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RESEARCH ARTICLE

EMOTIONS IN INTER-ACTION IN ENVIRONMENTAL RESISTANCES
The case of *Comité Salvabosque* in Mexico

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ABSTRACT: The article analyzes the role of emotions in the experience of a grassroots Mexican group, that is defending an urban forest threated by residential developments. The resistance of this group, started in 2005, is marked by significant place attachment, which has been nurtured and enhanced all along the struggle.
The aim of the article is to understand how place attachment is strengthened in urban contexts and why it is a core affective bond for defending the territory. Our hypothesis is that it is a dynamic and mobilizing bond, and its relevance resides in the emotions it generates, which in turn have different effects on the protest.
In order to confirm our hypothesis we have analyzed the emotional dimension of the resistances in defense of the forest, through in-depth interviews. The analysis will specifically focus on emotions that strengthen and go together with place attachment.

KEYWORDS: Environmental conflicts, emotions and protest, grassroots resistance, urban forest

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1. Introduction

In Mexico, there is currently an ecocide (Toledo 2015), which a section of the population is trying to resist within a repressive and dangerous context for environmental activists (CEDMA 2015, 2017). Indigenous or rural communities and urban citizen committees that fight against civil engineering projects that threaten their territories and life are "new social actors filled with the desire to live and are mobilized by the right *to be in the world faced with the heat death of the planet*" (Leff 2011, 35).

While the resistances of indigenous and rural communities are characterized by a strong connection to the territory and community organization (Martínez Alier 2004, Escobar 2010), the absence of such features in urban resistances creates greater difficulties. As one Comité Salvabosque (Save the Forest Committee – CS) activist pointed out:

> We live in an urbanized area, our neighborhood is an urban neighborhood, and that has been a challenge... defending the territory in an urban area has its complications, and it has had them because they have shown us that the city does not belong to us. It is as if living in the city involved us not having a territory, not having connections to anything, so I believe that one of the first things that enabled us to get organized was recognizing that the forest is our territory, it is part of our territory, and acknowledging ourselves as part of the territory. In other words, it means that the fight we have kept up for 10 years is not only to defend the forest but also to defend our own wholeness and dignity as human beings. (Poma and Gravante 2015, 104)

This statement suggests that the difficulties in defending territories in urban contexts are connected to a lack of place attachment – sense of place is often linked to indigenous, peasants, and community (Escobar 2010, Routledge and Simons 1995, Agnew 2014) – and that rebuilding that bond when it is weak or missing is important in the dynamics of collective action.

The existence of a relationship between place attachment and protecting the place, even if it is not always clear, has been demonstrated in several studies by social and environmental psychologists (Fedi and Mannarini 2008; Devine-Wright 2009, 2011, 2014; Carrus, Scopelliti, Fornara, Bonnes, and Bonaiuto 2014). In the field of social movements studies, Jasper (1997) demonstrates the mobilizing role of affective bonds to a place, and how this is related to feelings of security and threats. However, as Devine-Wright (2014) shows, many authors assume that this bond is static, and do not analyze how it is built or developed by the subjects, nor its relationship with other significant emotions in collective action.

To overcome this shortcoming, we have analyzed the emotional dimension of CS's experience, which is marked by significant place attachment, with the aim of understanding how place attachment is strengthened in urban contexts and why it is a core affective bond for defending the territory. Our hypothesis is that its relevance resides in the emotions it generates, which in turn have different effects on the protest.

In this article, we present the results of our analysis, which we believe can contribute to both the literature on emotions and protest, which has barely analyzed how the emotions relate to one another, and the role that place attachment plays in defending a territory.

2. Case study and data

El Nixticuil is an ancient native forest of holm oaks and pine trees located in the El Tigre II neighborhood, a marginalized, mixed urban area in the municipality of Zapopan, in the northeast of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (ZMG). Currently, with an area of 2,000 hectares, it is one of the last forests remaining on the outskirts of the city.

CS's struggle began on the night of May 18, 2005, when a group of women from the neighborhood, alerted by the lack of electricity and noise, left their houses and stopped the heavy machinery work ordered by the mayor of Zapopan at the time, who was developing a real estate project that in the end occupied four hectares of the forest and led to the felling of 300 oak trees. As Herrera (2012, 103) says, it was the "fortitude and decision" of these women, as well as their "example of dignity" that moved other people to defend the forest.

Although in 2007 the forest was declared a Protected Natural Area (ANP), thanks to CS's work, it is still threatened by the construction of residential developments and related infrastructures, built by private companies and authorized by the municipal government.

Over these twelve years, CS has had to face all kinds of difficulties to defend the forest: from constant harassment by the municipal police, which uses the excuse of security to bully and watch the people who oppose destruction of the forest; to threats from paramilitary figures who operate as private armed guards in the areas of the forest that have been besieged by developers (Hipólito and Herrera 2015).

Together with this "climate of fear" (Hipólito and Herrera 2015, 71), the members of CS denounce the state's strategy to weaken the fabric of communities by promoting the idea that building new developments will bring benefits (e.g. jobs, infrastructure)

to people in the neighborhood, criminalizing CS's actions within the community with the rhetoric that their resistance is hindering progress. Furthermore, as a response to defense of the forest, the municipal government has also acted with the aim of marginalizing the neighborhood, promising basic services in return for destruction of the forest. These strategies have been able to create tensions, division and confrontations that have translated into physical attacks within the community.

With this, we can contextualize the CS's experience defending the *Nixticuil* forest as a long-term activism that acts in an urban and repressive context (Poma and Gravante 2016).

