**Reining in the Bulls with Michael Marx**
**Interview with Mary Anne Hitt of Climate Imperative**
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**Name**: Mary Anne Hitt
**Current Title**: Senior Director, U.S. Initiatives
**Current Organization**: Climate Imperative
**Title during campaign**: Director
**Organization during campaign**: Sierra Club
**Name of campaign**: Beyond Coal Campaign
**Date(s) of campaign**: 2002 - present


**Summary:** The Beyond Coal Campaign has been recognized as one of the most successful environmental campaigns in history. Working with partners across the nation, the campaign blocked the construction of 200 proposed US coal plants, secured retirement of two-thirds of existing US coal plants, helped usher in the clean energy era, and inspired the launch of sister Beyond Coal Campaigns around the world.

00:02 Michael Marx:
Mary Anne Hitt, thanks for joining me for this interview.

00:05 Mary Anne Hitt:
It is a pleasure to see you.

00:08 MM:
Great to see you as well. I'm especially excited to talk to you about the Beyond Coal Campaign. It was a nationally organized effort. It consisted of a large number of locally organized campaigns targeting, I believe, utility companies, but I really consider this to be one of the iconic corporate campaigns in the last 30 years.

00:30 MAH:
Well, thank you.

00:31 MM:
Could you give us a sense of your current position and organizational affiliation?

00:38 MAH:
I am currently the senior director for US Initiatives at Climate Imperative Foundation. And I was previously at the Sierra Club, where I was the director of the Beyond Coal Campaign for 10 years among other roles.

00:53 MM:
Perfect. So before the Beyond Coal Campaign, what was your campaign background on coal prior to that?

01:04 MAH:
I grew up in Appalachia. I grew up in the Smoky Mountains and just prior to the Sierra Club, I was the executive director of a grassroots organization called Appalachian Voices, which was a regional environmental organization focused on Appalachia. And the big issue we were working on there was mountaintop removal coal mining, which is this type of mining where the coal is in the mountains like layers in a cake and they would drill through the rock, blow it up, shove it into the stream, and then take the coal that way because it was a more profitable way to mine the coal than sending people underground.

01:37 MAH:
And so there were 500 mountains blown up, 2000 miles of streams buried. And we were trying to stop this particularly destructive form of coal mining. And that then led us to where the coal was being burned, which was in coal fired power plants.

01:54 MM:
What a great background, because you were really on the front lines in terms of what was the coal impact on communities, et cetera.

02:03 MAH:
Yes, I personally did not live in a community next to a coal mine. I live in West Virginia now, my daughter is an 11th generation West Virginian through my husband's side of the family. So I was not a person really on the front lines of coal mining per se. But I have been in the region pretty much my whole life and that is what has been the fuel for me to do this work.

02:29 MM:
Right. So in terms of the Beyond Coal Campaign, which you were a director of, what was the overall issue that led to that campaign and why was it so important?

02:42 MAH:
Well, one of the really beautiful things about the Beyond Coal Campaign is it was grassroots powered. And it began back in the early 2000's when there were 200 new coal fired power plants proposed all across the United States. I was fighting one of those that was in southwest Virginia in the coal mining region. We saw it as another big consumer of mountaintop removal coal. And so we started working away to try to stop this one new coal fired power plant from being built only to find it was one of 200 proposed all over the country during the George W. Bush era.

03:21 MAH:
And all of them were being fought, like this one was, by grassroots folks who had a brand new coal plant popping up in their backyard. And at that time we had about 530 existing coal plants in the United States. So if we would've built 200 new ones, we would've been locked into another 50 years of an incredibly polluting source of electricity. And at that time, the 500 existing coal plants in the United States were our single biggest source of greenhouse gases in the United States. They were our single biggest source of mercury pollution, single biggest source of toxic water pollution. They were producing this coal ash that is like the ash in a fireplace, but extremely toxic. And it was the second largest volume of solid waste in the country after municipal garbage. And then it was also the single biggest source of sulfur dioxide pollution, which gives people heart attacks and strokes and asthma attacks. And the vast majority of this, or the vast majority of the coal we were mining in the country, 90% of it was to feed these 500 coal plants.

04:30 MAH:
And there are other ways to make electricity. You can make electricity with wind and solar and renewables and storage. And it was our single biggest contributor to climate change. And we had better ways to make electricity. So, the Beyond Coal Campaign first stopped basically these 200. Well, let me take a step back. This grassroots network of advocates that eventually became the Beyond Coal Campaign and our many partners succeeded in stopping these 200 new coal plants from being built. And also then ultimately over the course of a decade, secured the retirement of two thirds of those existing coal plants. And the campaign is still up and at it and doing good work and going strong.

