or global environmental problems. This raises the possibility of a certain measure of disingenuousness in the place-based framing of national and regional groups as their connections to Philadelphia may be viewed as less authentic. Nevertheless, my data show that like local actors, national and regional actors also make abundant use of place-based frames. National/regional groups may seek to anticipate a perception of disingenuousness in their place-based framing by choosing to send representatives who live in Philadelphia to speak on their

behalf. My data contains some evidence of this—a representative of the national group Clean Water Action, for instance, clearly states in her testimony on plastic bags in 2009 that she is from Philadelphia and questions the place-based identity of industry representatives who were also in the room, asking “How many of them actually live in Philadelphia?” (PCCEC, 05/01/09, p.45). In another instance, in a hearing on the state of the environment in the city, a representative of the Clean Air Council identifies himself as a Philadelphian before questioning the motives of opponents to environmental policies, saying that council members should distrust entities “who don't live here, who don't care about our community like we do” (PCCEC, 4/17/17, p.170).

Actors may also seek to mimic the framing of more powerful actors so as to curry favor. Research shows that mimicking the language and behavior of others can drive cooperation. A wide array of laboratory studies of dyadic interactions have shown that participants whose facial expressions, emotions, language or behavior are mimicked have more positive evaluations of their confederates (Chartran & Dalton, 2009; Chartrand & Lakin, 2013; Van Baaren, Holland, Kawakami & Van Knippenberg). Mimicry can also aid in persuasion—several studies have found that participants who are mimicked by confederates find their confederates more persuasive and are more likely to adopt their viewpoints (Bourgeois, Sommer & Bruno, 2013; Jacob, Guéguen, Martin & Boulbry, 2011; Tanner and Chartrand, 2006; Van Swol & Drury, 2007). Social movement organizations may therefore seek to mimic the framing used by politicians as a way of appealing to them for policy change. By opening discussions using place-based framings, politicians may influence later arguments by other actors to also employ place-based framing. Many national and local environmental groups in my study began testimony on the legislation regarding fracking by using “global environmental change” frames, for instance, but quickly reframed their arguments after comments from politicians who used exclusively

place-based frames. The same process was observed in the hearings on energy monitoring, waste policies (described in more detail below), and the state of the environment in the city.

To complicate this process further, place-based frames may be more or less resonant depending on other characteristics of the speaker such as their credibility and power. Research shows that the power and credibility of a speaker influences the extent to which receivers find their arguments persuasive (Petty, 2018; Pompitakpan, 2004). This may, for instance, put politicians or representatives of larger, more resourced, national organizations at a relative advantage over representatives of smaller groups with regards to exercising control of the framing process.

The use of “beautification” frames in policy discussions around waste policies provides an interesting case-study into some of these framing processes. Whereas framing across the three actor types in testimonies on other types of legislation tended to vary (politicians and national/regional groups favored a “local economy” frame whereas local groups tended to use “local environmental risk” frame), the dominant frame used in testimonies on waste policies was “beautification” for all actor types. The “beautification frame” was used by 46.9% of actors that provided testimony on such bills. The “global environmental change” frame and the “local environmental risk” frame, by comparison, were only used by only 27.3% and 10.6% of actors, respectively. In a case of symmetry of framing among diverse actors, groups that otherwise mostly diverged in their framing were able to coalesce around the desire to beautify the city. To fully understand how the “beautification” frame rose to the fore, however, one must go beyond understanding the frame as an expression of place-based identity or concern for the city of Philadelphia. A closer look into dynamics regarding re-framing, mimicry, and discourse change

over time in the hearings on banning plastic bags can shed light on the power dynamics involved in the framing process.

