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Seeing the forests for the trees: A comparative study of the Green Belt and Chipko movements

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Seeing the Forests for the Trees: A Comparative Study of the Green Belt and Chipko Movements

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Introduction

With the changing climate and the destruction of rural land, researchers have hypothesized that environmental degradation will most affect the poor rural areas in the global south, like subsistence producers and rural dwellers: "poor countries continue to bear the burden of climate change damages" (Mendelsohn et. al 2006, 173). Also, among the rural poor in the global south, there is one demographic who are affected more than others due to environmental degradation – this is women and mothers. Often times women are required to retrieve firewood and water for their households. Without access to forests rural women in the global south face significant socioeconomic challenges as they are required to travel further distances for basic living supplies. Such labor prevents women from contributing to educational or economic development in their communities. The recognition that women are directly affected by environmental destruction has led to the emergence of ecological feminism, or ecofeminism, and this describes philosophical approaches and movements of various scales led by and concerned with women's rights, livelihoods, health, and more in relation to their environments (Murphy 1997, 41). This term, ecofeminism, was coined in the 1970s, which was also the decade when the two focal environmental social movements this thesis focuses on emerged.

The Green Belt Movement (GBM) in Kenya and the Chipko movement in India are two examples of social movements that support this ecofeminist ideology (Zelezny and Bailey 2006, 104). Both of these environmental movements began under similar circumstances at around the same time, but they are now very different. While the GBM broadened its focus beyond planting trees and gained widespread international attention, the Chipko movement maintained its central focus on protecting trees and remained relatively decentralized and informal. This paper uses

these two social movements to explore which factors most influence social movement success and international reach.

In this paper I discuss what factors possibly drive the success of environmental social movements. I do this by identifying which of the predetermined factors are present in my two case studies. As I analyze how the specific factors work within the social movements to either help or hurt the outcomes, I draw conclusions based on what I observe.

Social Movement Theories

Social movements have existed in society since the eighteenth century (Tarrow and Tollefson 1994), and are a "common – if not always welcome – feature of the political landscape" (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996, 1). Tarrow (1988, 421) mentions that these social movements are influenced by the changing aspects of political events. Following and understanding these social movements gives a glimpse as to what is important in the world at that time (Guidry, Kennedy and Zald 2000, 1). It is also important to keep in mind that social movements go through cycles during their existence, so a movement might not always be successful or vice versa (Tarrow 1996, 52).

Even though the social issues addressed by movements vary, the presence of key factors make certain social movements more effective and successful than others. When looking for these factors, I will examine the different theories focused on social movements and the key variables identified by these theories. Each theory is different in regards to the way in which it developed, but all are trying to analyze and understand the factors that contribute to the emergence and effects of social movements (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996, 2). I will identify the factors that explain the emergence and success of social movements, which are political opportunities, mobilizing structures, framing processes, and new social movements (NSMs).

There is no exact and universal way to measure the success of a social movement because success is a relative term. Giugni's (1998, 379) study on the success of movements looks at how social movements' actions influence two sectors of society – the government and the public.

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Often success in one sector leads to success in the other (Giugni 1998, 379). For example, as movement action occurs, like protests, public opinion changes, which allow movements to reach their goals more quickly since the public puts more pressure on decision-makers (Giugni 1998, 379).

Giugni (1998, 380) integrates studies that highlight the "interconnectedness of public opinion, movement activities, and congressional action in bringing about policy changes for discriminated-against groups." One example of this is with Burstein's (1985) study on equal employment opportunity legislation in the United States. He found that it is because of the social change in public opinion that leads to adoption of equal employment opportunity legislation (Burstein 1985, 125).

There are disagreements on whether changes in policy or changes in public opinion are more important to success (Giugni 1998, 385). Scholars who argue that political change, in the form of policy outcomes, are the most important indicator of success argue this because social movements form to target political authority and institutions (Giugni 1998, 385). More contemporary movements focus on the larger social and political environment, which is why certain theorists argue that it is more important for a movement to "change attitudes and opinions on a given matter" (Giugni 1998, 385). Rochon and Mazmanian (1993, 77) explain this shift by saying that "by changing social values, movements expand the range of ideas about what is possible. This ultimately has an effect on politics because it changes perceptions of what the most important political problems are. In so doing, movements redefine the political agenda." Despite the disagreements, these two outcomes are able to be observed to determine the impact and success of a social movement.

Success of a social movement can occur many different ways, which is why I will look at the factors within the sociological theories, political opportunities, mobilizing factors, and framing processes. Next, I will look at previous literature on these three theories, in order to determine the most influential factors in regards to success of a social movement.

Political Opportunities

Scholars focused on the political opportunity structure believe that movements emerge because of "changes in the institutional structure or informal power relations of a given national political system" and are shaped by a nation's constraints on political opportunities (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996, 3). When identifying the factors that make a movement successful, Meyer and Staggenborg (1996, 1633) say that open governmental structures can lead to more success than closed governmental structures.

Eisinger talks about the responsiveness of a government to its citizens and how that relates to the openness of the structure:

> Where the structure of government is potentially more responsive to an electorate by providing opportunities of formal representation for distinct segments of the population (blacks, for example) or where the government is demonstrably responsive to citizen needs and demands, the structure of opportunities is relatively open . . . Where formal or informal power appears to be concentrated and where government is not responsive, the opportunities for people to get what they want or need through political action are limited. The opportunity structure is relatively closed (Eisinger 1973, 12).

Eisinger's discussion on the responsiveness of government to its citizens reflects Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

> 1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
> 2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.
> 3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections, which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

(Universal Declarations of Human Rights)

Based on this literature, it is evident that open political systems provide opportunities for societal groups to shape policy priorities.

Elite support is another factor of political opportunities that influences the success of a social movement. When the elite start or join in on a movement, it generates more publicity than a grassroots initiated and led movement (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996, 1629). Tarrow (1996, 55) explains elite support as the appearance of influential allies. He says "allies can act as a friend in court, as guarantors against brutal repression, or as acceptable negotiators on behalf of constituencies" (Tarrow 1996, 55). An example of this is with Jenkins and Perrow's (1977) study on farm labor unions and what factors led to their success. Their study compared two farm groups. These groups tended to be ignored, but Jenkins and Perrow (1977, 249) argued that "powerlessness may be overridden if the national political elite is neutralized and members of the polity contribute resources and attack insurgent targets". Elite support is proven to increase the success of a movement.

Eisinger's (1973, 28) research concluded that the ability for protests to emerge shows that the political opportunity structure is vulnerable to pressure from excluded groups, and is susceptible to change. This change is because "social protest movements make history, … albeit not in circumstances they choose" (Meyer 2004, 125). The stance of the government and the influence of the public policies that are in place before and during a movement have a great effect on the success of a movement. While an opposing policy might silence the voices of some, it can also create a countermovement that brings more voices to the front (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996, 1638).

There are additional factors that are part of the political opportunities theory, but I will focus on the two most influential factors. These are the openness of structure for citizen participation and elite support. As stated above, a social movement acting in a more open political structure allows the movement to be more successful, and international and domestic elite support of a social movement also promotes greater success.

Mobilizing Structures

Social movements that emerged in the 1960s were different than the social movements that came before (Jenkins 1983, 528). This change called for social movement theorists to come up with a new way to describe and classify these movements (Jenkins 1983, 528). This new theory looked towards resource mobilization or mobilizing structures to explain social movement emergence and success (Jenkins 1983, 528).

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996, 3) define mobilizing structures as "those collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action." Breaking down this definition even further, mobilization is the process in which a group of people in society gains "collective control over the resources needed for collection action" (Jenkins 1983, 532). McCarthy and Zald (1977, 1216) discuss the resource mobilization theory in detail, and argue that since resources are needed to engage in a social conflict, these resources must be "aggregated for collective purpose."

One main difference between mobilization theorists and other social movement theorists is the way they perceive and conceptualize social movements. Mobilization theorists define social movements as "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society"

(McCarthy and Zald, 1977, 1217). This difference in definition due to the fact that social movements have changed in organization and structure over time, so the definition must change with it.

Leadership is a factor that social movement theorists say is part of mobilizing structures because "leaders are critical to social movements: they inspire commitment, mobilize resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands, and influence outcomes" (Morris and Staggenborg 2004, 1). Jenkins (1983, 533) highlights that indigenous leadership can be beneficial to a social movement in the beginning stages, but eventually the organization needs to become more professional with outside leadership. This indigenous leadership allows a leader to bring in "political and cultural traditions and skills" that allow a population to trust in the leader (Morris and Staggenborg 2004, 18). A charismatic leader is needed for a more centralized social movement (Jenkins 1983, 529). Other than being charismatic, a leader needs to be well educated because leaders who are well educated make it a priority to support education among all, which allows leaders to successfully enforce and spread strategies (Morris and Staggenborg 2004, 10). A movement with a top leadership position is important because that organizational structure allows for quick decision making, which social movements need to be successful (Morris and Staggenborg 2004, 14). Han's (2011) research on "The Relationship of Leadership Quality to the Political Presence of Civic Associations," looks at how the factor of the leadership of a social movement relates to political presence. Han's findings show that "the organizations with more skilled and committed leaders have higher levels of political presence" (2011, 19).

Mobilization theorists look at the structure of social movements when trying to describe and predict the nature of a movement's course (Kriesi 1996, 152). Giugni (1998, 374) analyzes other resource mobilization theorist's research on the structure or organization of social

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movements and uses this work to "ask whether strongly organized movements are more successful than loosely organized movements." One study Giugni (1998, 374) looks at is Brill's analysis of rent strikes. Brill (1971) finds that success is more likely if the movement's leaders build an effective organization.

This organizational structure can be broken down into formalization (Staggenborg 1988) and centralization (Staggenborg 1989). Staggenborg (1988, 594-597) says that one reason formal movement structures are more successful is that they are able to hire professional managers, which are under more pressure to complete tasks in a timely manner. Formalized structures also provide greater incentives for foundations to engage with a movement and are able to ensure organizational maintenance (Staggenborg 1988, 597-599). Centralization is more favorable for the structure of social movements than decentralization because "centralization prevents internal conflict and factionalization" (Staggenborg 1989, 76). Gamson's (1990) research on American social movements concludes with a statement about the success of movements in regards to organizational structure. He finds that movements are more successful when they are bureaucratized, centralized, and unfactionalized (Gamson 1990).

The next two factors I will discuss for resource mobilization are money and labor. McCarthy and Zald (1977, 1216) say that these two factors are important to understand social movement activity. They say that "because resources are necessary for engagement in social conflict, they must be aggregated for collective purposes" and about "the crucial importance of involvement" (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1216). When focusing on the funding size of mobilization of resources, McCarthy and Zald (1977, 1234) hypothesize that the more funds a social movement has, the more likely it is to hire more staff members that are professionalized and qualified (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1234). Having professional staff and more of them

allows an organization to do more because the staff can specialize (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1234).

I will be looking at leadership and organizational structure when looking at the case studies. As stated above, a single top leader who is well educated, charismatic, and familiar with the culture will lead a more successful social movement. In terms of organizational structure, I predict that a movement that is more centralized and formal will be the more successful.

Framing Processes

While it is more difficult to physically see the work of the framing process in social movements, this process is still critical to understand in order to get the full picture of a social movement (Benford and Snow 2000, 632). Framing processes are not obvious because these processes are rooted in cultural influences (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996, 6). There is no exact definition of framing processes, but one definition is that framing processes are "conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action" (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996, 6). It is also said to be the image that a social movement portrays (Zald 1996, 262). This framing focus within social movement theory started in the 1980s, and Benford and Snow (2000, 613-14) say that since then the framing processes are what give social movements their meanings. To understand how framing processes influence social movements, McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996, 5) provide an explanation:

> At a minimum people need to feel both aggrieved about some aspect of their lives and optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem. Lacking either one or both of these perceptions, it is highly unlikely that people will mobilize even when afforded the opportunity to do so (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996, 5).