05:14 MM:
So what was the theory of change that really led these campaigns and their strategy?

05:25 MAH:
There were two key pieces. First was the grassroots involvement of folks who lived around these coal plants. So I mentioned all of the air pollution and the water pollution that these plants created. And a lot of the existing coal plants in the country did not have up to date modern pollution controls. So they were contributing to thousands of premature deaths and tens of thousands of asthma attacks and heart attacks and strokes. And a lot of times folks even in communities where these coal plants were located, didn't know what they were, didn't know how polluting they were. And so part of this theory of change was to draw attention to, and fight the pollution, the air and the water pollution coming from these coal plants that were affecting communities. And to have communities work on trying to get the plant to get that pollution addressed.

06:17 MAH:
And then at the same time, part of why there was so much pollution was because there were all of these loopholes in the federal clean air and water standards because the coal industry had been very powerful and they had lobbied for big exemptions to a lot of the pollution standards. So when I came to the Sierra Club in 2008, there were no federal standards for mercury pollution from coal plants, even though they were our single biggest source of mercury pollution, there were no federal standards for how to dispose of coal ash. There were no federal standards for greenhouse gas emissions from coal plants and no federal standards for toxic water pollution from coal plants again, even though they were our biggest source.

06:56 MAH:
And so at the federal level, we worked to close those public health loopholes and get stronger standards in place. And then when the EPA typically set those stronger standards, then that would drive a decision by that coal plant operator of whether they want to spend the money to update the plant and clean it up or whether they wanted to retire it instead. And so that was where that top down sort of federal policy pressure really came in. The rubber hit the road in communities and that's where those grassroots community folks then had an opening to say, Hey, you know, we need to have clean air and water in our community and we also want to tackle our contribution to climate change. And so let's move on to cleaner sources of energy.

07:41 MM:
So it sounds like there was already a number of these grassroots organizations and part of the campaign was to empower them even more. And was that also to financially empower them as well, to help direct resources to them or assist them in acquiring resources?

08:00 MAH:
Yeah, one important thing to underscore is that there were ultimately over 300 organizations involved in some form or fashion in the Beyond Coal Campaign. So the Sierra Club provided a center of gravity and provided national staff, and it provided kind of a network of being able to

share lessons learned. And the Energy Foundation was an important partner in raising resources and making grants to all of those other community partners along with a lot of other foundations and philanthropies including Bloomberg Philanthropies, which was an anchor funder and got the campaign to scale starting in 2011.

08:32 MAH:
So there was an ecosystem of funders that were supporting all of those organizations. And then one of the things, because the Sierra Club is a national organization with chapters in every state and with organizers and campaigners all over the country and lawyers, is we were again able to quickly share lessons learned, identify new opportunities, and create this kind of national infrastructure and ecosystem that would help connect the dots for all those local campaigns.

09:01 MM:
So it sounded like there was this ecosystem of activists and part of the role of the Sierra Club and some of its allies was really to facilitate that connectivity, lessons learned, et cetera.

09:22 MAH:
Absolutely. I thought of it, when I was there, as an open source campaign in that, I think when you think of open source as a software, you have kind of this framework that is out there for the public that people can build on and improve and make their own. And, I always thought the Beyond Coal Campaign was an open source campaign because we were together trying to do something fairly straightforward, which is move the country away from coal to clean energy, stop building new coal plants, retire the existing coal plants, and replace them with clean renewable energy, and anybody who was working towards those goals can be linked into this bigger shared effort that we were doing.

10:03 MAH:
And, the Sierra Club, by having the size that we had and the resources that we had, we were able to bring some serious muscle to the table, like attorneys who spent their whole career learning about these decision making venues where the decisions were getting made about electricity in the country or, communications tools, either ad campaigns or graphics or what have you. Or you know, a campaigner who is based in a state who can really kind of figure out what are the levers that you need to pull to make change. But again, we couldn't have done it without that network of a lot of other advocates beyond just the Sierra Club.

10:47 MM:
In so many campaigns, I know that there's multiple tracks and you've already described some of them like even though it's local in terms of the specific fight, it sounded like there can be a legal track, there can be a communications track. I imagine there's kind of a political track as well. There can be an organizing a track as well. Could you just describe those for us?