In my analysis of the legislation concerning plastic bags, a clear pattern of reframing occurred from 2007 to 2015. In the hearing regarding the first iteration of the bill in 2007, the dominant frame used was “global environmental change,” used by 85.7% of actors, compared to 57.1% for the “beautification” frame. Many local and national environmental groups highlighted the global implications of human waste including the threat that plastic debris pose to marine life and the greenhouse gas emissions associated with the plastics industry. For politicians, in contrast, the most prevalent frame used was “beautification” (75%) as they expressed their exasperation with the amount of trash strewn in their districts. As the literature on mimicry and persuasion would suggest, local and national groups followed suit and framed the issues less as one of global environmental problems and instead as an issue beautification. As the policy discussion continued over time, “beautification” quickly became the dominant frame used across all actors, suggesting that politicians played an important role in using their power and credibility to re-frame the discussion. The relative usage of the “beautification” and “global environmental change” frames in the next series of hearings on plastic bags sheds light on this pattern.

After the 2007 plastic bag bill stalled in committee, it was amended and re-introduced in 2009. At the hearings on the new version, “beautification” was the most prevalent frame, used by 64.7% of actors compared to 29.4% for “global environmental change.” Although the bill was rejected by City Council, the “beautification” frame continued to be the dominant frame used in hearings on waste policies including legislation on composting and recycling. The issue of plastic bags per se did not re-emerge until 2015 when Councilwoman Reynolds-Brown (D) sponsored two bills that she claimed were expressly crafted to combat the “obscenity” of plastic

bags that littered the streets of the city. The bills added new requirements for the provision of public waste containers throughout the city. 83.3% of actors used the “beautification” frame in the testimony on these bills, compared to 0% for the “global environmental change frame.” The bills went on to pass Council with unanimous support.

The content of these new bills raises an important question of how framing can have substantive implications for the content of new environmental policies. Whereas the earlier bills designed to combat plastic bags aimed to reduce the use of plastic by banning or disincentivizing them, the 2015 legislation merely mandated that city government and businesses provide more containers for the disposal of litter. In essence, the bill was not about waste reduction at all, but instead about diverting waste from the streets into trash receptacles—it was about hiding waste, not reducing it. What began as a policy discussion framed in terms of global environmental problems regarding human waste cycles ultimately ended with a discourse framed in terms of beautifying the city. Rather than the environmental policy that environmental groups had originally sought, the dominance of the “beautification” frame ultimately produced a *beautification bill*.

This particular example sheds light on two important phenomena. First, it provides evidence of how powerful actors such as politicians exercise control over political discourse through the framing process. Second, it shows how the use of a place-based frame (“beautification”) can unite diverse actors and interests. Whereas the “global environmental change” frame ultimately failed to steer discourse and produce an environmentally-oriented bill, the place-based “beautification” frame was used widely by all actors and ultimately resulted in a bill that was approved unanimously (by both Democrats and Republicans) and received support from all environmental groups that attended the relevant hearings.

Framing environmental problems using place-based rhetoric may also offer a path to avoiding inherent tensions in frames that appeal to abstract cultural values such as fairness or equality. Many previous studies have explored the resonance of messages that appeal to values such as fairness, equality, justice and opportunity (Benford, 2013; Brewer & Gross 2005; Fuller & McCauley, 2016; Snow & Benford 1992). Researchers argue that these may serve as “master frames” because they are sufficiently flexible, resonant, and inclusive to be adopted by a wide range of social movements (Benford, 2013). For this to be true, however, these values would need to be widely held across different social groups and identities. This assumption is supported by many in the field of cultural psychology, a discipline for which the dominant conception of culture has long been to view culture as a shared value system at the societal level (Morris, 2014). Recent studies, however, have shown that values are highly varied at the country level (Fischer & Schwartz, 201; Morris & Leung, 2000; Oyserman, Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Schwartz, 2013; Weber & Morris, 2010). Research by Schwartz (2004, 2006) makes the case that much of this within-country variation can be explained by conflicting ideologies and allegiances to diverse and opposing institutions.