Framing processes are essential to the success of a social movement because they focus on "an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution" (Polletta and Jasper 2001, 285). In addition, it is more beneficial if the issue of a social movement is rooted in more of a cultural dimension as opposed to an institutional dimension (Gamson and Meyer 1996, 279). Gamson and Meyer (1996, 279) point out that appealing to a cultural side gets people invested in the movement, thus making it more successful. Framing processes differ from resource mobilization because they are intangible, which Jenkins (1983, 533) argues to be the "central basis of movements."

Breaking down framing processes into more specific subgroups, Benford and Snow (2000, 623) give three framing processes, which are called discursive, strategic, and contested. They say that these three concepts overlap in some areas and help to explain the framing process in a clearer manner (Benford and Snow 2000, 623).

Discursive processes are shown in the way the social movement is verbalized, meaning how society talks about it and how the movement conveys and communicates the issue. These are the "talk and conversations – the speech acts – and written communications of movement members that occur primarily in the context of, or in relation to, movement activities" (Benford and Snow 2000, 623). For example, appealing slogans that can embody the entire movement by linking together different aspects of the movement are able to engage more individual, which leads to greater success (Benford and Snow 2000, 623).

Strategic processes focus on the proactive and productive aspects of social movements. The strategic side of framing is more concerned with the ability to frame processes that are "deliberate, utilitarian, and goal directed" (Benford and Snow 2000, 624). This is the ability of a movement to extend its interests to gather more supporters by combining different issues into

one congruent social movement. Also, the ability of a social movement to adjust to changing times in society while still meeting the desires and values of the original constituents (Benford and Snow 2000, 623). One example of this is how the women's rights movement framed their movement as women's rights are human's rights (Hewitt 2011, 73). Keck and Sikkink (1998) explain that one reason the women's rights movement was successful was the way they framed "women's rights as human rights," which has influenced human rights organizations to join to the women's rights movement, increasing the size and scope of the movement (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 10)

Contested processes are the challenges that arise within a movement. Many problems can arise internally from any grouping of people, but Benford and Snow focus on three challenges. The first is "intramovement disputes," which is very broad and could deal with problems facing the cohesion of a social movement (Benford and Snow 2000, 626). Another internal challenge is disagreement on how to run and organize the social movement. The third is difficulty in communication between the social movement and the events that occur (Benford and Snow 2000, 626-627).

The core framing strategies I will analyze in the case studies are diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing. Diagnostic frames are sometimes referred to as "injustice frames" (Benford and Snow 2000, 615). This is essential for a movement because it amplifies victimization, which angers people to eventually engage in protests or rebellion (Benford and Snow 2000, 615). Diagnostic frames are not essential for all movement like religious movements, but they are essential for a movement wanting political or economic change (Benford and Snow 2000, 616).

Prognostic framing focuses on the "articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan" (Benford and Snow 2000, 616). This is the ability of a movement to specify their goals in a way that is understandable to all individuals, as well as having goals that are practical (Benford and Snow 2000, 616). Part of prognostic framing is the way a movement responds to a countermovement, or how a social movement responds to critics (Benford and Snow 2000, 616).

Motivational framing is the final framing factor that Benford and Snow (2000) discuss. This is the motivational vocabulary that social movements use to encourage individuals to engage in collective action (Benford and Snow 2000, 616). Benford and Snow (2000, 617) refer to this as a "call to arms." Certain vocabularies like "severity, urgency, efficacy, and propriety" express to individuals the need for action now and action of all people (Benford and Snow 2000, 617). Benford and Snow (2000, 623) describe these as "talk and conversations – the speech acts – and written communications of movement members that occur primarily in the context of, or in relation to, movement activities."

Conclusion

My comparative case study of two environmental movements will use factors to construct a frame through which I can compare and contrast differing success outcomes between two environmental movements. These factors and the suggested elements of success that should be seen are as follows:

Factors	Component of Factors	More Success
Political Opportunities	Openness of structure for citizen participation	More open
	Elite support	More elite support
Mobilizing Structures	Leadership	Single personality: charismatic, educated, cultural knowledge
	Organizational structure	Centralized and formal
Framing Processes	Diagnostic	Injustice frames
	Prognostic	Clearly defined goals
	Motivational	Motivational vocabulary

This chart above illustrates the relationship of the independent variables on the dependent variable, success. Within political opportunities, the more open of the structure for citizen participation, the more success the social movement will have. Also part of political opportunities, the more domestic and international elite support, the more success a social movement will have. Now within mobilizing structures is leadership and organizational structure. The literature states that a social movement with a single leader who is charismatic, educated, and has cultural knowledge, will be more successful than a social movement without a leader with these characteristics. Organizational structure that is bureaucratized, centralized, and formal, will be the most beneficial to a social movement's success. Lastly, within framing processes there is diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. Diagnostic framing is beneficial to a social movement when a movement is able to state its issue as an injustice. Prognostic framing is helpful to a social movement when the social movement is able to clearly state and define its goals, and motivational framing benefits a social movement when it is able to use certain vocabulary that encourages people to join the movement.

Methodology

Case Selection

The Green Belt Movement in Kenya and the Chipko movement in India had similar roots and beginnings, but are now different in ways that beg questions about the factors that contributed to these different trajectories (Maathai 2004, 8; Shiva 1988, 63). The two movements emerged in former British colonies, though at the time of these movements, both Kenya and India were already independent from Britain (Subrahmanyam 2006, 90). Both movements began in the 1970s, focused on forestry, and became symbols of women's rights efforts at home and abroad (Maathai 2004, 8; Shiva 1988, 64). Women initiated both movements, which was distinctive since the Green Belt Movement and the Chipko movement developed in patriarchal societies (Bandyopadhyay 2000, 2696; Kameri-Mbote 2006, 44). Scholarly articles on women and the environment often put these two movements in the same category, which demonstrates how similar they are (Grant Bowman 2013; Dankleman 2009; Jackson 1991; Zalezny and Bailey 2006).

When comparing any two social movements to see what factors caused one to be more successful than the other, it is useful to look at movements that are as similar as possible. Having many similar factors allows the researcher to focus on the factors that changed as time passed to determine what caused the changes between the two movements' trajectories. I compare two case studies that are very similar in the beginning stages of the movement, but have had different trajectories and are now distinctive in the spread and breadth of the movement. According to the 2014 annual report, the Green Belt Movement has expanded internationally and has offices in the United States. In contrast, there is ambiguity about whether the Chipko movement continues to

function (Brown 2014; Ishizaka 2013). Two movements that started with the same path are now

different, which leads to the question: what happened?

Similarities						Differences
Selection Criteria	Began	Social Issue	Social Context	Colonial Power	Leadership	Outcomes
The Green Belt Movement	1977	Environmental (forestry) concerns	Patriarchy	Britain	Women led – Wangari Maathai	International reach
The Chipko Movement	Early 1970s	Environmental (forestry) concerns	Patriarchy	Britain	Group of women	Still grassroots reach

Comparative Case Study Approach

The goal of my thesis is to understand what factors cause some social movements to be

more successful than others. The literature on social movement theories identifies many factors

that contribute to the success of a social movement. Since it would require more time and

resources to study every factor of a social movement, I chose to look at the factors most relevant

to my cases, which are discussed in my literature review. These factors are the openness of the

structure for citizen participation and elite support, which are part of political opportunities;

leadership and organizational structure, which are part of mobilizing structures; and diagnostic,

prognostic and motivational framing processes.

I employ a comparative case study approach, since including more than one case allows

me to identify the factors that influence the movements' different trajectories. The use of case

studies allows for a thorough investigation that does not overlook the importance of real-life

events (Yin 1994, 3). Miles and Huberman (1994, 29) address the aspects of multiple-case

sampling. They say that by looking at more than one case "we can strengthen the precision, the

validity, and the stability of the findings" (Miles and Huberman 1994, 29). Merriam (2014, 50)

says that case study research "offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon." This means that examining more than one case enables an opportunity to describe similar cases across different contexts. Specifically, comparative case study research highlights the importance of context, the process and the tolerance of multiple methods, which is relevant to my study (Kaarbo and Beasley 1999).

Case studies can use qualitative or quantitative data, but I will be focusing on qualitative data since the factors that I examine within each case study are difficult to quantify. Another reason for doing a qualitative study is because that is what is required in order for my research question to be addressed. Bogdan and Bilken (2007, 9) say that qualitative research uncovers "the roots of contemporary descriptions," and that qualitative research is "holistic." Even more specific, this research is a historical and observational qualitative comparative case study. This type of case study looks at a case from the beginning to the end, which is how my research is conducted (Bogdan and Bilken 2007). Stake (2005, 443) says, "case studies are a common way to do qualitative inquiry," so a qualitative comparative case study analysis makes sense for this research project.

Data Collection and Analysis Methods

Throughout my literature review, I analyze the broader categories of social movement theories to find factors that lead to the emergence and success of a movement. These factors fall under the categories of political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes. The factors within these broader categories have led me to choose the approach I will outline in this

section for my data collection. I will restate the factors as I explain my methods for collecting

data and describe how others have collected data for these factors.

Political Opportunities

The factors I will focus on for political opportunities are the openness of the structure for

citizen participation (Eisinger 1973) and elite support (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996, 1629). I

measure the openness of the political structure for citizen participation using Freedom in the

World values, which are determined by analyzing different sources like "news articles, academic

analyses, reports from nongovernmental organizations, and individual professional contacts"

(Freedom in the World 2015: Methodology).

The data produced by Freedom in the World describes political rights and civil liberties

annually in each country, and the data are used to describe the previous year. For example, the

data that comes out in 2015 is data for the year 2014. Countries are given a numerical value from

one to seven, with one representing the most free and seven representing the least free, and then

those two numbers are averaged to determine if a country is Free, Partly Free, or Not Free.

Political rights are broken down and measured by a country's electoral process, political

pluralism and participation, and functioning of government. Civil liberties are broken down and

measured by freedom of expression and belief, associational and organizational rights, rule of

law, and personal autonomy and individual rights (Freedom in the World 2015: Methodology).

Freedom in the World is a report from Freedom House that incorporates the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights and looks at "real-world rights and freedoms" for individuals

(Freedom in the World 2015: Methodology).

For elite support, I use primary sources like memoirs and autobiographies and secondary

sources like newspaper articles and scholarly articles to collect information on domestic and international elite support. With domestic support, I look for mentions of domestic awards received for the efforts of the social movement, as well as support from those in government. In regards to international elite support, I look for mentions of international awards, as well as support of international bodies and politicians from around the world.

Mobilizing Structures

When looking at mobilizing structures I focus on leadership of the movement (Han 2011) and organizational structure (Staggenborg 1988; 1989). To see how leadership affects my two focal environmental movements, I use newspaper articles to see if a specific leader is mentioned and if the leader remains constant over time, starting from the time that the movement began to what the leadership is like today. For leadership, I use primary sources like memoirs and autobiographies and secondary sources like newspaper articles and scholarly articles to determine who the leader is. Using these sources I also look for evidence whether the leader was charismatic, well educated, and indigenous to the area the movement originated.

When looking at organizational structure I use primary sources, when available, that explain how the movement works. I look for information that states if the movement is bureaucratized, centralized, and unfactionalized if possible.