11:20 MAH:
Yes. I think of those as all of the tools of democracy or all the levers of democracy that are available to us to try to become a more perfect union. And so we did utilize all of those tools.

We had, again, attorneys. One of the important things to note about how decisions are made in the US about where our electricity comes from, is that those decisions are mostly made at the state level by state utility commissions.

11:51 MAH:
Every state has one. It's called a public utility commission or a public service commission or corporation commission. Something to that effect. And so one of the key, I think, kind of golden rules of effective advocacy is you need to understand what is the decision, what's the goal that you have, who is making the decision, and how do you try to influence that decision?

12:14 MAH:
And so in the case of electricity, every state has this utility commission and those are the key decision makers that you need to influence to help influence whether a coal plant is going to be retired or not, whether clean energy is going to get built or not, whether a natural gas plant is going to get built or not. And it is kind of like a legal venue. It's kind of like a court almost. You really have to have lawyers represent you and you have to bring in experts because those utility commissions are charged with making decisions about keeping the lights on and making sure electricity is affordable. They are not charged with environmental protection. They're not charged with doing anything about climate change. And so you need to go into those venues and be able to make arguments about economics and arguments about how to keep the lights on.

13:04 MAH:
And so there again, you need all of those tools of democracy. You need lawyers, you need the general public to be raising their voice because these are public utility commissions. You need communications - these are very arcane venues - so you can explain to the rest of the public what's going on and why it's important. So, you have all of those 50 different state utility commissions, and then you have at the federal level all of these important federal rules for pollution that again, in order to push the EPA and the White House to make those stronger, you need to have the involvement of attorneys to sue, to say, 'Hey, you know, we have no mercury standards for coal plants. These rules need to be stronger.' You need the general public to weigh in. You need to make your case through communications. And so all of those tools were critical, and lobbying, talking to elected officials or appointed officials, making sure they're hearing directly from the most important voices. All of those were key tools throughout the campaign. And it had this added level of complexity of you're not just trying to influence one decision maker to make one decision. You're trying to influence dozens of decision makers who are constantly making these important decisions.

14:23 MM:
I can see where you're turning people out for meetings, for hearings, et cetera, et cetera. Were there also demonstrations, rallies, even non-violence, civil disobedience, which sometimes characterizes these kind of campaigns?

14:43 MAH:
There was not as much civil disobedience in this particular campaign, but definitely rallies and marches. I specifically remember being part of a march in Philadelphia where there was a very polluting coal plant that was the main contributor to a specific type of very unhealthy air pollution in Philadelphia. And I remember marching through the streets with folks before an EPA meeting. I remember being in Waukegan, Illinois and doing a march there on the Day of the Dead where there was a plant with some serious air pollution and water pollution problems. And we had a march with the community to stand up in front of the coal plant and call for action. And then we had a lot of rallies outside of EPA hearings in Washington, DC and in other cities when EPA was considering, which they ultimately did under Obama, closing a lot of these pollution loopholes for coal plants.

15:38 MAH:
They had hearings all over the country, in Chicago and Knoxville and Atlanta and you name it. And you know, even early on in the EPA's process of regulating climate pollution, one of the first things they had to do was issue this determination of whether greenhouse gas is a danger to public health and welfare. That was this essential building block to ultimately putting greenhouse gas standards in place. And we turned out hundreds of people to that hearing in Seattle for this very arcane topic of an EPA endangerment finding that greenhouse gasses endanger public health and welfare. But EPA needed to hear from people that they cared about this, they cared about climate change, they want something done about greenhouse gasses. So having people turn out and turn out in big numbers was always a big part of the campaign.

16:31 MM:
So, a lot of times the campaigns, and particularly ones like this that are so diversified, they build momentum. And I imagine you've got different things happening at different times, but also there's successes that start to build on each other. Did you see that also in this campaign?

16:52 MAH:
Definitely. That's one of the biggest things I learned from this campaign is how much it matters to movements to win and to have momentum and to be able to connect the dots from your individual campaign to something bigger. And one of the things about the Beyond Coal Campaign that was powerful was we had the scoreboard essentially. You know, we had 200 new coal plants that needed to be stopped, and then we had 530 existing coal plants that needed to be retired by the end of this decade. And once we stopped the new coal plants, then it was clear what the job in front of us was - that that number of 530 was not going to be getting any bigger, but it needed to be steadily getting smaller. And that's the work that a lot of people have been focused on for the past decade and a half.