The collective is now formed of some forty neighbors. The collective's actions involve preventing fires[1], and caring for trees and a reforestation plan with trees grown in their own self-managed nursery. Furthermore, they organize cultural and social activities, such as music workshops, which include the *Nixticuil Choir* project, the recording of a record called *Rap in resistance*; documentary workshops, in which they have produced both videos denouncing certain things and short films[2]; self-organized yoga courses; art and handicraft workshops; walks to get to know the territory; spaces for readings and summer courses for children in the forest; and kermesse to raise funds to finance activities. Like similar groups, CS also works on reporting all the infractions that are committed in the forest to both public opinion and in legal proceedings.

The analysis presented in this article is based on eight in-depth interviews that were designed to explore the emotional dimension of the struggle experience. The interviews were held with four men (I3, I4, I5 and I8) and four women (I1, I2, I6 and I7) from different generations. This sample is formed of the group's core members, who ensure constant presence in defense of the forest and form the self-organized fire brigade.

There are several family ties within the group: sisters (I1 and I7; I2 and I6), partners (I7 and I8; I1 and I3) and mother-son (I6 and I8); four of the eight interviewees (I2, I6, I7 and I8) live in the same house as a joint family. The presence of family groups within struggles to defend a territory is very common in Mexico and it generates family-like bonds with the remaining members, creating a "community family" (I8). As one interviewee said: "This is like my other family, well, it is more my family than my actual family. Because I feel like I have more bonds with them than I do with my own family." (I4) Even those who are blood relations explain that the resistance has strengthened their

[1] The self-organized fire brigade, which from 2005 to February 2016 managed to control 210 fires in the forest, is formed of volunteers and is the result of a self-training process. It also includes professional teams that have been achieved thanks to self-funding.

[2] In March 2016, they produced a short film lasting 4 minutes and 30 seconds called "War has reached us"; it was filmed and directed by people in the community.

relationships and has expanded the concept of family to include the group, as these excerpts show: "the Committee is family to me" (I1) and "a wider family with the other people in the group" (I8). As Zibechi puts it, "The role of family in these movements takes on new social relations that comprise four aspects: the public-private relationship, the new forms that the family takes, the creation of a domestic space that is neither public nor private but something that involves both, and the production and reproduction of life" (2010, 139).

The members come from different generations and educational backgrounds: I2 and I6 are the oldest and are retired schoolteachers; I8 and I7 are in their mid-thirties and are doctoral students; I1 and I3 are in their mid-twenties, and are workers; finally, I4 and I5 are in their early twenties and are undergraduate students. The branches of knowledge studied by the members of their group include biology, agriculture, and social sciences. In all cases, they were chosen because they brought something useful to the group.

I2, I6 and I8 were present from the beginning of the resistance process, but they were not born in the El Tigre II neighborhood, and had a broaden place attachment because their mother (I2, I6)/grandmother (I8), who emigrated to Guadalajara, came from the Mezcala indigenous community. The others joined the fight later: I7 just after May 2005; I1, I4, I5 in 2007; I3 in 2010.

As well as the interviews, which provided the biographical information analyzed in this article, the research process included: digital ethnography, contact and follow-up with the group from 2015 to the present date, informal visits during which we were able to observe the self-organized fire brigade in action, participation in recreational and political actions, discussion groups and two workshops with members of the group, and a workshop with other collectives (Poma and Gravante 2015). While the in-depth interviews allowed us to explore the emotional dimension, in the collective meetings we debated personal and political processes, such as the personal changes that long-term resistance causes, emotion management as a political tool, and strategic issues related to self-organization (Poma and Gravante 2015 and 2016).

3. The analysis of the emotional dimension of the struggle

Since the 1990s, the literature on emotions and protest has been getting stronger and has demonstrated not only the importance of emotions in collective action but the role that these emotions play in mobilizing, supporting or weakening collective action in its different stages: recruitment, solidification, and dismantling. However, as Flam

(2015) says, there is little debate between the different focus areas that form this field of study.

Based primarily on a cultural, constructivist focus[3] that considers emotions as socio-cultural constructs (Hochschild 1979, 1983), authors like Helena Flam and James Jasper have systematized emotions, showing their possible effects on collective action (Jasper 1997, 2006, 2011, 2014). They have distinguished between their scopes, categorizing them as longer or shorter term (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001, 11) or have laid bare the process of emotional liberation that makes it possible to transform cementing emotions, which underpin the relation of domination, into subversive, mobilizing emotions that bring about social change (Flam 2005, 2010). Thanks to these contributions, it has been possible to move past the view of emotions as a broad, homogenous category, showing that even the same emotion (e.g. anger or pain) may take different forms (e.g. reflex or moral) and effects (e.g. mobilizing or weakening) on protest. Moreover, their forms and effects change according to the duration of the experience (short or long-term activism) and its context (democratic or repressive).

Regarding the emphasis on the strategic and intentional use of emotions (Reger, 2004, Juris 2008, Routledge 2012), we agree with Gould (2009), who shows how the handling of emotions can be strategic and intentional when the group discusses how to make use of these tool for the organization's goals, for example, the use of anger for ACT UP or CIRCA's strategy to transform fear through laughter, play, and ridicule. However, as Gould (2009) demonstrates, most of the time emotion work is neither strategic nor premeditated, but rather part of the groups' everyday experiences. Similarly, we agree with Goodwin and Pfaff (2001), who analyze the management of fear in two high-risk groups, when they warn that managing emotions can be an unexpected result of social interactions.

The complexity that the emotional dimension brings with it therefore requires an analysis to explain the conditions in which emotions emerge, thrive or are threatened (Flam, 2015), and the effects that they can cause in such conditions. Furthermore, another aspect that has hardly been analyzed is how the different emotions interact and feed into one another.