In light of these findings, place-based identities may serve as an important common ground for shared social identity among otherwise diverse actors with diverging values. Indeed, my study provides little evidence that “value frames” figured prominently into discourse on environmental policies. For instance, I initially coded for a frame I termed “global environmental justice,” which frames arguments in terms of how environmental policies could mitigate global environmental impacts such as greenhouse gas emissions or marine pollution and therefore help to attenuate global social inequities. This frame showed little evidence of guiding or figuring into discourse, however, as it was used by just 1.6% of actors; and so I excluded it from my analysis.

I did, however, find some evidence of justice framing in *place-based* terms. While it was not among the most prevalent frames, there was ample evidence of the “local environmental justice” frame’s presence in the discourse as it was used by 20% of actors overall. This suggests that framing values in place-based terms may be a more resonant framing approach than framing values in more global terms.

In addition to furthering an understanding of how place based-identities figure into the political process, studying the language of place may offer a new alternative to traditional methods for measuring place attachment and identity. In particular, many scholars have used survey-methods to develop psychometric evaluations of individuals’ attachment to geographically-based, socially-constructed places. For local actors, place-based framing may be viewed as an expression of this type of psychological attachment. Environmental policies often bear on issues of tangible change and development in a place. As Devine-Wright (2009) suggests, these developments could pose threats to emotional attachments and place-related identity processes. Viewed from this perspective, investigating the language of place in environmental policy discourses can serve to illuminate the presence and character of individuals’ place-based identities.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Place-based frames provide a window into how different societal actors use place-based identity as a resource in political communication. For policy-makers, activists and social movement organizations, the use of place-based framing may be an important strategy for influencing discourse and affecting policy outcomes. For scholars who are more interested in place-based identity as a psychological property of individuals, place-based framings can be viewed as expressions of place identification and attachment that may help provide a fuller picture of the role that place plays in shaping attitudes, beliefs, values and behavior.

While there is not perfect symmetry in the connection between place-based identity and place-based framing, this study represents an attempt to critically engage how connections to places manifest in the political process around environmental issues. Policy arguments have been examined for framing along many dimensions, but a central component of social life—where we live and how we relate to it—has thus far been largely overlooked. A major challenge for this line of inquiry is trying to merge the literature on place, which has largely been concerned with individual behavior and place attachment, with literatures that are more concerned with group behavior such as the bodies of work on social movements and framing processes.

To fully address this challenge, this study has several limitations that should be considered in future research. First, this study only considered three types of societal actors. Future work might consider other types of actors such as local business, national or multi-national corporations, and state and national politicians. Second, I relied heavily on transcripts of City Council hearings and meetings, but future studies should seek to more systematically incorporate additional data sources such as local newspapers and television news programs. Third, in a trade-off between depth and breadth, this study focused specifically on the city of

Philadelphia. Future studies should consider incorporating data from multiple places at different scales to see how place-frames vary by geography and demographics. Nevertheless, the results of this investigation are encouraging for scholars seeking to more firmly bring in the concept of place into the study of environmental politics.

Appendix 1. List of Non-profit Groups in Philadelphia

Group Type	Group Name
Local Advocacy	African American United Fund
Local Advocacy	City Parks Association
Local Advocacy	Energy Coordinating Agency Philadelphia
Local Advocacy	Food Policy Advisory Council
Local Advocacy	Germantown Friends Meeting
Local Advocacy	Grid
Local Advocacy	Green Justice Philly Coalition
Local Advocacy	GreenFest Philly
Local Advocacy	Nationalities Service Center
Local Advocacy	Neighbors Allied for the Best Riverfront
Local Advocacy	Philadelphia Climate Works
Local Advocacy	Philadelphia Food Policy Advisory Council
Local Advocacy	Philadelphia Green Condo/Coop Initiative
Local Advocacy	Philadelphia Physicians for Social Responsibility
Local Advocacy	PhillyCarShare
Local Advocacy	Policy Coordinator Philadelphia Association of CDC's
Local Advocacy	Protecting Our Waters
Local Advocacy	Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia
Local Advocacy	RecycleNOW Philadelphia
Local Advocacy	Soil Generation and Public interest law group
Local Advocacy	Sustainable Business Network
Local Advocacy	Eastwick Friends and Neighbors Coalition
Local Advocacy	Reclaim Philadelphia
Local Advocacy	Earth Quaker Action Team
Local Advocacy	Bicycle Club of Philadelphia
Local Advocacy	Bicycle Coalition
Local Advocacy	BikeSharre Philadelphia
Local Advocacy	Environmental Health Collaborative
Local Advocacy	Citizen's Climate Lobby Philadelphia
Local Advocacy	Community Landtrust
Local Stewardship	A Little Taste of Everything, Mill Creek Farm
Local Stewardship	Awbury Arboretum Association
Local Stewardship	Bel Arbor Tree Tenders