Framing Processes

For framing processes, I look at diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational processes (Benford and Snow 2000). For diagnostic framing, I use both primary and secondary sources to see how the movement frames the injustice at hand, as well as how the public interprets this

injustice. I collect and analyze prognostic data using primary sources that clearly state the goals

of the social movement. If primary sources are not available, I use secondary sources to see how

others interpret the goals of the social movement. Lastly, looking at motivational data, I look at

the vocabulary used by the social movement to mobilize the people. I also do this by first looking

at primary sources, and then using secondary sources if there is a lack of primary data.

Green Belt Movement Case Study

The Green Belt Movement (GBM) emerged in Kenya in the 1970s because of the environmental degradation occurring in the country from the conversion of natural land to plantations for crops, and this transition from subsistence farming in a self-sustaining, fertile part of Kenya to a cash-crop form of agriculture that was all exported, led to the degradation of the land as well as the malnutrition of the people (Maathai 2006, 121-123). The context that this social movement arises in is important to understand the factors that helped or hindered the success of the social movement, which is why I provide a brief history of Kenya before I go into more detail on the GBM.

Brief History of Kenya

Kenya is 580,367 total square kilometers, which is about five times the size of Ohio (CIA: The World Factbook: Kenya). It is a country located in East Africa and bordered by Somalia, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, and the Indian Ocean (CIA: The World Factbook: Kenya). Mount Kenya reaches the highest elevation in the country at 5,199 meters and is the second tallest mountain in Africa (CIA: The World Factbook: Kenya). Because of Kenya's climatic location, the majority of the land is made up of dry, desert-like areas with some scrub (Maathai 2004, 3). Along the Indian Ocean, the climate is tropical, and becomes drier from east to west (CIA: The World Factbook: Kenya).

Kenya has many natural resources like limestone, soda ash, salt, gemstones, fluorspar, zinc, diatomite, wildlife, and hydropower (CIA: The World Factbook: Kenya). Tea, horticultural products, coffee, petroleum, fish, and cement are some commodities that Kenya exports (CIA:

The World Factbook: Kenya). Kenya exports primarily to Uganda, Tanzania, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States, Egypt, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (CIA: The World Factbook: Kenya). The ecological cost, like extractive industries, of these abundant natural resources is the reason why the GBM emerged.

Of Kenya's total land area, 11,227 square kilometers is water (CIA: The World Factbook: Kenya). Mombasa is the major seaport, and Kisumu on Lake Victoria serves as another port in the interior of the country (CIA: The World Factbook: Kenya). Other main bodies of water are the Tana, Galana, Athi and Turkwel Rivers, as well as Lake Victoria, Lake Turkana, and smaller water systems (Kaplan 1976, 50-58).

The forests in East Africa are similar in the fact that they have all been the locations of severe deforestation, not because of timber exports, but because of growing population's need for land and fuel (Sayer 1992, 143). Peltorinne (2004, 1) says that the forests in Kenya are more of a cultural entity than a natural entity because "they are influenced by the farming and herding practices of the local inhabitants, but still support a forest cover of solely or mainly indigenous species." These forests are different in different parts of the country when it comes to tree and animal species, but consist of mostly indigenous species and are fragmented across Kenya (Peltorinne 2004, 1). One reason for this diverse ecology is the soil quality (Miller 1984, 3). The coastal and southwest parts of Kenya have the most fertile soils, while the rest of the country has poor, alkaline soil (Miller 1984, 3).

Kenya has 15 major forest-protected areas throughout the country (Sayer 1992, 146). The forests of Kenya can be divided into six groups, which are the western plateaus, areas of high elevation like volcanic mountains, coastal forests, riverine forests, northern mountains and southern hills (Sayer 1992, 152). The forests located on the western plateaus of Kenya are

Kabarnet, Kakamega, Nandi and Trans-Mara, which are tropical rainforests (Peltorinne 2004, 2-3). The areas of higher elevation and volcanic mountains are the location of montane forests consisting of evergreen trees (Peltorinne 2004, 2-3). These forests are Elgon, Kenya, Aberdares, Cherangani and Mau (Peltorinne 2004, 2-3).

The coastal forests of Kenya are the location of the most biological diversity, as well as "the last refuges of an ancient forest mass" (Peltorinne 2004, 3). These coastal forests are Arabuko-Sokoke, Tana and Kayas (Peltorinne 2004, 2). Riverine forests are those that form in a narrow strip along rivers (Peltorinne 2004, 4). These forests are Tana, Ewaso-Ngiro, Kerio, Turkwell and Galana (Peltorinne 2004, 2). Ndotos, Mathews, Leroghi, Kulal and Marsabit forests are located on the northern mountains (Peltorinne 2, 2004). The forests located on the southern hills of Kenya are Taita Hills, Kasigau, Shimba Hills, Chyulu Hills and Nguruman (Peltorinne 2004, 2).

The World Bank has data on the total forest area in Kenya from 1990 to 2015 and the forest area as a percent of the total land area from 1990 to 2013 (World Bank Data: Forest Area [% of Land Area]; World Bank Data: Forest Area [Sq. km.]) In 1990, Kenya's forested land area was 8.3 percent. (World Bank Data: Forest Area [% of Land Area]). This decreased until 2000, when the amount of forested land area dropped to 6.2 percent (World Bank Data: Forest Area [% of Land Area]). Since then, this value has slowly been increasing, and in 2013, Kenya's forested land area covered 7.6 percent of Kenya's total landmass (World Bank Data: Forest Area [% of Land Area]).

With the population increasing from about two million people in the early 1900s to about 8.5 million people in 1962, attention turned to forests for possible agricultural land (Ofcansky 1984, 143). Today Kenya has about 45,925,301 million people so the stress on these forests has

increased in order to supply the rapidly increasing population (CIA: The World Factbook: Kenya; Maathai 2004, 2). There are 42 socio-linguistic groups according to the Kenya census, and they include the Luo, Kikuyu, Kamba, Luhya, Maasai, Meru, Embu, Somali, and Turkana (Maathai 2004, 3). A growing population leads to deforestation because of the need for more food and firewood to supply the needs of the increase in the number of people (Cropper and Griffiths 1994, 251). The need for more food is met by the clearing of forests for agriculture use and the need for more firewood is met by the increased clearing of forests for timber (Cropper and Griffiths 1994, 251).
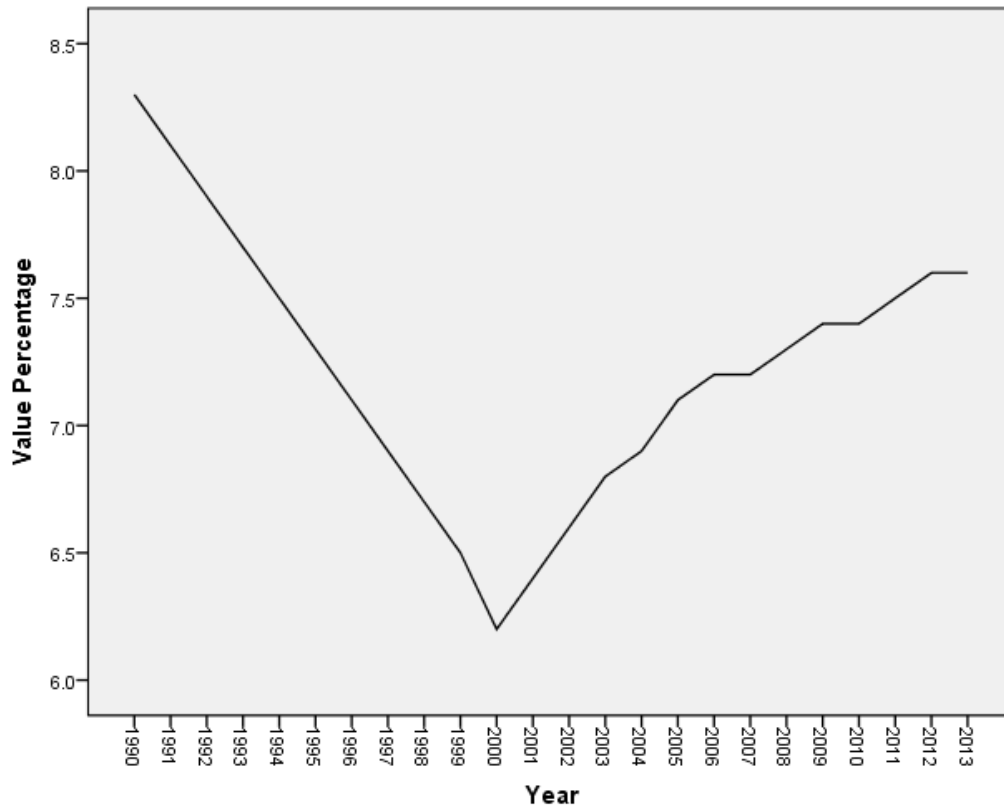
Figure 1: Total Forest Area in Kenya (% of Land Area), 1990-2013

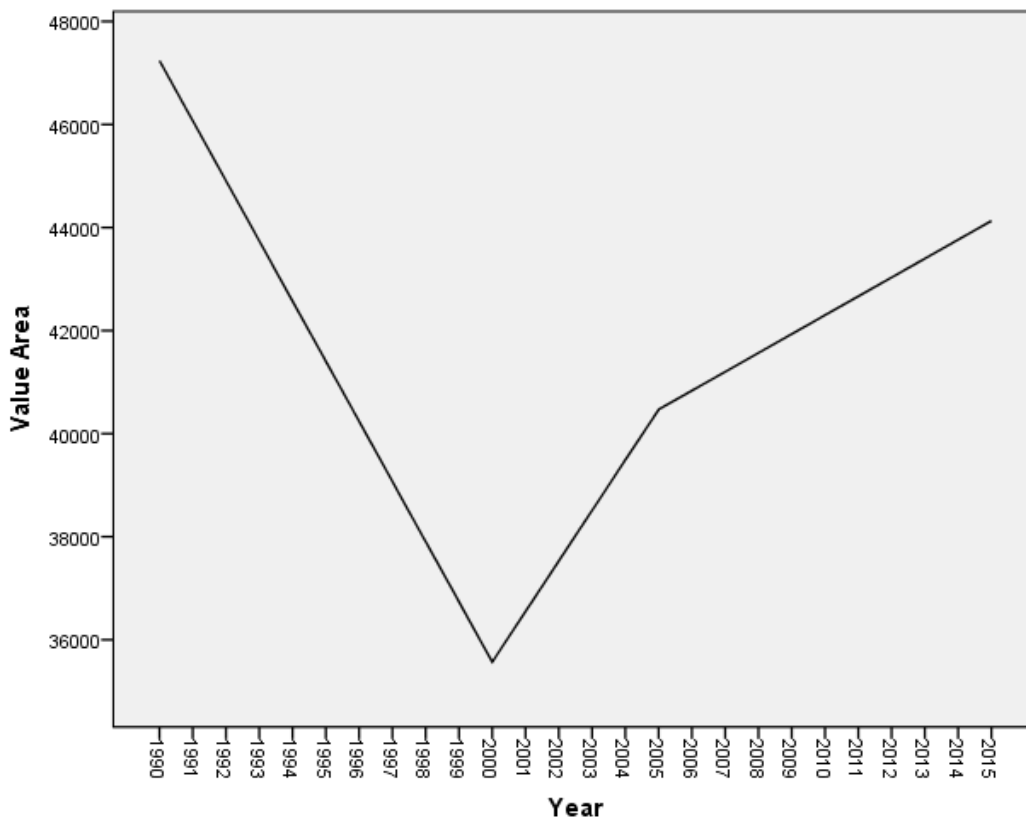**Source: World Bank Data: Forest Area [% of Land Area]**

Figure 2: Total Forest Area in Kenya sq km), 1990-2015

Source: World Bank Data: Forest Area [sq km]

This major decrease in forest area began while Kenya was a British colony, which was from the 1890s to December 12, 1963 after the Mau Mau Movement (Country Profile: Republic of Kenya). Kenya was the thirty-fourth independent country in Africa (Odinga 1967, 253). During this period, Britain divided Kenya into administrative units without consulting with the indigenous people, which led to the divide of neighborhoods and already established communities (Maathai 2004, 3). Great Britain governed using those eight provinces, which are still in place today. Nairobi is one of these provinces, which is also the capital of Kenya (Maathai 2004, 3).