In the research we are carrying out with CS, we began by analyzing the most significant emotions in the collective's experience, comparing our results with those found in the literature. A first task was showing how the different emotions have an influence on mobilization, sustaining the activism, strengthening its collective identity, and guid-

[3] This sociological approach considers emotions to be culturally constructed (see Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001, Jasper 1998) and not structurally determined (see Kemper 2001 for a review of the sociological structural approach to emotions).

ing its self-organization strategies (Poma and Gravante 2016). Based on this initial analysis, we have systematized the information gathered, showing the different emotions that emerge in the interviews, whom they are directed towards or what causes them, and their role in the resistance.

These results, summarized in Table 1, show the richness of the emotional dimension of a resistance experience, which can be further enriched if we analyze the interaction between the different emotions.

What we will now analyze is how some of these emotions interact among each other, and in particular we will show which emotions reinforce, undermine and go together with place attachment.

The decision to focus on place attachment is due to an interest in showing why it is key to CS's experience, with the aim of corroborating our hypothesis that its relevance resides in the emotions it generates, which, as shown in Table 1, have different effects on the protest.

4. Place attachment as a dynamic and mobilizing bond

Place attachment is the affective bond between people and places (Low and Altman 1992), and its relevance in the study of struggles to defend a territory can be found in its ability to mobilize (Jasper 1997; Devine-Wright 2009, 2014).

Although place was devalued in social sciences because Marxist political economics and liberal capitalism reduced it to a commodity (Agnew 2014), place "has a continuing relevance for understanding the workings of modern, capitalist society" (Agnew 2014, 25) and "continues to be not only a crucial dimension in the shaping of local and regional contexts, but also in connecting hegemonies and resisting them" (Escobar 2010, 47).

Although the issue of territory is relatively new in Latin American critical and emancipatory thought (it is some twenty years old), it has already shown that territory and social conflict are not separate issues, in fact "new urban territorialities are born [of conflicts] that through collective action tend to dissolve the urban-rural sociological dichotomy" (Zibechi 2010, 90).

This "*other*" territoriality is reflected in "spaces where ways of being and living in the world are put at risk. The environment becomes the place where subjectivities and social actors are formed that transform the socio-spatial relations of culture and nature" (Leff 2004, 456).

Although modernity is characterized by a "sense of atopia" (Escobar 2001), which stems from high mobility and a functionalistic relationship with place (Giuliani 2004), "place continues to be important in the lives of many people," as Escobar puts it (2001, 140).

As demonstrated by Devine-Wright, "individuals holding strong attachments to a place affected by proposal for change would be more likely to attend to and respond to such changes" (2014, 171).

Moreover, Jasper (1997) shows that feelings toward places can trigger a sense of threat. The development of the threat is key to understanding collective action to defend a territory because attachment, which is normally unconscious, emerges when a disruption occurs, in other words, when the subjects feel threatened by changes that their territory may undergo.

The emergence of attachment generates other emotions since, as Hidalgo states, place attachment "involves a feeling of security connected to proximity and contact, and losing that produces fear and distress" (Hidalgo 1998, 53). Jasper also connects the threat to security and the subjects' reaction against environmental changes, stating that "humans will act, when possible, to prevent changes in the environment that could remove this ontological security. This is the reason they are especially opposed to involuntary, uncontrollable, or unknown risks" (1997, 123).

Analyzing CS's experience, which is now marked by significant place attachment, we will show how its relevance and development depend on interaction with many varied emotions.

An analysis of the interviews substantiates Devine-Wright's (2014) hypothesis that place attachment is not a static affective bond, but rather a dynamic one. In other words, it can change over time and changes in it, as the author shows, are related to changes that the place undergoes. In CS's case, the threats the place faces have strengthened the bond with the territory. As one interviewee mentions:

> At the beginning, we used to come and enjoy the forest as it was, *before the problems began*. We had a different kind of relationship with the forest for three years. For example, I remember us coming here to go for a walk in the forest, to chat, but walking in the forest didn't feel like it does now. Because *at the time it didn't feel like it was mine.* I saw it as something precious, a wonderful place, but the feeling I had walking around the forest wasn't the same as it is now. I7

The words "before the problems began (...) it didn't feel like it was mine" reflect the change in her relationship with the forest. The process of (re)appropriation and attachment to the forest was fed by the activities such as community work to keep the

forest clean and healthy, reforestation efforts, caring for trees and planting trees grown in their own self-managed nursery, and the work of the self-organized fire brigade, which help create a link between people and the forest, as these words show:

> I have more love for nature, because before I didn't go to the forest, and now I go to the forest, I go to water a tree and I go to find out whether that tree is growing, and in a few years I am going to see it when it's grown and I'm going to say: 'Look at that tree we planted'. I5

The dynamic nature of place attachment, which, as Devine-Wright (2014) points out, has barely been addressed in the literature, has in CS's case made it stronger rather than weaker. The interviews show that the resistance makes the bond with the forest stronger because it allows them to better understand its vulnerabilities, needs, wealth and value.

What we will show in the next two sections is that CS's activities generate different emotions, which in turn strengthen place attachment, and place attachment itself generates other emotions that help us comprehend its relevance in the resistance.

5. Emotions that strengthen place attachment

One initial result from our analysis is that we have not detected emotions that weaken place attachment (see Table 2, column 2) among members of the group. On the contrary: many emotions emerge that make it stronger, such as: reciprocal emotions, the pleasure of being in the forest, empathy, love of nature, nostalgia, hope, pride in living close to the forest, safety and confidence being in the forest, happiness, fulfillment and the serenity that the forest provides (see Table 2, column 1).

Reciprocal emotions among the members of the collective strengthen their bond with the territory because one of the initial motivations for defending the forest, for some of them, was the involvement of a loved one. For I7, one of the initial motivations for defending the forest was her love for her partner (I8) and her hopes for them to have a life together since, as she has said to him since the beginning, she would defend the forest "because this is your neighborhood and will probably be mine" (I7). I3 also approached the group because his partner was involved in defending the forest, while I4 and I5, other residents in the neighborhood, became involved while still children because of their friends' participation.