17:41 MAH:
And I'm not sure where we will be at the time this airs -- the number's always changing, but we're at about 150 coal plants left. So we had 530 coal plants. We're now down to about 150 remaining. We were getting half of our electricity from coal; this year it's likely to be 16%. And this year, for the first time ever, we are going to get more electricity from wind and solar than

from coal in the United States. So it's been a profound transformation. And again, one that was driven by campaigning and by grassroots folks being active in their communities.

18:18 MM:
So let's take a step back then. First of all, how many years has this been going on?

18:28 MAH:
I came to the Sierra Club in 2008, and at that point I think this fight against new coal plants had probably been happening in earnest for four or five years. So you could say two decades at this point. The Sierra Club campaign was first called the National Coal Campaign, and it was started by a staff member who was a clean air attorney, Bruce Nilles, and a lead volunteer, Verena Owen, who were at the epicenter of the first wave of proposed new coal plants in Illinois.

18:40 MM:
Okay.

18:41 MAH:
But the real focus on existing coal plants, that really started in earnest in about 2011. So the focus on existing coal plants has been closer to a decade.

18:52 MM:
Okay. And when you look at particularly the last decade of the campaign, what are some of the big lessons learned from that effort?

19:04 MAH:
Well, one lesson I take away from it is just that the advocacy works. That advocacy is important. I think some people will look at the decline of coal and would maybe point to other factors like the advent of fracking and the expansion of natural gas, which has been a very disruptive force in the electricity sector. Or, might assume the EPA would've just gone ahead on their own and tightened these regulations for coal plants. But in my experience, maybe ultimately, either market forces or some sort of federal policy would have resulted in this transition, but I think it would've happened a lot more slowly. And there would be dozens and dozens more coal plants still running today than there are. So I think that the advocacy was really the decisive factor.

20:05 MAH:
And there's actually a peer reviewed study out that looked at federal policy, that looked at competition from natural gas and looked at the Beyond Coal Campaign and found that the Beyond Coal campaign was clearly the biggest factor in our move away from coal in the United States of all of those forces. And so one key lesson is that advocacy matters. Advocacy makes a difference. Another lesson that I took away from it was the importance of environmental justice, the importance of a just transition. Having the leadership from folks in communities be at the center and how much that can drive change and how much as we move away from fossil fuels, we have to make sure we don't leave people behind. And then another thing that I really

learned from this was about economics and just what a driving force economics are in this transition. When we started doing this work, clean energy was more expensive than coal.

21:11 MAH:
And over time clean energy became cheaper than coal. So now in the United States, 99% of the existing coal plants are more expensive to run than new wind, solar and storage. So it would be cheaper to build new wind, solar and storage than to run 99% of the coal plants that are left in the United States. And in the beginning part of the reason that coal power was so cheap was because there were all these pollution loopholes. And they got to kind of use all of us as their trash dump and dump all of their mercury and coal ash and greenhouse gases without having to account for it.

21:52 MAH:
So as the coal industry had to clean up their pollution, and as renewable energy got cheaper, those economics started to shift. And now the economics are on the side of clean energy and that can really increase the momentum. But understanding how those things, the interplay of those, every step of the way was really an important part of our strategy.

22:12 MM:
Why do you think the coal campaign really built the climate movement? Because one of the things that is so impressive about it is you've got in all these different states, multi-level, state level, local level, corporate government organizing to really make change happen. And often campaigns build on each other, stand on a previous campaign's shoulder, I'm wondering how do you see this campaign contributing to the overall climate movement?

22:45 MAH:
Well, that's a great question. Couple of things come to mind. Actually, I would say four. Let's see if I can keep my thoughts organized around them all. First is that we built this infrastructure of getting the public voice into these public utility commissions. These public utility commissions that are making such important decisions are very arcane and byzantine venues where if you were to go sit down in a public utility commission meeting tomorrow, as a regular person, including me, it's very hard to understand what is even happening.

23:20 MAH:
And so over the course of that decade plus, we built up this new muscle that we didn't have before of lawyers and experts and local folks and grassroots advocates who can actually engage in these venues and move the needle. And that's not just important for how we make electricity. That's increasingly important for building electrification.