Ofcansky (1984, 136) discusses Kenya's forests under British rule, and says "protecting Kenya's forest environment from the impacts of rapid and widespread westernization posed a difficult problem for the colonial administration." Those problems that emerged during colonial rule can be examined in order to understand the current problems facing Kenya's forests. Kenya's forest policy began with the Ukamba Woods and Forest Regulations in 1897 (Ofcansky 1984, 138). This regulation was created to establish protected strips of forest every two miles around the Uganda railway, in order to replace trees that were torn down in the clearing for the railways (Matiru 2002, 1897). Ofcansky (1984, 138) says that this regulation showed support for the principles of forest protection, but the colonial administration failed to fulfill what was proposed in the regulation because there was not adequate enforcement to stop the destruction of these forests.

Since then there has been the 1902 East African Forestry Regulation and many other policies aimed at protecting forests (Ofcansky 1984, 139-143). The 1902 East African Forestry Regulation established the use of arrest as a way to enforce forestry policies, but this was difficult to enforce because of a lack of available officers (Ofcansky 1984, 139). In 1957, the

colonial government wanted to create a Forest Department that was able to have forest reserves that supplied for the needs of all Kenyan citizens, but they even stated that they wanted "a surplus of forest products – mainly firewood – for export markets" (Ofcansky 1984, 139). Many of the policies written were a good idea in theory, but the execution of these polices proved challenging (Ofcansky 1984, 139).

Even though the colonial government created many unreliable and ineffective forestry policies with the cover of trying to protect the environment, the government still destroyed natural forests for commercial agricultural use (Maathai 2006, 38). They planted exotic species and gave locals free seeds of those kinds of plants to increase the interest in these plants (Maathai 2006, 38). The planting of exotic trees "eliminated local plants and animals, destroying the natural ecosystem that helped gather and retain water" (Maathai 2006, 38). This led to water not being held in the soil, and running downstream away from areas that needed that water (Maathai 2006, 39).

History of the GBM

As briefly noted in the methodology chapter, Wangari Maathai wanted to see change in how the government treated the environment. Wangari Maathai started the GBM in 1977 as "a grassroots Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) that focuses on environment conservation and development" (Maathai 2004, 6). Wangari Maathai and the Green Belt Movement evolved over time to become the core of what it is today.

Wangari Maathai was born April 1, 1940, in a fertile and green village in Ihithe, Kenya (Maathai 2006, 3). Her parents were Kikuyu peasant farmers that took care of goats, sheep and cattle, so Maathai spent her childhood around animals and the green environment (Maathai 2006,

3). When Maathai was little and would go to get firewood, her mother used to tell her not to take wood from or around the fig tree because it is a tree of God (Maathai 2006, 45). The Kikuyus also saw Mount Kenya as the location of God (Maathai 2006, 5). This is different from how the European missionaries viewed God (Maathai 2006, 5). They came to the central highlands and taught Kikuyus that God did not live on Mount Kenya, but he lived in the clouds, which takes away from the God's presence on the earth and in the environment (Maathai 2006, 5). Maathai said that people accepted the Europeans' view on the world, which led to exploitation of the land (Maathai 2006, 6). Hallowed landscapes lost their sacredness and were exploited as the local people became insensitive to the destruction, accepting it as a sign of progress (Maathai 2006, 6).

Maathai was the first woman in East and Central Africa to receive a Ph.D. (Maathai 2006, 113). She received a Ph.D. with a research focus in development and differentiation of gonads in bovines from the University College of Nairobi (Maathai 2006,-112). Maathai was away from her home for many years as she studied and worked, and when she went to visit her family in Nyeri in the early 1970s, she recounted the changes she saw in an area that was once green and growing:

> I saw rivers silted with topsoil, much of which was coming from the forest where plantations of commercial trees had replaced indigenous forest. I noticed that much of the land had that had been covered by trees, bushes and grasses when I was growing up had been replaced by tea and coffee. (Maathai 2006, 121)

In 1974, Maathai began to focus on reforestation when she was involved in her husband's parliamentary campaign. He eventually won the election, becoming the Member of Parliament (MP) for the Lang'ata constituency in Nairobi (Maathai 2004, 9-11). During the campaign, Maathai and her husband learned that the main concern for the people in the constituency was unemployment, which Maathai promised to do something about if her husband was elected (Maathai 2004, 9-11). Since her husband won, Maathai wanted to uphold her promise and used

the planting of trees in a nursery to employ some of the people from Lang'ata, which she called Envirocare Ltd. (Maathai 2004, 12).

Envirocare eventually ended because of the lack of support from the constituents because they were not willing to give their time and full effort (Maathai 2004, 14). Maathai did not let this stop her and went to the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) to continue this tree-planting campaign (Maathai 2004, 15). Members of the NCWK elected Maathai as a member of the Executive Committee and as a member of the Standing Committee on Environment and Habitat (Maathai 2004, 16). While working as a standing committee member, she proposed tree planting "as a project that would especially help our (NCWK's) members in the rural areas to inexpensively meet many of their needs including wood fuel, building and fencing material and soil conservation" (Maathai 2004, 17). With some convincing, Maathai's dream became reality in 1977 with the name *Harambee*, which means, "Let us all pull together!" (Maathai 2004, 20). As time went on, more members of the community became involved with *Harambee*, which developed a strategy for tree planting on public land (Maathai 2004, 28). They planted seedlings in rows that formed green belts of trees, which yielded the name Green Belt Movement (Maathai 2004, 28).

The GBM incentivized women to plant trees by compensating them $0.04 USD per tree (Maathai 2006, 137). This motivated poor rural women because many did not have a consistent source of income, and this money paid them for the hard work that they usually do for no benefit (Maathai 2006, 137). Maathai created a 10-step procedure as a guideline for women to follow in order to receive payment for planting trees (Maathai 2006, 137). This included steps like forming a group of women, finding a site for the tree nursery, reporting their success of their trees to the GBM and then repayment (Maathai 2006, 137). After these steps were successful, Maathai

encouraged the women to go to other communities to encourage them to do the same –

"communities empowering one another for their own need and benefit" (Maathai 2006, 137).

Maathai also did not want to give the women the seeds, so the women did not become

dependent on her and the GBM (Maathai 2006, 136). Maathai encouraged the women to go into

their forests and collect their own seeds (Maathai 2006, 136). This also ensured the planting of

indigenous, yet diverse seeds (Maathai 2006, 136). In order to make this movement grow, more

women needed to find out about it, so Maathai suggested that each women involved go to a

surrounding village and share the tree-planting mission (Maathai 2006, 237). "This was a

breakthrough, because it was now communities empowering one another for their own needs and

benefit" (Maathai 2006, 137).

The GBM took part in many protests and environmental advocacy efforts, but the most

well known protest was in the fall of 1989 at Uhuru Park in Nairobi (Maathai 2006, 184-205).

Uhuru Park is a large, green community park in the heart of Nairobi, and Maathai (2006, 184)

equates it to Central Park in New York City. The Kenyan government had been encroaching on

the park and taking land from the park for office buildings, with the most recent goal of building

a tower in the park that would house government offices, as well as malls and parking spots

(Maathai 2006, 186).

Maathai also heard that the building of this tower would require the demolition of historic

buildings in the area (Maathai 2006, 187-188). This prompted Maathai, seeking to stop the

building protests, to write letters to organizations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific

and Cultural Organization, the UN Development Programme, and Sir John Johnson, who was the

British High Commissioner in Nairobi (Maathai 2006, 187-188). Maathai received no answers

from these letters. Meanwhile, members of parliament attempted to discredit the GBM as a

"bogus organization," and from the state-run media with newspaper headlines like "MPs

Condemn Prof Maathai" and "Prof Maathai Under Fire in Parliament" (Maathai 2006, 191).

After being kicked out of their office by the government, the GBM changed locations and

kept fighting for what they believed (Maathai 2006, 199). All of these struggles paid off because

in February of 1992 the fence that surrounded the future tower was taken down (Maathai 2006,

203). What started as a Kenyan environmental grassroots movement had turned into a movement

that explicitly challenged the policies and practices that impacted environments.. The GBM

began to focus on human rights violations, gender issues, corruption, and much more (Maathai

2004, 68). I will now look at the specific factors I found and explained in my literature review

and see how they impact the success of the GBM.

Analysis of Factors

Political Opportunities

The factors for political opportunities that I will analyze in this chapter, which were

stated in my literature review, are the openness of the political structure for citizen participation

(Meyer and Staggenborg 1996, 1633), domestic and international support of elite or those in

power (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996, 1629), and current policies (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996,

1638).

I will first analyze the openness of Kenya's political structures for citizen participation

and see how this factor has influenced the GBM. I chose to look at Kenya's Freedom in the

World ratings from 1977 to 2014 to understand the openness of Kenya's political structure for

political participation during the entirety of the GBM. These scores serve as indicators of major

turning points in governmental structure that in turn affect the degree to which individuals and

organizations can influence government policies.

In 1977, Freedom House rated Kenya with a five and labeled the country "partly free."

Freedom House ratings remained fairly constant with few changes in political rights and civil

liberties, so from 1977-1986 Kenya was considered "partly free." From 1986-2001 Kenya's

ratings went up, which means that it was then labeled as "not free." 1992 was the only year in

that span when Kenya was labeled "partly free." In 2002, Kenya became "partly free" again, and

it has remained that way since.