Reciprocal emotions also strengthen the bond to the territory because they feed the subjects' commitment to defending the forest. None of the people interviewed claims that they could abandon the struggle to defend the forest, firstly because that would mean the forest would disappear: "I have to do more for the forest because otherwise there soon won't be one" (I4). Secondly, because that would mean disappointing and hurting the others.

These affective bonds that strengthen place attachment are not strategically generated with this purpose, although they are encouraged in order to strengthen the group. Actions such as parties, for example, are important because "it's part of how the community is recreated, how community bonds are recreated in everyday life" (I8), and they learned it observing and participating in other groups' activities.

But furthermore, many other experiences that the CS members have shared over these years, including small victories, repression and fires, also strengthen such bonds (Poma and Gravante 2016).

As well as reciprocal emotions, the bond with the forest is made stronger by emotions that are felt when defending and being in the forest.

The cleaning, fire control, reforestation and forest maintenance actions create emotions like hope and satisfaction when they see trees growing that, in turn, strengthen the bond with the territory, as the words of this young man show:

> We feel proud about everything we did … planting a tree, and now it's 10 years old and it keeps growing little by little. You see it and [can say]… 'Look, what we are doing is bearing fruit'. I5

Another emotion that strengthens place attachment is the pride of living near the forest and being able to enjoy its benefits, by defending it:

> Yes, fear drives me, yes, anger moves me, but love, joy, and a whole load of nice things we do in the forest drive me too. I sometimes wonder: How many people in the city have seen the animals on the hill? None. Because we are resisting here and we have the right to see it. That's where pride comes in, to put it one way. I7

Along with pride, hope and satisfaction, the pleasure of doing things to defend the forest, a feeling close to the pleasure of protest described by Jasper (1997), feed into place attachment, as this statement shows:

> I was very grateful to do some kermesses to inform people, to organize ourselves to see who would take water, and so on. And I think that all of us who were there at the time were captivated. I think that's how I began to fall in love with the forest. I1

It is important to make it clear that these actions are not organized in order to generate these emotions but rather to take care of the forest. Emotions like hope, satisfaction, pride, and pleasure related to the activities or proximity to the forest are unintentional outcomes of caring for the forest that strengthen place attachment.

If loving the forest may be the result of actions and experiences that go along with the struggle, it is also a consequence of awareness about the value that the forest and the trees have. An appreciation and love of nature – expressed by interviewee with expressions like: "that little tree gives me oxygen and life. If there were no trees, we wouldn't be here" (I5) and "every tree is like another person that lives, breathes and feeds itself. And it benefits all of us" (I4) – strengthen place attachment because they make it possible to reassess something that is close by. The forest's trees have taken on an additional value thanks to what people have learned in the struggle and the interviewees' empathy.

As Flam (2000) and Ruiz Junco (2013) highlight, there have been few research projects that analyze how empathy (or lack thereof) relates to mobilization (or demobilization) processes and what the effects are when empathy is interwoven with other emotions. We find studies in the literature that show how empathy is an important component in forming collective identity as it allows activists to overcome prejudices towards other actors (Erickson Nepstad and Smith 2001). Others further its mobilizing ability among people who share the same emotions, such as feelings of injustice, compassion, pain or anger (Dunn 2004; Cadena-Roa 2002; Groves 1997; Bonds 2009). Della Porta and Giugni (2013) list empathy as one of the emotions through which solidarity is built and internal disputes are resolved.

In CS's experience, feeling and sharing the same pain and anger regarding a felling or a fire not only drives action but brings people together, unifies the group and feeds collective identity (Poma and Gravante 2016), and also makes the subjects "feel like part of the forest":

> This is the feeling that everyone has expressed somehow when the building contractors, the corporations are cutting down trees. It feels like a direct attack on us, violence against us, because at some level it is, because we are part of the forest. I8

The strength of this bond with the forest lies in its being shared with the others, to the point where a lack of empathy towards emotions like fear of losing the forest produces intra-group conflicts, as we will show later on.

Other emotions that strengthen the bond with the forest are security and trust when moving around the forest, which members of the collective have been building over the years. These emotions are the consequence of subjects' empowerment, since they have had to overcome barriers such as fear of dealing with a fire, as this extract shows: "At the start, yes, you do feel afraid (...) but later we did some courses on how to put out fires and on different types of fires". I4

The existence of the self-organized fire brigade is one of the clearest achievements since in ten years, CS used self-organization and self-funding to create a well-equipped and trained group that intervenes before and together with the council's fire brigades, keeping the forest from being destroyed. Furthermore, other smaller achievements are related to overcoming emotions that can weaken place attachment, such as disgust about doing certain tasks in the forest. As this young man point out:

> At the beginning, it was very difficult to take the smell of manure, but you get used to it because you know you're helping the trees, and you start bringing more love into things. I5

This last excerpt reflects the changes that this young man has undergone over the years of the struggle. The words "at the beginning" show a before and an after in the subject's experience. CS's members have been developing their relationship with the forest and have made it into something greater than a natural space, they have made it into part of themselves and a source of happiness and serenity that must be cared for and defended, as one interviewee said:

> My territory, my neighborhood, is somewhere I feel fulfilled. I feel fulfilled when I'm in the forest. For me, the forest is this, it's a gift that must be enjoyed but we must also know how to care for it because it is a gift threatened by interests. When you receive a very valuable gift you are also given the responsibility of looking after it. (...) Defending the forest means defending my happiness, they are one and the same. I7

This first part of the analysis highlights that place attachment is a dynamic bond that is reinforced by the everyday activities that CS's members do in order to defend and care for the forest, which generates different emotions. Another result from our analysis is that these emotions are not the result of a conscious effort to evoke or generate them but are outcomes of defending the forest. Although we have been able to observe strategies that make it possible to manage certain emotions, such as parties, the

strategies had been spontaneous until this point. Based on the interviews, the members of the group acknowledge the need to dedicate more attention to the emotional dimension, organizing moments of group reflection. Regarding this, one interviewee says: "as a collective, learning [to share emotions] is something that is barely being done. After ten years of organization we realized that individual feelings also count." I8

We started this section with the statement by a woman who explains that her relationship with the forest has changed over the years to show how place attachment has got stronger for all members of the group thanks to the roles of different emotions, motivating them to fight to defend the forest. But place attachment also generates other emotions, which will be examined in the following section, that have other impacts on resistance.