Local Stewardship	Bodine Street Community Garden
Local Stewardship	Campeños of Norris Square
Local Stewardship	Cedar Park Neighbors
Local Stewardship	Center in the Park Senior Environment Corps
Local Stewardship	Central High School Garden
Local Stewardship	Chestnut Hill; Historical Society
Local Stewardship	Chestnut Hill Community Association
Local Stewardship	Chew Playground
Local Stewardship	CityLights Network
Local Stewardship	Community Farm at Bartram's Garden
Local Stewardship	Community Garden at Germantown and Hilton
Local Stewardship	East Falls Community Council
Local Stewardship	East Falls Tree Tenders
Local Stewardship	East Park Revitalization Alliance
Local Stewardship	Fairmount Park Conservancy
Local Stewardship	Fairmount Tree Tenders
Local Stewardship	Frankford Garden Club
Local Stewardship	Friends of Beck Park
Local Stewardship	Friends of Campbell Square
Local Stewardship	Friends of Carpenter's Woods
Local Stewardship	Friends of Clark Park
Local Stewardship	Friends of Fishtown
Local Stewardship	Friends of Happy Hollow
Local Stewardship	Friends of Heinz Refuge at Tinicum
Local Stewardship	Friends of Louis I. Kahn Park
Local Stewardship	Friends of Ned Wolf Park
Local Stewardship	Friends of Overington Park
Local Stewardship	Friends of Rittenhouse Square
Local Stewardship	Friends of Schuylkill River Park
Local Stewardship	Friends of Taras Shevchenko Park
Local Stewardship	Friends of the Wissahickon
Local Stewardship	Friends of Vernon Park
Local Stewardship	Girard Estate Neighborhood Association
Local Stewardship	Greensgrow Farms
Local Stewardship	Guild House West

Local Stewardship	Heaven Softball League
Local Stewardship	Hicks Street Garden
Local Stewardship	Historic Fair Hill
Local Stewardship	Holly Street Garden Association
Local Stewardship	Holmesburg Civic Association
Local Stewardship	Ivy Ridge Green
Local Stewardship	John Bartram Association/Bartram's Garden
Local Stewardship	Julian Frances Abele Park
Local Stewardship	Keep Philadelphia Beautiful
Local Stewardship	Lawncrest Rec Center
Local Stewardship	Logan Square Neighborhood Association
Local Stewardship	Lower Moyamensing Civic Association
Local Stewardship	Marconi Area Residents Civic Organization
Local Stewardship	Master's Work Community Garden
Local Stewardship	Morris Park Restoration Association
Local Stewardship	Mt. Airy Greening Network
Local Stewardship	New Kensington Community Development Corporation
Local Stewardship	Nicetown Tioga Improvement Team
Local Stewardship	North Kensington Community Development Corporation
Local Stewardship	Northern Liberties Clean and Green
Local Stewardship	Northwest Wissachickon Conservancy
Local Stewardship	Oak Lane Tree Tenders
Local Stewardship	Old City Tree Tenders
Local Stewardship	Olde Kensington Neighborhood Association
Local Stewardship	Olney Tree Tenders
Local Stewardship	Overbrook Environmental Education Center
Local Stewardship	Overbrook Farms Club
Local Stewardship	Philabundance
Local Stewardship	Philadelphia Outward Bound School
Local Stewardship	PhillyEarth- Center for Environmental Education
Local Stewardship	Principal of Wissahickon Charter School
Local Stewardship	Reading Viaduct Project
Local Stewardship	Residents of Shawmont Valley Association
Local Stewardship	Roxborough Development Corporation
Local Stewardship	Roxborough Manayunk Wissihickon Tree Tenders