Years	Status
1977 - Nov. 1986	Partly Free
Nov. 1986 - 2001	Not Free (1992 exception)
2002 - 2014	Partly Free

Figure 3: Freedom Rating, 1977-2014
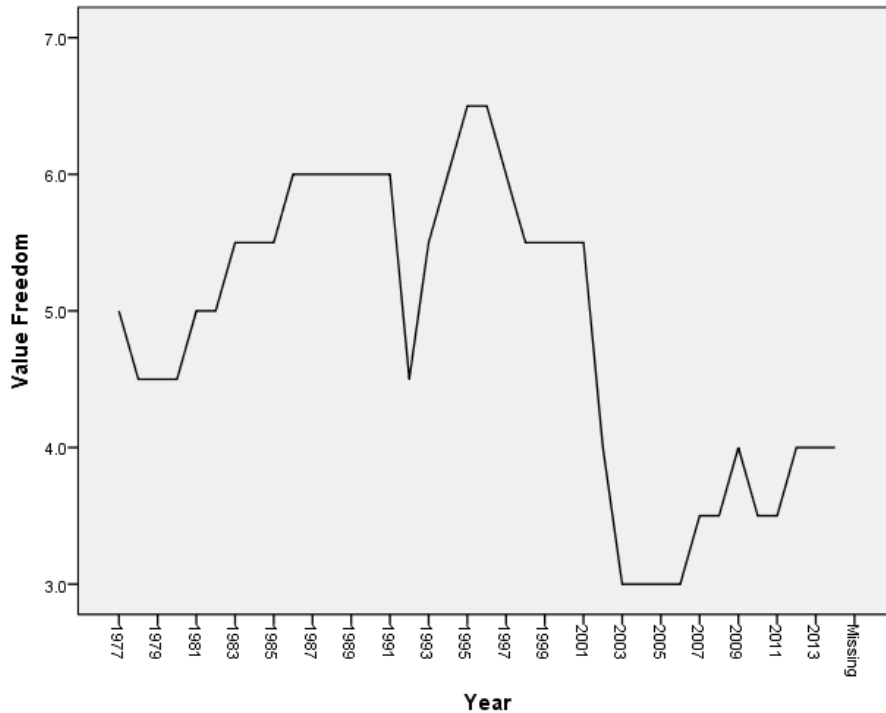
Source: Freedom in the World – Kenya

Jomo Kenyatta was the first president of Kenya and was initially elected on December 12, 1964 (Maxon and Ofcansky 2013, 173). He was part of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), which was the party in power for 38 years (Maxon and Ofcansky 2013, 160). Kenya mostly operated as a one-party state for the entirety of Kenyatta's presidency (Maxon and Ofcansky 2013, 174). Maxon and Ofcansky (2013, 174) argue that Kenyatta has been "criticized for destroying the constitution for independence (1963), introducing authoritarian rule including many violations of human rights, abetting ethnic chauvinism, and engaging in massive land grabbing for himself and friends." These practices, which became normalized under Kenyatta's rule, persisted after Kenyatta passed away in 1978 and his vice-president, Daniel Arap Moi assumed the presidency. Moi, and thus KANU, remained in power from 1978-2002.

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During the Moi presidency, Kenya's Freedom in the World rating went from "partly free" to "not free." Maxon and Offcansky describe Moi's presidency by saying:

> As president, he used patronage and the huge powers of the executive branch to keep his enemies divided and off balance. By the late 1980s, Moi had solidified his power, which had become increasingly personal and authoritarian. The use of state power to enhance political and personal fortunes became one of the characteristics of the Nyayo era (Maxon and Offcansky 2013, 228).

This, coupled with limitations on the freedom of the press, the oppressive nature of the state, and the fear of freedom of expression, explains the shift in 1986 from "partly free" to "not free."

The year 1992 is the only exception to the streak of "not free" years from 1986-2001. This is because 1992 was the first multi-party election in Kenya since 1963; in all previous years the presidents ran unopposed (Maxon and Ofcansky 2013, 116). While this election was marred by violence in the Rift Valley and claims of vote-rigging in some areas, the fact that opposition parties were allowed to register, hold rallies, and run as candidates for elections explains why the ratings improved to "partly free," but that openness obviously did not last long.

Moi was reelected in 1992, but there was controversy (Maxon and Ofcansky 2013, 116). The Commonwealth Observers Group "found many irregularities had marred the poll and that control of the media had given KANU a huge advantage" (Maxon and Ofcansky 2013, 116). The one year when Kenya was labeled "partly free" did not last long, and Freedom House reverted to a "not free" status under the rest of Moi's second term.

In 2002, Freedom House revised Kenya's status from "not free" to "partly free." Kenya remains at "partly free" today. This is because Mwai Kibaki, representing the opposition coalition, the National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition (NARC), won the 2002 presidential election. This new leadership and political party focused on reform programs like "tackling corruption, economic and social issues and undertaking institutional reforms designed to promote

democracy" (Freedom in the World - Kenya). Freedom House explains the emerging political

opportunities for citizen participation:

> The right of citizens to effectively participate in the political life of the country has been limited, but there are now some emerging positive elements. Despite Kenya's history of authoritarian rule, many basic elements necessary for the development of a democratic political system exist. Political parties are active and vocal. Parliament is the setting for much of the nation's political discourse. A varied and energetic civil society plays an important role in public policy debates (Freedom in the World - Kenya).

Even though there was not a major change in Kenya's Freedom in the World score in

2007, this was still a controversial election because there were irregularities with the vote

counting process (Freedom in the World - Kenya). This benefited Kibaki, who was the

incumbent, and Freedom in the World says that these election irregularities and the violence that

followed hurt Kenyan democracy (Freedom in the World - Kenya). The disputed election led to

the conflict between the supporters of Kibaki and the supporters of the opposition candidate

Raila Odinga after the election (Cheeseman 2008, 170). The violence exacerbated ethnic tensions

and led to about 1,200 deaths (Dupas and Robinson 2012, 7).

In 2013, Uhuru Kenyatta, with the Jubilee Alliance, was elected and his presidency has

continued with the "partly free" status until today (Freedom in the World - Kenya). This election

was "relatively peaceful and well-organized," but it did not have a high voter turnout and there

was confusion over rejected ballots (Freedom in the World - Kenya).

Since Kenya has only been "not free" and "partly free," the political structure for citizen

participation is more closed than open. This means that the GBM has been active during a time

period of a lack of political opportunity, suggesting that they were somehow able to compensate

for this to achieve some success with the use of other factors.

At first, the Kenyan government supported the GBM because it was seen as a harmless

tree-planting campaign that did not threaten the government (House–Midamba 1996, 300;

Ndegwa 1996, 97). As time went on, and Maathai saw how successful it was to bring women together and talk about change while planting trees, the GBM began to challenge the state (House–Midamba 1996, 300). The GBM became "a prominent actor pursuing advocacy and protest from the late 1980s to the present, " and it pushed for change when change was difficult to achieve (Ndegwa 1996, 97).

Maathai was arrested several times for challenging the government, and through arrests and threats, she continued to fight for what she believed in. For example, on January 10, 1992, Wangari Maathai went to the press to share the news that Moi was planning to turn the government over to the military and that her life was in danger (Maathai 2006, 209-210). A few days later, she was arrested for "spreading malicious rumors, sedition, and treason" (Maathai 2006, 213).

The government arrested others who stood up against government policies (Maathai 2006, 216). It targeted young men for "political agitation" and "for advocating for greater democratic space" (Maathai 2006, 216). The mothers of these men wanted their sons released and formed the Release Political Prisoners campaign, which was a movement the GBM agreed with because it promoted democracy and human rights (Maathai 2006, 217). On February 28, 1992, this group camped out on Freedom Corner of Uhuru Park and went on a hunger strike until their sons were released (Maathai 2006, 219). On March 3, 1992 police came to end this protest threatening the use of weapons (Maathai 2006, 220). Maathai told the story of what happened next:

> Several of them stripped, some of them completely naked, and showed the police officers their breasts. (I myself did not strip.) One of the most powerful of African traditions concerns the relationship between a woman and a man who could be her son. Every woman old enough to be your mother is considered like your own mother and expects to be treated with considerable respect. As they bared their breasts, what the mothers were saying to the policeman in their anger and frustration as they were being beaten was "By

showing you my nakedness, I curse you as I would my son for the way you are abusing me" (Maathai 2006, 220-221).

Maathai says that the police removed all of the women protesters by that evening, but that was not the end of it (Maathai 2006, 221). In the beginning of 1993, the women continued this hunger strike at an Anglican church across the street from Freedom Corner until their sons were released (Maathai 2006, 223).

In April 2000, Maathai was the co-chair of the Jubilee 2000 Africa campaign, which worked on the petition to get countries to drop Kenya's debt (Maathai 2006, 278). The GBM cofounded the Kenyan Debt Relief Network (KENDREN) to serve as an organization that gathered all groups who were concerned about Kenya's growing international debt (Maathai 2006, 278). The protest that Maathai took part in ended with the arrest of nuns and priests (Maathai 2006, 279).

On March 7, 2001, Maathai was arrested again, while raising awareness about the government's attempt to take two hundred acres of forested land (Maathai 2006, 282). She was in the parking lot of a shopping mall sharing this news with the public, and the police came and arrested her (Maathai 2006, 282). Maathai was arrested for the last time on July 7, 2001, when she was planting trees in Uhuru Park as a memorial for the heroes of Saba Saba day (Maathai 2006, 283). Saba Saba day marks the years of the multiparty system in Kenya (Maathai 2006, 283). Maathai said that this arrest was to humiliate and intimidate her, however, it was not successful (Maathai 2006, 283-284).

The next factor that I will analyze for political opportunities is support of elite or those in power. Meyer and Staggenborg (1996, 1642) say that "the availability of elite support is one important aspect of a favorable political opportunity structure." This elite support can come from

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government officials or powerful businesses, and can either "thwart" or "support" a social

movement (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996, 1642). I will start with a discussion of domestic elite

support and then turn to look at international elite.

In regards to domestic elite support, the 2002 election was an exciting one for Maathai, as

she ran to become a Member of Parliament representing Tetu constituency Maathai received 98

percent of votes (Maathai 2006, 288). By the beginning of 2003, Maathai was appointed assistant

minister in the Ministry for Environment and Natural Resources (Maathai 2006, 289). With this

domestic elite support, Maathai was able to influence policies more directly.

International "elite" support began when Wangari Maathai won the Right Livelihood

Award in 1984 (The Right Livelihood Award: Wangari Maathai [1984, Kenya]). This award

"was established in 1980 to honour and support those offering practical and exemplary answers

to the most urgent challenges facing us today. It has become widely known as the 'Alternative

Nobel Prize' and there are now 162 Laureates from 67 countries" (About the Right Livelihood

Award). While the Right Livelihood Award recognized Maathai's and the GBM's work, it did

not dramatically increase awareness of the GBM.

Twenty years later, Wangari Maathai won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004 "for her

contribution to sustainable development, democracy and peace" (Nobel Peace Prize 2004). This

elite recognition made the GBM better known internationally. This is evident in the significant

increase in newspaper coverage after Maathai was awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004.

To give a sense of how the Nobel Peace Prize raised awareness about Maathai and the

GBM, I conducted a LexisNexis search on media coverage. When doing an advanced search on

LexisNexis Academic with only newspapers as the source, and with the timeline as 1977 to

today with the keyword as "The Green Belt Movement," 802 newspaper articles are found. If the

search is narrowed to before Maathai was awarded the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize (1977 – October 7th 2004), a 27 year span, there are only 68 out of those 802 newspapers during that time period. If one last search is done after Maathai receives the Nobel Peace Prize (October 8th 2004 – today), 734 newspaper articles come up. With this I wanted to show that before Wangari Maathai was recognized with a Nobel Peace Prize, there was much less talk about the GBM than after she won, which is evident with the number of 68 newspaper articles before the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize and 734 newspaper articles after the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize. The Nobel Peace Price created international attention and support for the GBM.

I want to end my discussion on political opportunities with a quote from Wangari Maathai's book, *Unbowed*. She writes, "Democracy does not solve problems. It does not automatically combat poverty or stop deforestation. However, without it, the ability for people to solve problems or become less poor or respect their environment is, I believe, impossible" (Maathai 2006, 289). This quote represents political opportunities in Kenya and how important these opportunities are for change, which were and continue to be critical for the success of the GBM.

Mobilizing Structures

Mobilizing structures change over time, which is why I will look at these structures throughout the entire movement. The factors for mobilizing structures that I will analyze in this chapter are leadership and the organizational structure of the movement. The first factor that I will measure and analyze is leadership. Han (2011, 46) talks about leadership and its importance to political opportunities by saying that it depends on the quality of the leader of a social

movement to achieve political presence, and that political presence is more beneficial because it is closer to the "policy making table."

Maathai did not let the GBM enter the political realm and she did this by keeping the GBM focused on education about ecological destruction and amelioration through planting trees, so the GBM did not seem to pose a political threat (Michaelson 1994, 546). Even though she did achieve political presence as assistant minister in the Ministry for Environment and Natural Resources, she eventually resigned in 2005 because she no longer wanted to be part of a corrupt government (Taylor 2013, 185).