6. Emotions that go together with place attachment

Feeling part of the forest, the result of a process that most CS members went through because of the struggle, means that any threat to the forest generates strong emotions, some of which feed commitment, and others may lead to burnout, such as: indignation, anger and outrage caused by an attack on the forest; the pain of seeing the forest disappear; disgust and anger towards those who befoul or pollute the forest; anger towards those who are on the enemies' side; hatred and anger towards enemies; resentment towards members of the community who do not defend the forest; fear of losing the forest (see Table 2, column 3).

Moral emotions

We begin by demonstrating the role of moral emotions, which are "feelings of approval or disapproval based on moral intuitions or principles" (Jasper 2011, 287). The feeling of outrage and indignation about how the municipal government wished to cover up the first felling in 2005 by not warning the neighbors and cutting off the neighborhood's electricity "created a great deal of anger which made a lot of people take part, even if we had serious, big differences" (I8).

These emotions, once they were shared, served to mobilize, as one of the interviewees who got involved in the following days told us: "what got me involved was the anger felt by the women who were there at that moment and stopped the machines" (I7).

By analyzing how these emotions are tied to place attachment it appears that the indignation felt when seeing the felled trees is also fed by a feeling of injustice related

to the fact that the forest that the interviewees love does not receive as much attention in public opinion as other forests in the metropolitan area:

> When this happened [when the struggle began] and I really got to know the forest, it was impossible not to become emotionally involved. Because people were always talking about Primavera [forest] and it was the forest that got the most attention here in Guadalajara. The other little pieces that were part of that forest are forgotten, which is what happens with the El Nixticuil forest. I1

The indignation they feel when the forest they are defending is considered to be second class reinforces the pain and powerlessness of seeing the felled trees because they feel that the value they assign to the trees is not shared outside the collective.

That lack of empathy, as we will see, shapes the relationships with other people involved in the struggle, is made worse by the intensity of the pain that CS members feel when they see trees destroyed by flames, which they attribute to their enemies, or when they see the trees disappear because of residential developments. That intensity is connected to their attachment to the forest, because it is the affective bond that they form with the forest that explains "the value that is given to the trees" (I4). If, as we have already shown, seeing the trees grow provides hope, their destruction generates profound pain and despair which, in turn, generates powerlessness (as we will see at the end of the analysis).

To avoid powerlessness becoming resignation, CS members learned to live with pain and make it into a driving force of the struggle because, as one interviewee said to us: "there's a lot of pain you have to go through, but if you get through it as a group, it's worth it, it's really worth it" (I7). In order to face this pain both individually and as a group, they organize parties or collective activities such as the music workshop in order to cheer them up: "Music, my guitar, singing, the music workshop with kids are things that free me. That's the best therapy for me" (I7). These emotion management strategies emerged spontaneously within the group, as a result of their own life experience, or the experiences of other collectives with which they have contact. CS's experience shows that the pain generated by threats facing the forest have the ability to mobilize when it is allied with hope of being able to avoid the forest disappearing and the happiness provided by socializing with the group.

The literature has also shown the role of pain and grief in generating empathy and the development of collective identity (Benski 2005, 2011; Whittier 2001; Dunn 2004; Bayard de Volo 2006; Schirmer 1993). In CS, the pain generated by destruction of the forest is a shared emotion that brings the members of the group together and feeds

the hostility towards other actors, from enemies to neighbors who do not get involved in the struggle.

Affective commitments or loyalties

Above, we showed how reciprocal emotions strengthen place attachment, and now we will see how emotions towards other actors are connected to it. These emotions are what Jasper defines as "affective commitments or loyalties", that is, "relatively stable feelings, positive or negative, about others or about objects, such as love and hate, liking and disliking, trust or mistrust, respect or contempt" (2011, 287).

Towards those who destroy the forest, whether they are people who work for the construction companies, the business owners or the politicians that grant the licenses, the interviewees have developed subversive counter-emotions (Flam 2005), such as hatred, anger and contempt. In this case, we can say that love towards the forest generates hatred towards those who destroy it.

Hatred of enemies is freely expressed within the group, who do not consider it a negative feeling, and channeled into physical activities to reduce it, since publicly expressing hatred and anger, which could lead to violence being used, is considered harmful and dangerous for CS members (Poma and Gravante 2016). Channeling these emotions into work in the forest, which provides hope and satisfaction, or into workshops and collective activities that create joy and bring participants together, is another spontaneous strategy of emotion management which helps control confrontation levels.

The most complicated relationship that generates place attachment is with the neighbors in the neighborhood (see Table 3) who, despite sharing the space, do not get involved in defending it or, for several reasons, have given up the fight. What feeds the distance between these actors and CS members is a lack of empathy:

> They don't really understand what we do. They do understand that the forest is beautiful and provides oxygen, but they don't go any further. They don't understand what we go through. I4

Not sharing place attachment and the commitment to the forest with the people who share the territory creates other emotions, including: disappointment, resentment, anger due to the lack of participation, a feeling of guilt and frustration at not being able to involve new people, anger about being divided, resignation, powerlessness. As one interviewee commented: "They came to live here for the forest, not for any-

thing else, because of the value that the forest has and the fact they don't support or help us is irritating." I5

That anger, together with the resentment and disappointment that CS members feel towards people in the community who do not get involved or have given up the struggle, makes the group close on itself "as a form of self-defense" (I8).