23:42 MAH:
If we want to stop burning so much natural gas in buildings, there are utility commissions that play a very big role. If we want to decarbonize industry, if we want to build more charging stations for electric vehicles, utility commissions are at the center of so many important decisions that we are going to be making on climate change. And we built up this infrastructure

that now can be used for all of those big decisions. So that's one. Another way it was important is I think the campaign changed the narrative around coal. And now coal is just universally seen as a very dirty energy source that we need to move away from. And when I started doing this work, coal was kind of untouchable. I mean, President Obama campaigned talking about clean coal and how great clean coal was. And no self-respecting politician would talk about clean coal with a straight face anymore.

24:34 MAH:
So I think we really shifted the public perception of coal and because we were working in all of these places at the grassroots level, I think it wasn't just some conversation happening in Washington, it was a conversation happening in people's communities. That's the second way. I think a third is, we politically created space for federal climate policy. When we tried to pass Waxman Markey, the coal industry was, I think they were the industry that drove a stake in the heart of that climate legislation because Senator Bird and Senator Rockefeller from West Virginia and then all these senators from blue states that had a lot of coal plants in them, they really ultimately would not let the bill pass through the Senate.

25:20 MAH:
And now we just passed the Inflation Reduction Act and you know, Joe Manchin was the decisive factor. And he even got on board eventually and the coal industry was just not as powerful as it used to be and they don't even have a lobby operation in Washington anymore. So they just didn't have the political heft to stop that bill. So that's the third thing. It's the infrastructure we built. It's changing the narrative about coal. It's creating the political space at the federal level. And then the last thing that I'm really proud of is, I think we just grew a generation of individual activists.

25:57 MAH:
I was just in Texas in Corpus Christi, which is the biggest export area of fossil fuels in the United States. And it's where there's a lot of LNG terminals being built and communities are doing incredible work to try to slow this massive increase of fossil fuel exports. And one of the local organizers' first campaign that she had been part of was to stop a new coal plant in Texas that we did stop called Las Brisas. The Las Brisas Energy Center was her first campaign and she won her campaign. And we have this whole generation of folks who were part of and oftentimes won campaigns that are now kind of growing up in the movement and going on to do great things. And I think that's another legacy that we helped to build.

26:44 MM:
One of the things I didn't ask about, but was there a backlash by any chance as the campaign developed from the fossil fuel industry, from coal, specifically political backlash, media backlash that you had to deal with?

27:00 MAH:
Definitely. I, there's an article out there from 2015, and it was in Politico that's called Inside the War on Coal by Mike Grunwald. And there's a quote in there, it's probably the most

comprehensive history of the campaign ever written by a journalist. And there's a quote in there from the head of the coal lobby who complains about us and he alleges we have more money than they do. I can't imagine that that's true. But he said we had more money and more success and more power and so we were losing a lot of coal in this country. And he didn't like it. And Bloomberg Philanthropies was a key partner of ours in the early days. They provided the funding that really allowed us to get this to scale. And at one point Peabody Coal ran a full page ad in the New York Times because Michael Bloomberg at some business event had said that coal was a dead man walking.

27:56 MAH:
And so they ran a full page ad in the New York Times to say, 'Mayor Bloomberg, coal is most certainly not a dead man walking. We are keeping the lights on and you need to back off.' So, there was a huge sort of national level pushback from the industry. I mean, I remember when I first started working at the Sierra Club in 2008 on my walk to the Sierra Club's office on Capitol Hill, there were clean coal ads all over the city. I would walk past them.

28:26 MAH:
Because they were everywhere, all over Washington and this was during the fight over Waxman Markey. So there was national level pushback and some people faced threats of violence and intimidation and, if you live in the community that's home to a coal plant, especially if you live in an area where coal mining is an important part of the economy, people were doing this work at great risk to their own security and safety, and were being ostracized from their community and were making huge personal sacrifices to do this work. The closer you were to the part of the coal industry's operations, the harder that was.

29:15 MM:
Are there any successor campaigns now that have really built on this camp? I know that there continues to be efforts probably in each of these states, but is there some other kind of national coordinated effort that parallels this in terms of coordinating local efforts?

29:37 MAH:
Well, I'm not sure. I wouldn't want to compare apples to oranges. I do think a lot of the work that is happening now has some of those components, of having a federal and a state complimentary reinforcing strategy. So the work on clean cars, there's 15 or so states that have passed really strong standards for cleaner cars and then you have federal clean car standards and those things are reinforcing one another, create the momentum to keep that going.