This factor goes along with elite support because Wangari Maathai was more than just the leader of the GBM (Wangari Maathai Biography). She was the first woman in "East and Central Africa to earn a doctorate degree," as well as being the first woman in the region to become "chair of the Department of Veterinary Anatomy and an associate professor in 1976 and 1977" (Wangari Maathai Biography).

A LexisNexis Academic search for how many newspaper articles including "Wangari Maathai" from the same time period, 1977 – today, brings up 2,506 newspaper articles. That is 1,704 more articles than when I searched "The Green Belt Movement." This search shows that Wangari Maathai is a well-known leader, and having her name tied to the Green Belt Movement has been a success for the movement. Maathai is the prominent face of GBM. She is a charismatic leader, opposition force, and she was not afraid to be very public with her protests about government abuse. She became synonymous with GBM and helped advance her cause.

When looking at the organizational structure of the GBM, there are two key factors – formalization (Staggenborg 1988) and centralization (Staggenborg 1989). Michaelson (1994, 549) says that the GBM is characterized "by a highly formalized structure with a mix of

centralized and decentralized features." It is formalized because it began as a project under the NCWK, which as stated above, is a group of women from all over Kenya that is recognized and legitimate. (official registered organization)

The GBM is centralized because there is one leader, Wangari Maathai, and that there are central offices in Kenya, the U.S., and Europe with staff and board members (The Green Belt Movement: Our Staff and Board). The fact that this movement began as a grassroots movement, and still acts as one, is an example of the decentralized aspect of the movement:

> So what we did in the Green Belt Movement was to go to those grass root, those bottom, and instead of trickling down, go to them and say maybe there should be a trickle up. (Wangari Maathai & The Green Belt Movement)

Framing Processes

The core framing tasks, as stated by Benford and Snow (2000, 615), that I will analyze for the GBM are diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing. Looking specifically at diagnostic frames, which are sometimes referred to as "injustice frames" (Benford and Snow 2000, 615), the GBM framed their efforts around how environmental degradation is directly an injustice towards women (The Green Belt Movement).

Prognostic framing, which focuses on the plan or goal of a movement, has been clearly stated since the beginning of the GBM. In Maathai's acceptance speech for the Right Livelihood Award on December 9, 1984, she clearly states these goals:

> (a) To encourage tree planting so as to provide the source of energy in the rural areas.
> (b) To promote planting of multipurpose trees with special reference to nutritional and energy requirements of man and his livestock.
> (d) To promote the protection and maintenance of the environment and development through seminars, conferences, workshops etc.
> (e) To encourage soil conservation land reclamation and rehabilitation through tree planting.
> (f) To develop methods for rational land use.
> (g) To create an income-generating activity for rural women.

(h) To create self-employment opportunities especially for handicapped persons and the rural poor.
(i) To develop a replicable methodology for rural development.
(j) To carry out research in conjunction with the University of Nairobi and other research institutions.
(k) To create self-employment opportunities for young persons.
(l) To carry out any activities that promote those objectives (Maathai 1984)

The third core framing task, motivational framing, focuses on the vocabulary that motivates collective action (Benford and Snow 2000, 617). Maathai uses the act of tree planting to mobilize participants, and the movement spreads as others include their friends and family:

A tree has a personality, and as it grows and changes the landscape, it also seems to change the minds of the people. And it brings with it a certain pull that actually encourages people to do more, so that you start with a few farmers and before you know, so many other farmers want to also participate (Taking Root the Vision of Wangari Maathai).

In addition, the GBM uses the harmless and apolitical act of planting trees to organize during times with a closed political opportunity structure. The trees themselves act as a tool to "educate about the causes and effects of ecological destruction" (Michaelson 1994, 546).

Conclusion of GBM

All of the social movement factors in political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes, work with each other to make the GBM the success it is today. One example of this success is that the GBM has continued to expand, since the beginning, even after Maathai passed away in 2011. The GBM was at 80,000 participants in 1994 (Michaelson 1994, 551), and this number has even increased since then because of the international support. The GBM has also planted over 51 million trees in Kenya and that number continues to grow as well (The Green Belt Movement).

Looking at my dependent variable, success of the social movement, I will look at the GBM's effect on policies. Meyer and Staggenborg (1996, 1634) say that within constrained governments, social movements can "influence policy, alter policy alignments, and raise the public profile and salience of particular issues." Wangari Maathai was elected to Kenya's parliament in 2002 and was the Assistant Minister for Environment and Natural Resources in Kenya from 2003 to 2005 (Wangari Maathai Biography). While Maathai was the Assistant Minister for Environment and Natural Resources, she had a part in shaping Kenya's Forest Act of 2005, which is said to be the biggest contribution of the GBM (Taylor 2013, 185). This act is "an act of Parliament to provide for the establishment, development and sustainable management, including conservation and rational utilization of forest resources for the socio-economic development of the country" (The Forests Act 2005). This evidence that Wangari Maathai and the GBM had direct influence on policies in Kenya's government shows that the GBM has had success in making these policies, which is part of political opportunities.

This success is seen in more than just policy outcomes, it is seen in the stories of the lives it has reached (public opinion):

> The women of Naaro narrate stories of the difficult past, when they used to walk long distances to fetch or purchase wood fuel and then slowly walk home carrying backbreaking loads. They also talk of the times when they had to change their diets because there was not enough fuel to cook with. Today, however, they proudly tell how they can quickly obtain sufficient supplies of wood fuel at no cost … (Maathai 2004, 25)

Even though political opportunity structure is relatively closed during much of the GBMs existence, the vast elite support, charismatic and indigenous leadership, a centralized and formal organizational structure that began as grassroots, and effective framing allowed it to overcome a closed political environment

Chipko Movement Case Study

The Chipko movement emerged in India in the 1973 as a way for the indigenous people to
prevent British logging companies from cutting down trees (Rangan 2000, 5). This destruction of
forests led the people of Gharhwal to peacefully protest the felling of trees by physically
embracing the trees (Weber 1988, 39). The context that this social movement arises in is
important to understand the factors that helped or hindered the success of the social movement,
which is why I provide a brief history of India before I go into more detail on the Chipko
movement.

Brief History of India

In order to understand the creation and evolution of the Chipko movement, a brief
understanding of the context in which the movement emerged is needed. India is a peninsula off
of southern Asia and is bordered by the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, Bangladesh, Bhutan,
Burma, China, Nepal and Pakistan (The World Factbook: India). India takes up 3,287,263 square
kilometers, which is about one-third the size of the U.S. (The World Factbook: India).
Kanchenjunga is the highest elevation in India, third tallest mountain in the world, standing at
8,598 meters (The World Factbook: India). The climate of India varies with tropical monsoons in
the south and temperate in the north (The World Factbook: India).

India has many natural resources like coal, iron ore, manganese, mica, bauxite, rare earth
elements, titanium ore, chromite, natural gas, diamonds, petroleum, and limestone (The World
Factbook: India). Petroleum products, precious stones, vehicles, machinery, iron, steel,
chemicals, pharmaceutical products, cereals, and apparel are some commodities that India

exports (The World Factbook: India). India exports primarily to U.S., United Arab Emirates, Hong Kong, China, and Saudi Arabia (The World Factbook: India). The reason that this is important is because India has the second largest population in the world, with over one billion people (The World Factbook: India). This large and rapidly increasing population has put stress on the natural resources that the country provides, which in turn leads to the destruction of land.

India has varying forest vegetation because of the large land area that spans across different climatic regions (Smythies 1925, 22). The five main types of forests, explained by Smythies (1925, 22-31), are the arid-country forests, deciduous forests, evergreen forests, hill forests, and littoral forests. The Chipko movement emerged in the Uttarakhand Himalaya, which is located in Northern India and is spans 2500 kilometers (Weber 1988, 17). In this area, there is an indigenous connection to the forests, which has led to the desire of the people to conserve these forests (Guha 1985, 1939).

The World Bank has data on the total forest area in India from 1990 to 2015 and the forest area as a percent of the total land area from 1990 to 2015 (World Bank Data: Forest Area [% of Land Area]; World Bank Data: Forest Area [Sq. km.]) In 1990, India's forested land area was 21.5 percent. (World Bank Data: Forest Area [% of Land Area]). This has increased since then, with the most rapid increase from 2000 to 2009, and in 2015 was 23.8 percent (World Bank Data: Forest Area [% of Land Area]).
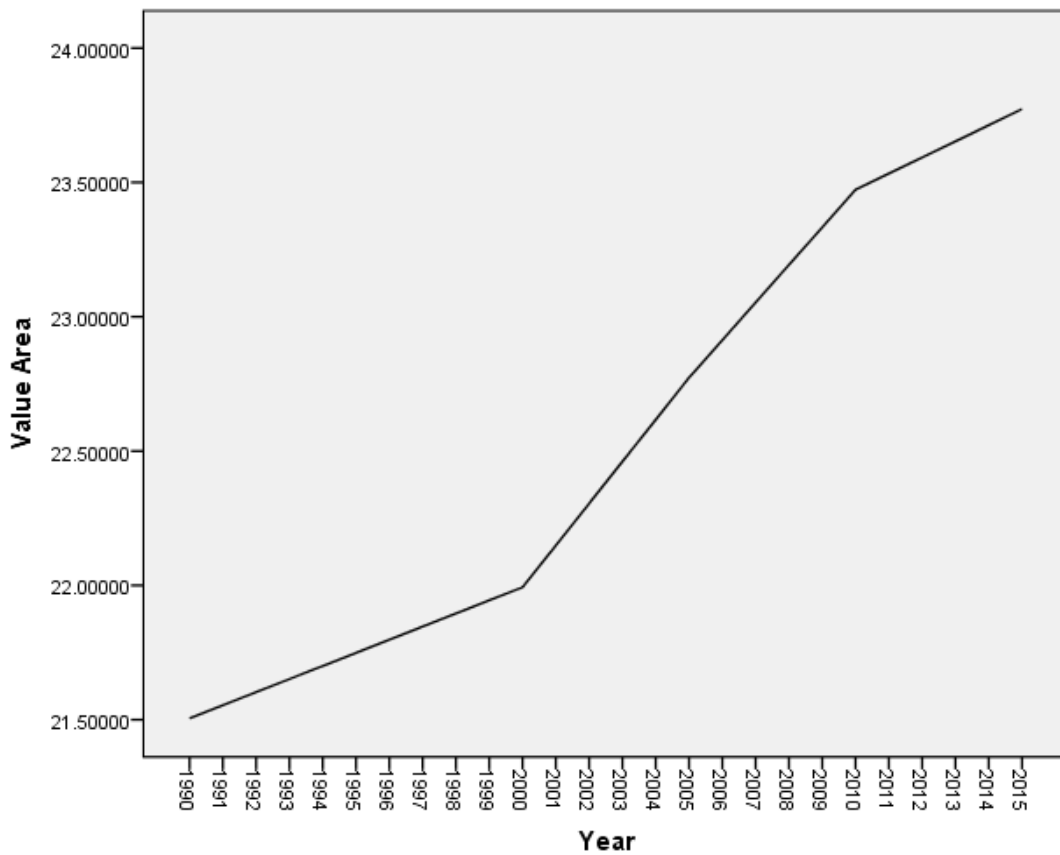
Figure 4: Total Forest Area in India (% of Land Area), 1990-2015