The pain produced by some members' departure, by fear of repression, by threats, by interests or by burnout and personal conflicts creates a fear of opening up within the collective because, as the same interviewee said, face-to-face conflict "is tiring and hurtful because you expect something else" (I8). And that creates frustration and a feeling of guilt because, in the words of another interviewee: "that's when you say 'what is it? What's going on? What are we doing wrong? Why are people leaving?'" (I5).

On the collective's tenth anniversary (May 2015), the relationship with neighbors was the subject of some internal reflection. CS members agreed that they would need to be more patient and tolerant, but the emotions mentioned above, which are the result of more than ten years of fighting, do not make their work easier.

To conclude, we have been able to observe that the range of emotions felt towards the different types of actors involved in the resistance form the group's emotional culture, using a concept already proposed by Taylor (1996) and Taylor and Rupp (2002). Loving the forest or hating those who destroy it, to cite just two examples, are emotions shared by members of the collective and shape their identity. Fear of losing the forest, which we will analyze later, is another emotion that is part of the group's emotional culture, so much so that downplaying this fear may cause intra-group conflicts.

Fear of losing the forest

Another emotional challenge facing the collective is overcoming fear of losing the forest. That fear, like pain, is connected with the love the CS members have for the forest and their hopes of being able to save it, and it can mobilize people since, as one interviewee told us:

> the fear that one day there will be no more trees there pushes me to action and makes me think about what I can do. I think that a lot of that fear can be an important driving force (I7).

CS's members do not try to strategically evoke this fear in other people, but they expect others feel it, and when that does not happen, tensions and alienation emerge. In the interviews, it became clear that there had been a breaking point in the group when one member who had joined CS a short time before expressed his pessimism concerning the forest's future, as his partner says:

> In one of the meetings, he dared to say 'the reality is that one day the forest isn't going to be there.' Everyone said 'shut up, you can't say that here'. We all felt very hurt (...) the truth is that we were terrified of saying 'and when the forest is gone, what are we going to do?' in a meeting. No, you couldn't say that, we almost ignored it, we banned it. I1

These tensions continue to face dialog and reflection within the group today, although with different results. One interviewee commented to us that:

> This debate always happens with new people. We have to realize that they're going to destroy the forest whatever we do because they have the power, and we are small. There have been conflicts a couple of times here, and that has caused a lot of tension within the group that has not been resolved. At least I haven't resolved it. I8

That fear is so difficult to handle because it generates powerlessness and pain, not just because it involves the idea of the forest disappearing, but also the idea of the end of the struggle. As one interviewee tells us:

> If after all our efforts, they manage to fuck us over, that would cut right to the bone. I mean... trying to think... What if the struggle ends? What next? Will there be something else or will everyone just go home? I don't think so, I really don't. I7

That fear is driven by the strong place attachment and the emotional toll that the end of a struggle brings with it, which the literature on social movements helps us understand. Gould (2009), for example, shows how the disbanding of ACT UP caused its activists to feel emotions like: depression, bitterness, sadness, and a feeling of loss, emptiness and uncertainty about ending a struggle experience that had filled their lives. That is joined by a feeling of futility and lack of meaning, because the movement made people feel socially useful and provides goals that must be rebuilt when the experience ended.

Adams (2003) who, unlike Gould (2009), analyzes a movement that ended up achieving its aim, shows how initial enthusiasm about the end of the Pinochet dictatorship ended in bitterness and disappointment. In this case, the disappointment was due to the expectations of those involved about the new regime, which were not met. As in Gould's (2009), Adams (2003) shows that, despite their victory, losing a common enemy and goal created disengagement, a feeling of futility and emptiness. Furthermore, the women who went back to being housewives felt abandoned because they lost the intimacy and fellowship that had been formed during the movement's experience.

These examples help us explain why fear of losing the forest is so key to CS's experience. That fear is so difficult to handle because it generates insecurity, anxiety and powerlessness when thinking not only that the forest may disappear but that the collective may also fade away. For that reason, the group has tried to face up to this fear, placing the struggle at the center of their attentions and not just the forest's survival: "Sometimes we start to wonder what will happen when the trees are no longer there, since we will have to carry on in any case." I5

While facing up to fear of losing the forest is a challenge for the group, we end the analysis with another emotion that has emerged several times and can weaken resistance: powerlessness.

Powerlessness

This emotion is connected to place attachment because it is felt when seeing felled trees and the fear of not being able to save the forest. But it is also felt about being powerless against the powerful (Poma and Gravante 2016) and about not being able to increase the number of people in the group (see Table 1), as we saw when describing the difficult relationships with the members of the group who are not involved.

Powerlessness can lead to burnout if it is joined by resignation, but it also strengthens collective identity of the powerless against the powerful, as we show in Poma and Gravante (2016).

Powerless is also fed by fear of repression, i.e. the fear that "at any moment, they can come and do something against you or your family" (I5).

The relationship between fear of repression and powerlessness feeds subversive counter-emotions towards the opponents who repress them, which in turn are reinforced by the indignation and outrage felt when being repressed but not considering oneself a criminal, as this extract demonstrates: "That's where fear comes in, you never know when they're coming to get you (...) That's like terror, right? Knowing that they're so... I'm not a thief, I'm not anything." I5

Finally, powerlessness also causes disaffection from the system, which does not provide effective alternatives to be able to defend the forest. As one interviewee told us:

> It made me sick, I felt... sick, frustrated, I didn't want to get more signatures, or go to lawyers who don't do anything. [I felt] Powerless of not being able to do anything, not being able to get there and say to them 'Stop now. You've already destroyed the forest enough. I4

CS's experience shows that although all the members tell us that they have often felt powerless, they learned to live with that and move forward, and that is thanks to the self-organization and emotions generated in the resistance, such as reciprocal emo-

tions towards the group's members; the feeling of being empowered; pride and satisfaction; hope; solidarity; joy, happiness and serenity being in the forest; and place attachment (see Table 4, column 2).