Local Stewardship	Saint Mark's Church
Local Stewardship	Saul Agricultural High School
Local Stewardship	Schuylkill Center for Environmental Education
Local Stewardship	Schuylkill River Development Corporation
Local Stewardship	Schuylkill River Park Community Garden
Local Stewardship	Seeger Park Advisory Council
Local Stewardship	Serenity House
Local Stewardship	Sisters of saint Joseph Earth Center
Local Stewardship	Society Hill Tree Tenders
Local Stewardship	South Kensington Community Partners
Local Stewardship	Spring Garden Tree Tenders
Local Stewardship	Spring Garden Civic Association
Local Stewardship	Susquehanna CleanUp/PickUp, Inc
Local Stewardship	Tacony Civic Association
Local Stewardship	Tacony Frankford Watershed Partnership
Local Stewardship	Taylor Tree Tenders
Local Stewardship	Temple University Environmental Design Students
Local Stewardship	The 3700 Garden Club
Local Stewardship	The Advocates for the West Fairhill Community
Local Stewardship	The Enterprise center
Local Stewardship	The Hansberry Garden & Nature Center
Local Stewardship	The Home Grown Institute
Local Stewardship	The Woodlands Community Garden
Local Stewardship	Tookany/Tacony-Frankford Watershed Partnership
Local Stewardship	Tree Northeast
Local Stewardship	TreePhilly
Local Stewardship	UC Green, Inc.
Local Stewardship	Univercity City District
Local Stewardship	John Heinz National Wildlife Refuge at Tinicum
Local Stewardship	VIADUCTgreene
Local Stewardship	Vietlead
Local Stewardship	W.B. Saul High School
Local Stewardship	West Mount Airy Neighbors Streetscapers
Local Stewardship	West Passyunk Neighbors Association
Local Stewardship	Widener Partnership Charter School

Local Stewardship	Woodland Presbeyerian Chrch
Local Stewardship	East Falls Community Council
Regional/National Advocacy	Community Action Association
Regional/National Advocacy	Delaware River City Corporation
Regional/National Advocacy	Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission
Regional/National Advocacy	PennEnvironment
Regional/National Advocacy	Pennsylvania Horticultural Society
Regional/National Advocacy	ActionPA
Regional/National Advocacy	American Cities Foundation
Regional/National Advocacy	American Lung Association
Regional/National Advocacy	Clean Air Council
Regional/National Advocacy	Clear Water Action
Regional/National Advocacy	Southeastern Penn. Sierra Club
Regional/National Advocacy	Delaware Riverkeeper Network
Regional/National Advocacy	Delaware Valley Green Building Council
Regional/National Advocacy	Environmental Legal Defense Fund
Regional/National Advocacy	Food and Water Watch
Regional/National Advocacy	Institute for Local Reliance
Regional/National Advocacy	League of Women Voters
Regional/National Advocacy	Mom's Clean Air Force
Regional/National Advocacy	PennEnvironment
Regional/National Advocacy	PennFuture
Regional/National Advocacy	Pennsylvania Interfaith Power and Light
Regional/National Advocacy	Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia
Regional/National Advocacy	Sierra Club
Regional/National Advocacy	350.org
Regional/National Advocacy	Audubon Pennsylvania
Regional/National Advocacy	American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees

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