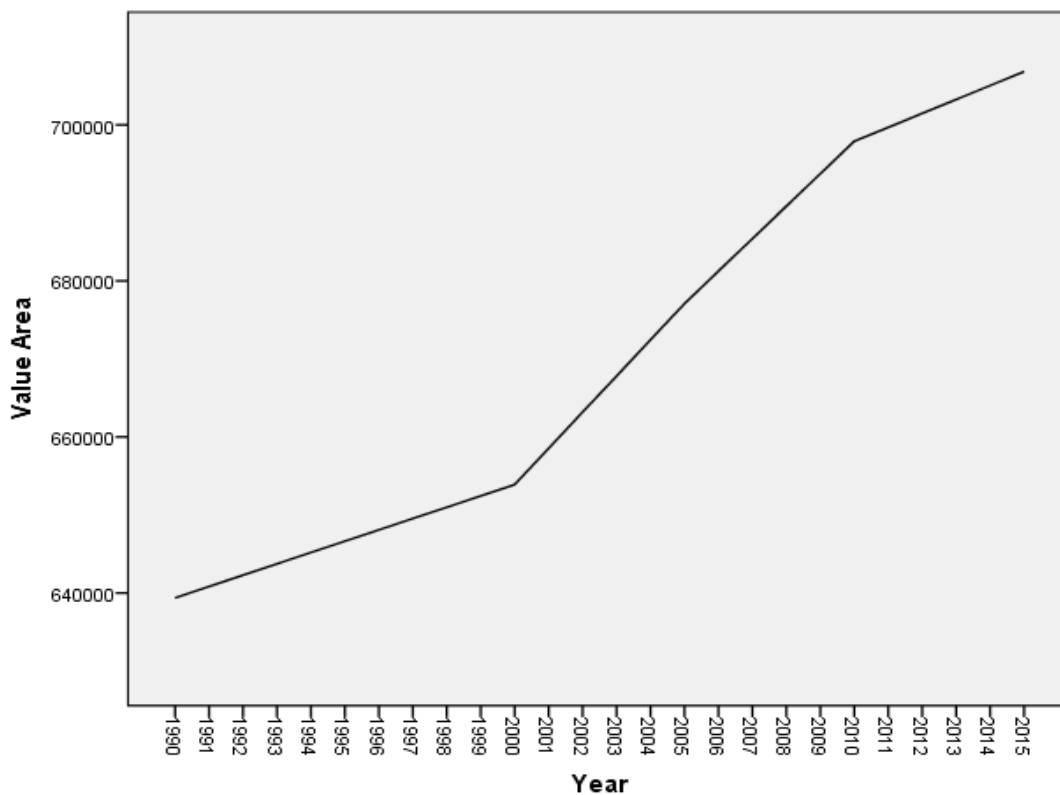**Source: World Bank Data: Forest Area [% of Land Area]**

Figure 5: Total Forest Area in India sq km), 1990-2015

Source: World Bank Data: Forest Area [sq km]

India is an ethnically diverse state because of the trade and colonization that occurred. Hinduism began in India almost three thousand years ago, and Hindu society is divided into groups, or castes, which are based on a hierarchal system (Markovitz 2002, 2-4). This Hindu caste system is not represented in the whole of Indian societies (Markovitz 2002, 4). The aboriginal people of India do not follow the caste system, nor do other religions like Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Judaism (Markovitz 2002, 4). During the sixteenth century, India was a main trading center, which led to the arrival of the Europeans (Markovitz 2002, 9). With this trade came influences of different ideas, cultures, religions, and eventually the colonial rule of the British that lasted for three centuries (Markovitz 2002, 6).

India became Islamic in the coastal regions when Muslim traders were swept to the coast of India because of the monsoons (Markovitz 2002, 13). They would spend a great deal of time on the Indian coast waiting for the ocean to calm down, so while they were there they would create families with women of the lower Indian caste (Markovitz 2002, 13). The women and children remained in India, which created a Muslim population on the coast. This very diverse ethnic history in India is important to understanding what is occurring in India today.

Since India's history is very long and detailed, I will begin this history in more modern times. India received its independence from Britain on the 15th of August after 70 years of British colonial rule, and was a success for the Indian nationalist movement (Markovitz 2002, 482). Pakistan and India were once combined, but with India's independence Pakistan split off of India (Markovitz 2002, 483). The beginning of these two newly independent states began rocky and had many difficulties, especially in Pakistan (Markovitz 2002, 490-491). Britain, as well as much of Western Europe, was largely deforested by the 1800s, which caused these countries to look

elsewhere for wood (Guha 1983, 1883). Britain was in competition with other colonial powers for Indian teak, durable shipbuilding timber, in the Malabar region of southwest India (Guha 1983, 1883).

Ancient civilizations, like India, are said to be closely connected to nature (Gautam and Rajan 2014, 90). This, along with the peaceful religions that are connected with nature in the area, contributes to the respect and protection of the environment (Gautam and Rajan 2014, 90). Ghandi had a presence in Uttarkhand for many years, and he referred to it as "a possible place for retirement" because of the beauty in nature (Gautam and Rajan 2014, 90). Wherever Ghandi went, he spread the philosophy of *satyagraha*, which is "the use of nonviolent resistance as a political weapon in place of the force of arms" (Shiva and Bandyopadhyay 1986, 134).

History of the Chipko Movement

The colonial era of India set the country up for poor forest management practices that led to widespread deforestation in India. The British colonial government introduced new land tenure policies, which privatized land ownership and increased the destruction of forests (Shiva and Bandyopadhyay 1986, 134). Also, Britain used the Indian forests for their own benefit, not the benefit of the locals, for the building up of warships and expanding the railway (Shiva and Bandyopadhyay 1986, 134). This uncontrolled exploitation lasted for half a century and led to destruction of many forests and the denied access of the forests to the villagers' (Shiva and Bandyopadhyay 1986, 134).

The Forest Act of 1927 allowed for greater commercial exploitation of the forests and denied villagers access to forests that they once had. The biomass that the villagers needed for survival was put aside for industrial use only (Indian Forest Act 1927). This act led to protests in

the 1930s that coincided with the nationalist movements that began at that time (Trivedi 2003, 13). There has also always been conflict over forest resources, which has led the Indian government to deny rights to the people of these forest resources that they once had access to before (Shiva and Bandyopadhyay 1986, 134).

From the 1930s to the 1970s, there were many protests, but Chipko had not yet emerged. Another issue that already puts India at a disadvantage when it comes to the harming of the forests is the overpopulation in citizens and the desire to modernize and develop (Weber 1988, 10). Both of these issues contribute to deforestation in their own ways, but when put together the effects are worse than in other countries (Weber 1988, 10).

The people living in the Indian Uttarkhand Himalaya decided to come together to do something about the deforestation of their trees (Weber 1988, 11). The term for their movement is "Chipko," which in Hindi means 'hug,' and is a perfect way to describe the action this movement does to save trees (Weber 1988, 11). It began in 1973 with the Himalaya people simply hugging the tree when an axe man was coming to tear it down (Rangan 2000, 4) This action caught on and spread throughout the region to include individuals with the same goal of:

> Bringing man back into living harmoniously with nature, to provide economic survival for the local hill people, to undertake reforestation work and to increase environmental knowledge and caring within the population at large. (Weber 1988, 11)

Another important part about this movement that makes it distinctive is that women are the ones participating the most (Weber 1988, 11). The men had to go seek jobs off of the hills, so the women were left to tend to the land (Weber 1988, 12). They protested the removal of the forests because as the forests are cut down, they have to take more time out of their day to walk farther to collect wood for fire and leaves for their animals (Weber 1988, 11). This environmental movement is also completely non-violent, which is not always the case for social

movements, and it acknowledges "the exploitation of the poor world's meager resources are by an over-consuming affluent North" (Weber 1988, 12-13).

This movement is also distinctive because there is not one sole leader; everyone calls each other "'spreaders' of the message" (Weber 1988, 11). This movement showed the connection that exists between deforestation and poverty, between environmental plundering that led to landslides and floods that made life even more difficult for the people that lived there (Weber 1988, 12).

Analysis of Factors

Political Opportunities

Using political opportunities to explain the emergence and success of the Chipko movement, I will analyze the same factors as I did for the GBM in Kenya. I will look at the openness of the political structure for citizen participation in India (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996, 1633), as well as the domestic and international support of elite or those in power (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996, 1629).

With that being said, I chose to look at India's Freedom in the World ratings from 1973 to 2014 to understand the openness of India's political structure for political participation during the entirety of the Chipko movement. I will also discuss major turning points in governmental structure and how that affects political opportunity.

In 1972, Freedom House rated India with a 2.5 and labeled the country "free" until 1975 when it went up to the rating of a 3.5 labeling the country "partly free" for two years, and went back to "free" with the score of two in 1977. India remained "free" until 1992, when it switched to "partly free" until 1997. Since 1998, India has been given the status of "free" by Freedom

House.

Years	Status
1972 – 1974	Free
1975 – 1976	Partly Free
1977 – 1990	Free
1991 – 1997	Partly Free
1998 – 2014	Free

Figure 6: Freedom Rating, 1972-2014
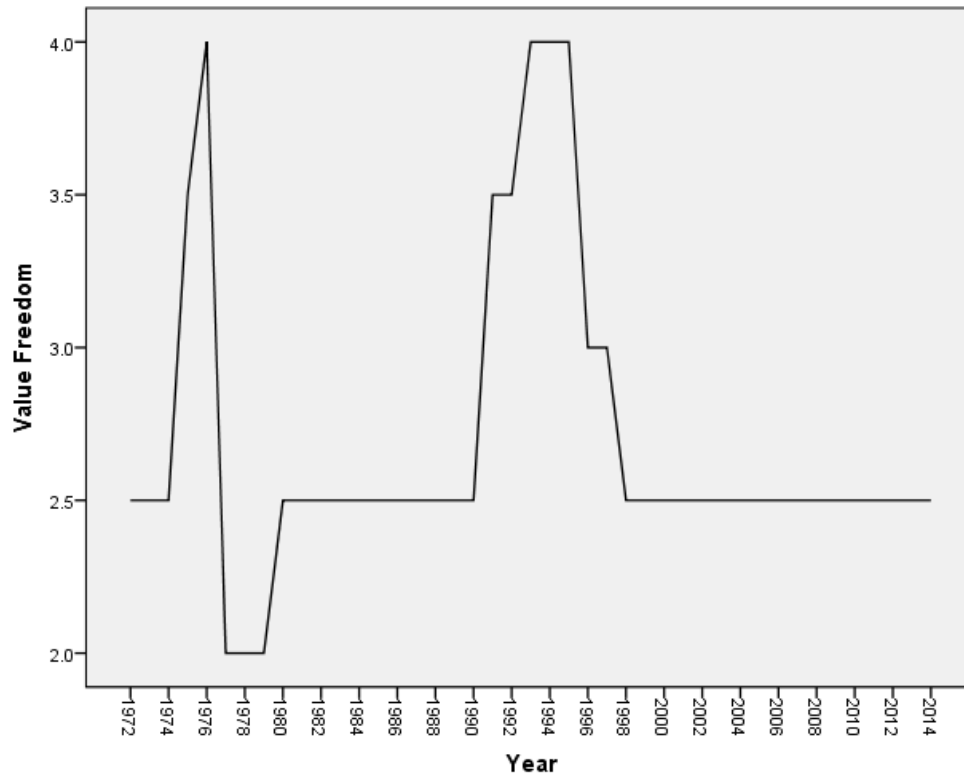
Source: Freedom in the World – Kenya

With looking at the Freedom House rankings for India from 1972-2014, the fluctuation

between "free" and "partly free" shows that the openness of the political structure for citizen participation in India is relatively open. This means that citizens have more opportunities to influence policies than in Kenya. It is possible to analyze what caused the changes in the political structure that accounted for the changes from "free" to "partly free." Because of this, I will look at what was occurring in the political sphere in 1975, 1977, 1991, 1998 and today because that looks at the changes in political opportunities of the whole movement.