As we have already shown, organizing parties, workshops, activities in and for the forest become spontaneous strategies to avoid being overcome by despair. Speaking with one of the interviewees who became depressed, she explained that they try not to express these moods openly to protect the collective, since the spread of anxiety, grief, pain, hopelessness, despair can bring down the group's mood. They avoid this by doing things, as she explains:

> The only one who knew about my depression was [I8]. But showing it in front of the others...no, but you could tell. During the days after the felling, we had to keep going there to take photos. The tension, anger, sadness...you could see it in our faces. But I think we were all thinking 'what are we going to do?' As a group, I feel like we should encourage those moments. You don't put it into words, you don't talk about it openly, we're all pissed off and start working. So I think we get over it by working, by doing something. At times of tension like that, when we do something, we all relax without talking about it. I7

Although these emotions are handled individually, CS members empathize with each other and they have learned that participating and organizing collective activities that generate hope are a way to overcome powerlessness, since, as one interviewee said: "if you have hope, you've already done a lot, because that's what gives you strength to carry on." I6

Hope, as we have already shown, is felt when seeing the trees they planted grow, but also when they feel pride about the group's achievements, as these statements demonstrate:

> Now we have ourselves produced around three thousand trees and to do that we had to spoil thousands and thousands of seeds, but you feel proud about that, you feel the excitement of being in the middle of it. Not money, but perseverance and my friends and nothing more. That's something that also keeps me going. It's one of the things that I like the most about the struggle. I7

To conclude, place attachment is a key bond in environmental conflicts because it generates many emotions that play key roles in the resistance. Some of these emotions have to be managed, and even if the strategies to manage them are spontaneous and used within the collective, they are a central part of the resistance experience.

7. Conclusions

The results of our research help show the complexity of the emotional dimension of defending a territory and the usefulness of systematizing and analyzing the relationship between emotions.

To start with, we would like to emphasize that the emotions that emerged in the interviews, as the interviewees told us, are felt and shared by them, often tacitly, but are not discussed collectively. When we asked what they felt towards the forest, even the least shy showed their surprise because no one had asked them and they had never openly expressed it.

This shows how the emotional dimension is still considered an individual, intimate dimension. Although the members of CS have developed strategies for dealing with certain moods and emotions during their long struggle, they have not carried out conscious, collective work to strategically evoke or generate certain emotions.

Throughout the analysis we have demonstrated that parties have the ability to create community or overcome pain and that the music workshop is therapeutic, as is the work in the nursery or the forest, because they produce hope, pride and satisfaction. When discussing these research results with the members of CS, they showed interest in better understanding the role of emotions and came to the conclusion that they need to pay more attention to the emotional dimension of their struggle, which until now had been relegated to each person's individual experience. In fact, when marking their tenth anniversary, they also wished to incorporate their emotions in their reflections and, as they told us in 2016, they kept trying to pay attention to it.

Focusing on the research question of this paper, the analysis of the emotional dimension of CS's experience helps show how place attachment can be strengthened and why it is a central tie in the defense of a territory and strategies for boosting it.

First, we showed that place attachment is a dynamic bond, reinforced by everyday activities, that generates different emotions. Even if CS's members have not evoked these emotions strategically, their experience makes it possible to better understand the dynamics of this bond and how to reinforce it.

We also have showed how place attachment in environmental struggles is an emotion that mobilizes people, not only because it blends with the love that CS members feel towards the forest, but also because it generates other emotions that mobilize people, such as moral emotions, subversive emotions towards enemies, fear of losing the forest, and pain at seeing it disappear.

We then showed that place attachment is a central bond in defense of the territory because it generates emotions that can help to undermine powerlessness and boosts emotions that are felt towards other actors in the dispute.

Despite the difficulties in defending territories in urban contexts, where labor mobility and the urban lifestyle do not favor the development of affective bonds with the place and its residents, CS's experience shows that place attachment can be made stronger and nurtured. Analysis shows that place attachment is dynamic, and may change due to alterations in the territory or the resistance experience. By analyzing these emotions that strengthen the affective attachment to the place, we have been able to observe how this affective bond is built and fed by emotions based on the subjects' world view, proximity and experience in the place, and collective action. CS's experience also shows why it is important to organize collective activities aimed at generating hope, satisfaction, pride, happiness, joy, etc. as a way of being able to develop and enhance place attachment and to counteract powerlessness.

In conclusion, we believe that analyzing the experience of a collective like CS in depth is important to understand dynamics that are still invisible and underestimated in many local environmental resistances and that may be useful when understanding other experiences or for activists who are defending other territories and facing similar problems.