30:15 MAH:
I think if you look at building electrification, there's a network of state-based and local advocates that are doing things in their own communities to try to get more electric buildings and less natural gas in buildings and they're sort of sharing what they're learning with one another. You could argue even the Inflation Reduction Act, although that was clearly a big federal moment, that was made possible by the work of people in a whole lot of states that were pushing and advocating for that. And so at some level, I think every big national push has

these elements of having sort of a federal policy component and a state and local component. And at the same time, I don't think there's anything out there that I can think of right now that's quite like the Beyond Coal Campaign.

31:14 MM:
No, I have to admit, I can't think of anything else. This was pretty remarkable, which is why I consider it to be such an iconic campaign.

31:22 MAH:
Well, thank you.

31:24 MM:
Any final thoughts or questions I forgot to ask you, but they stand out as important to make sure that we talk about?

31:37 MAH:
Well, I do think the work is not done by a long shot. Not only do we still have about 150 coal plants that still don't have a retirement date this decade. And the climate science is very clear that the developed world needs to phase out of coal this decade. It's one of the key things we need to do to keep climate change at safe levels. But then we are electrifying our cars and our buildings and we are electrifying industry and we're trying to just move away from the use of natural gas in our buildings and in all these industrial sectors. And so not only do we need to finish this job on coal, but we actually have to have more electricity so that we can have all of these other big emitting parts of our economy do their fair share to keep our climate safe.

32:34 MAH:
And so we have a lot more work to do. And I think that's one of the things that is important to remember. I think sometimes people feel like coal is over with, it's done. We don't need to worry about it anymore. We can kind of move on to other priorities. And I think this work to clean up our electric grid is the foundation of everything else. If we're going to electrify our buildings and our businesses and our vehicles, our cars and trucks, we've got to power that with clean energy.

33:09 MAH:
And, so not only is the electricity itself this big source of emissions, but it's the foundation for being able to electrify everything else. And we have to do that affordably. We have to do that in a way that people can afford the solutions, that we can keep the lights on, and that we're really bringing prosperity and opportunity to people. So, there's still plenty of more work to do. And I do think that the foundation that we have laid and the infrastructure that we've built can serve us to do that work and we need as many people involved as possible to make it happen.

33:41 MM:
That seems like the perfect place to end. Mary Anne Hitt, former campaign director of the Beyond Coal Campaign, thank you very much. It was such a pleasure.

34:03 MAH:
You bet.

## Why they became involved in the movement

34:47 MM:
Why did you get involved in this movement and why did you stay involved?

35:15 MAH:
Well, I think it's partly that I just grew up in the Smoky Mountains in East Tennessee, and I was outside a lot. We camped a lot. And so, nature was just something that I loved as a kid. And then my dad was the chief scientist of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. And when he was there, that was the era of acid rain. And he was doing research about acid rain in the Smoky Mountains, and he was being interviewed by journalists about why the trees were dying in the Smoky Mountains.

35:50 MAH:
And so I think somehow that imprinted itself on me, that the natural world needed defenders and it needed protectors, that it couldn't just take care of itself. I was wearing these save the seals t-shirts to high school, like in the nineties, in the late eighties and the early nineties. So I think it was something that I always felt a calling to do from that age. And why I have stayed with it, I think it's a couple of things. One, it's just been very fulfilling. I mean, when you get to be part of these campaigns and you see the incredible injustice that people have to deal with, but then you can actually win a campaign to address that injustice that people are dealing with of a polluting coal plant in their neighborhood or something.

36:50 MAH:
It's very fulfilling and it's also very interesting because we're just constantly running up to the edge of what is the next thing that we need to figure out. How are we going to decarbonize these big industries? How are we going to get electric vehicles out there in the world at the speed and the scale that we need them?

37:12 MAH:
How are we going to get natural gas out of buildings and give people electric appliances and do that in a way that's affordable. So there's just all of these things to figure out that are interesting and it's never boring and it's very fulfilling. And, it's also hard and sad sometimes because you don't always win, for one. And it's really discouraging when you lose a campaign and you've got to pick yourself up and keep going. And that's hard. And then there's a drama and there's turmoil and the movement and that is very draining. And then, to just look around at the state of our climate, it's not in a good place. And so you have to kind of, at least, I have to hang on to those victories and I mean, I've seen David beat Goliath dozens of times and every

time I see it happen, it just inspires me to keep going and inspires me to keep finding a way when it seems like there is no way.

38:24 MM:
Perfect. We'll end there.