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Tables

Table 1

Emotions	*From what/Towards whom*	*Possible effects*
Indignation, outrage Injustice, moral anger	Towards enemies, i.e. those who destroy or build on the forest.	Mobilizing
		Commitment
		Collective identity
Place attachment: Love, appreciation, regard	Towards forest	Mobilizing and sustaining activism
		Collective identity
		Commitment
Love, respect, admiration, affection, confidence, trust, gratitude, loyalty	Towards group members	Mobilizing and sustaining activism. Commitment
	Towards comrades	Collective identity
Resentment, disgust, anger, resignation, disappointment	Towards community members who do not get involved	Preventing the number of people in the group from increasing
Disgust, anger, frustration, resignation	Towards those who make the forest dirty	Self-organization
Rage, hatred, contempt, mistrust	Towards enemies.	Mobilizing
		If openly expressed, there may be more repression
		Collective identity
Mistrust, disgust, disappointment	Towards authorities	Disaffection from the system
		Self-organization
Depression, sadness, anxiety	About being powerless	Weakening
Despair	That the forest can't be saved and that what they are doing is not useful.	Weakening
Strain, stress, exhaustion	From fighting	Weakening
Excitement	From fighting a fire and (small) victories	Mobilizing
Nostalgia	Triggered by past memories in the forest.	Mobilizing
Frustration	About not being able to involve more people About not being able to put out a fire About not being able to save the forest	Weakening
Resignation	That community members will not get involved	Preventing the number of people in the group from increasing

Emotions	*From what/Towards whom*	*Possible effects*
Pride Satisfaction	About their work, achievements About living there, near this forest About being considered radicals by opponents About being followers of the Zapatistas	Sustaining activism
Guilt	About not being able to involve more people	Weakening
Pain/grief	From being powerless	Weakening
	From seeing the forest threatened, the trees chopped down or burnt in a blaze	Mobilizing
	Shared with others	Collective identity
	From people who gave up the struggle	Weakening
	From not having the resources or tools to fight against the destruction of the forest	Weakening
Fear	Of losing the forest	Mobilizing and sustaining activism
		Commitment
		Intra-group conflicts
	Of repression and that people could get hurt.	Weakening
		Collective identity
		Self-organization
	Of fires and that people will get hurt in fires	Self-organization
		Commitment
	Of opening to new people	Preventing the number of people in the group from increasing
	Of not being able to keep fighting	Weakening
	Of disappointing other members	Commitment
Daring	When fighting or putting out fires despite the possible consequences	Mobilizing
Joy, happiness, fullness, serenity	From being and working in the forest From being with other members	Sustaining activism
Anger	About division in the community	Weakening
Hope	That the forest can be saved That what they are doing is useful That someone will fight in the future That the fight is worthwhile To see the trees recover and grow	Mobilizing Sustaining activism
Hopelessness	That they can't save the forest	Weakening
Powerlessness	For not being able to save the forest	Weakening
	For being powerless against the pow-	Collective identity

Emotions	*From what/Towards whom*	*Possible effects*
	erful	Disaffection from the system
		Self-organization
	For not being able to increase the number of people in the group	Weakening
Empathy	With group members	Mobilizing Bonding together
	With other beings (trees, animals, etc.)	Mobilizing and sustaining activism
Lack of empathy	Among neighbors and the group	Preventing the number of people in the group from increasing
	Among politicians and the group	Collective identity
Jealousy	Of the forest and their work	Preventing the number of people in the group from increasing
	Among group members	Intra-group conflicts
	Felt by activists' family members that are not involved in the resistances	Individual conflicts
Pleasure	From working in the forest	Mobilizing
	From putting out fires	
	From being together (towards comrades)	
	From protest	
Relief	From feeling supported by comrades From seeing the fires extinguished From seeing the trees growing	Sustaining activism
Solidarity	Among group members and comrades	Sustaining activism
Feeling empowered	By doing things that are useful for the forest By learning new skills By seeing what they have done until now	Sustaining activism
Persistence	Not giving up	Sustaining activism
Feeling safe and confidence	In the forest After taking security measures	Sustaining activism

Table 2

Emotions that reinforce	*Emotions that undermine*	*Emotions that go together with*
	PLACE ATTACHMENT	
Reciprocal emotions towards group members: family ties, love, etc.	NONE	Disappointment, anger and resentment towards community members
Hope to see the trees recovering and growing		Hatred, anger and contempt towards enemies who are destroying the forest
Happiness, fulfillment, serenity and joy from being in the forest, in the open air		Moral emotions: indignation, outrage, moral anger
Empathy: an attack on the forest is felt as an attack on them		Disgust and anger towards who make the forest dirty or polluted
Appreciation of nature, in general		Fear of losing the forest
Nostalgia: past memories and child-hood		Pain seeing the forest disappear
Security and confidence in the forest		Powerlessness
Pleasure doing activities for the forest		
Pride to live near the forest		

Table 3

Emotions that reinforce	*Emotions that undermine*	*Emotions that go together with*
Affective commitments or loyalties towards people who share the place but do not defend the forest (anymore): i.e. Resentment and anger		
Place attachment	Patience	Fear to open the group to new people
Disappointment: group members expected something different from them	Tolerance	Frustration and guilt for not being able to increase the number of people in the group
Powerlessness for not being able to save the forest	Respect	Powerlessness and resignation for not being able to increase the number of people in the group
Lack of empathy	Consideration	Pain
Moral emotions		Anger about the division in the community

Table 4

Emotions that reinforce	*Emotions that undermine*	*Emotions that go together whit*
	POWERLESSNESS	
Pain seeing the trees chopped down and burnt in a blaze	Reciprocal emotions towards group members. i.e. confidence	Despair: It can lead to burn-out. They drive it away by doing things.
Grief at seeing the forest threated, trees chopped down or burnt in a blaze, about people who gave up the struggle, about not having the resources and tools to fight against destruction of the forest	Feeling empowered	Resignation: It can lead to burnout. They fight drive it away by doing things, turning to hope, pride, satisfaction, etc.
Mistrust and disappointment towards authorities	Pride and satisfaction	Anger towards enemies
Fear of repression	Hope	Fear of not being able to keep self-managing the collective
Loneliness: there are few peo-ple, not enough anyway	Solidarity	Anger towards community members who do not defend the forest
	Joy, happiness and serenity being in the forest	Depression, grief, anxiety, sadness
	Place attachment	Hopelessness
		Grief about being powerless