In 1972, India was "free" according to Freedom in the World ratings because the political rights rating was a two and the civil liberties rating was a 3 This lasted a few years, until 1975, when India's freedom status became "partly free." This was because civil liberties went from a three in 1974, to a five in 1975. This increase in India's civil liberty rating can be attributed to the Emergency Rule that occurred in India for 21 months beginning in 1975 (Vohra 2013, 242). Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India from 1966 to 1977, declared the Emergency Rule when opposition groups denounced her for "establishing a fascist dictatorship" (Vohra 2013, 242). This Emergency Rule made it legal for all opposition leaders to be arrested, it imposed a censorship on the press, it banned protests, and civil liberties guaranteed under the Constitution were retracted (Vohra 2013, 243). The Emergency Rule allowed for an undemocratic democracy that arrested 110,000 people without trial (Vohra 2013, 243).

The next change in the Freedom in the World rating in India was in 1977 when India went from "partly free" to "free." India's political rights rating went from a three to a two, and civil liberties went from a five to a two. This change is attributed to Indira Gandhi lifting the Emergency Rule and the end to her dictatorship, which led to elections that allowed for the formation of new political parties (Vohra 2013, 244). The Janata People's Party formed from the combining of the four main opposition parties (Congress, Jana Sangh, Bharatiya Lok Dal, and

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the Socialist party), and was the winner of the 1977 election (Vohra 2013, 244-245).

The third change in the Freedom in the World rating in India was in 1991 when the status of India went from "free" to "partly free." This change occurred because India's political rights rating went from a two to a three and civil liberties went from a three to a four. The Congress Party was in power following the 1984 elections (Vohra 2013, 278). This change is attributed to two different factors – economic and religious (Vohra 2013, 281-286). Economic conditions were. GDP decreased by half and banks were going bankrupt (Vohra 2013, 282). Also, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was on the rise and wanted the Congress Party out of power (Vohra 2013, 274). The BJP is a right-winged, Hindu nationalist group that engaged in many violent protests in India in 1991 (Vohra 2013, 286).

In 1998, India's Freedom Rating went from "partly free" to "free" because the civil liberty rating decreased from a four to a three, while the political rights rating stayed at two. This "free" status is "due to the continued growth of civic organizations that are actively working to strengthen human rights protections" (Freedom in the World 1998: India). This shift to a free ranking can be the result of the fairest election in India's history in 1998 (Freedom in the World 1998: India). This fair election is attributed to the fact that authorities monitored the polls more, as well as a limit in the use of state resources for campaigns (Freedom in the World 1998: India).

From this, it is clear that India has had a relatively open structure for citizen participation. This means that the people of India have more opportunities, or avenues, to get policy makers to listen to their desires in order to intact a forestry policy.

The next factor that I will analyze for political opportunities is support of elite or those in power. I will start with a discussion of domestic elite support and then turn to look at international elite. Dr. Vandana Shiva is a well-known activist who has written about the Chipko

movement (About Dr. Vandana Shiva). She wrote a book titled *The Evolution, Structure, and Impact of the Chipko Movement* in 1986. Sunderlal Bahuguna is said to be one leader of the Chipko movement. He was awarded the Padma Vibhushan in 2009, which is India's second most prestigious civilian awards. The Chipko movement was the laureate of the 1987 Right Livelihood Award and shows Sunderlal Bahuguna as the leader of the movement. (The Right Livelihood Award: The Chipko Movement). The Global Nonviolent Action Database says that the Chipko movement does not have any known external allies or any involvement of social elites (Schils 2011).

Mobilizing Structures

Next, I will analyze the mobilizing structure factors specific to the Chipko movement, which are leadership and the organizational structure of the movement. It is difficult to analyze the leadership of the Chipko movement because a different leader is mentioned from article to article. Weber (1988, 11) describes the amorphous organizational structure and the lack of a single leader:

> There is, however, no one movement with a constitution or elected leaders. Rather, the 'movement' is a reaction to threatening circumstances, sometimes guided by Gandhian *sarvodaya* (social) workers and sometimes arising spontaneously…Those who are called 'leaders' of Chipko refer to themselves merely as 'co-workers' and 'spreaders' of the message (Weber 1988, 11).

The Global Nonviolent Action Database names the leaders as Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Sunderlal Bahuguna, Gaura Devi, Mirabehn, and Sarala Behn (Schils 2011). Two of these leaders mentioned are male, while the other three are female, and all but one are indigenous to the region. According to the mobilizing structure literature, this ambiguity in a single leader of the movement is detrimental to the success of the movement because there is not a single face

people picture when discussing the movement. Also, this shared and not definite leadership, makes it difficult for quick decision making.

These leaders did have the indigenous knowledge of the area, which allows others to trust and join the movement. The Chipko movement was inspired by the Bishnoi villagers sacrifice to save trees in 1730, which was also in northern India (O'Neill 2010). Being inspired by another indigenous movement allowed the people of Uttar Pradesh to use stories that were passed down to engage in a similar defense action (Schils 2011). While the indigenous leadership was helpful to the movement, the lack of well-educated and charismatic leaders are seen as detrimental to the success of the Chipko movement.

The next factor of mobilizing structures that I will analyze is the organizational structure of the Chipko movement. As stated in my literature review, movements that are more formalized and centralized are more successful (Staggenborg 1988; 1989). The Chipko movement remained a grassroots movement and never formalized. It did have a relationship with a formalized organization, the Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal (DGSM) that was also fighting commercial logging, but this relationship was not strong (Schils 2011). The Chipko movement worked with DGSM, but was not synonymous with the group nor did the Chipko's efforts stop when the DGSM's work ended (Schils 2011).

Framing Processes

The core framing tasks I will analyze for the Chipko movement are diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing (Benford and Snow 2000, 615). Beginning the discussion on framing processes, I will start with diagnostic frames, which is the injustice framing. This movement, like the GBM, is also framed as an ecofeminist movement. Ecofeminism is the

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ideology that women are the first to feel the effects of environmental degradation, which makes

rural woman's' lives more difficult because they are the ones going to get water and wood for

their homes (Hunt 2014, 236-237).

Prognostic frames, which are the clearly stated goals of a movement, are not easy to find

for the Chipko movement. This is a nonviolent movement that reflects the *satyagraha* beliefs of

the population in Uttar Pradesh, so the goal of being nonviolent was widely understood (Weber

1988, 32). In the different readings and articles on the Chipko movement, the goals are stated

using different vocabulary and phrasing. The following are the goals of the Chipko movement

listed from different sources:

> Protection and conservation of forests, judicious and equitable use of trees by villagers, protection of ancient village forest rights, cessation of granting more favorable forest contracts to outside companies (Schils 2011).

> Some demanded the abolition of large-scale extraction by nonlocal forest contractors; others argued that forest contractors needed to hire locally organized labour cooperatives for timber felling (Rangan 2000, 160).

> According to one version, at one of the meetings of the activists, after it had been decided to prevent the company from felling even a single tree, the discussion turned into tactics. After some debate, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, in a fit of inspiration, announced, 'Let them know that we will not allow the felling of ask trees. When they aim their axes upon them, we will embrace the trees (Weber 1988, 40).

The lack of clearly defined and stated goals makes it difficult for members of the Chipko

movement to know exactly what they are working towards.

Motivational framing is the last core framing task, which focuses on the motivational

vocabulary. The word "Chipko" means to embrace in Ghawali and Hindi, which was vocabulary

that allowed others to easily understand how the women defended the trees (Rangan 2000, 5).

The women of the Chipko movement would also repeatedly chant things like "let us protect and

plant the trees," "go awaken the villages," and "drive away the axemen" (Schils 2011). They

would also chant "What do the forests bear?" with a reply of "Soil, water, and pure air" (Rangan 2000, 5). The vocabulary in the chanting allowed all to understand what was supposed to be done. In addition, the Chipko movement is focused on protection and preservation of trees, which some have looked at as stalling development (Brown 2014, 641). "The fact that the defence of forests and the subsistence economy reflected a general lack of development options," is one of the arguments of this (Brown 2014, 641).

Conclusion

The success of the Chipko movement can be seen in the influences it had on other movements, as well as policy changes. Through various protests, the Chipko movement was able to get the government to declare a ban on all logging activity from 1980-1995 in the Reni forest (Schils 2011). The Chipko movement has also been an inspiration to other movements, as well as helped with other movements in the area. For example, members of the Chipko movement assisted in the protesting of deforestation for the building of a dam in Tehri, Uttar Pradesh, that occurred in 2001 (Bailey 2014). One example of the influence of the Chipko movement is with the villagers in Karnataka in 1983 (Klassen 2013). They were experiencing the same cutting of trees for commercial use, and also the planting of the teak tree, which was exported for shipbuilding (Klassen 2013). The villagers in Karnataka also took to the tree hugging defense strategy and were successful in their efforts (Klassen 2013).

Also, the Chipko movement was successful in getting policies passed (Schils 2011). In 1980 the Reni forest was declared a sensitive area, as well as getting a 15 year ban on any form of logging in Uttar Pradesh (Schils 2011).

Discussion

Through this research paper, I identified and analyzed the factors that contribute to the success of a social movement. Using a qualitative comparative case study approach, I analyzed two cases of environmental movements. The first case study was the Green Belt Movement in Kenya, and the second was the Chipko movement in India. The factors that most influenced the success of these social movements are displayed in the table below and will be discussed in further detail in this section. I will also discuss the limitations to this research project and how this research can be a starting point for future work on environmental social movements.

Factors	Component of Factors	More Success	GBM	Chipko
Political Opportunities	Openness of structure for citizen participation	More open	Closed	Partially open
	Elite support	More elite support	Yes	Limited
Mobilizing Structures	Leadership	Single personality: charismatic, educated, cultural knowledge	Yes	No
	Organizational structure	Centralized and formal	Yes	No
Framing Processes	Diagnostic	Injustice frames	Yes - ecofeminism	Yes - ecofeminism
	Prognostic	Clearly defined goals	Yes	No
	Motivational	Motivational vocabulary	Sustainable development	Conservation/anti-development

I will begin by discussing how the results relate to the literature on political opportunities. Existing scholarship on political opportunities suggests that the more open a structure is for citizen participation, the more opportunity there is for a social movement to have success. Kenya

has had a more closed structure for citizen participation than India, but the GBM was able to overcome this barrier with the use of other successful strategies. India had a more open structure over the period of the Chipko movement, which explains why the Chipko movement was able to influence the creation of policies related to the environment and bans on logging. The GBM has had, and continues to have, more international and domestic elite support than the Chipko movement, which explains the international success of the GBM.

Moving to mobilizing structures, the leadership of the GBM was exactly what the literature said would make a movement successful. Wangari Maathai was a charismatic, well educated, and indigenous leader, who was able to independently make decisions for the social movement. The leadership of the Chipko was the opposite of this, apart from the indigenous component, which hindered the movement from developing beyond its initial goal. The organizational structure of the GBM was also very similar to what the literature indicated would make a movement more successful, which is bureaucratized, centralized, and unfactionalized. The GBM still has components of a grassroots social movement, but this centralized structure allows decisions to be made that are then diffused through word of mouth.

Lastly, looking at the results of framing processes, which are diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational, the GBM clearly framed the movement in a way that contributed to its success. The GBM had an injustice frame that helped it receive international attention (diagnostic), it had clearly defined and stated goals (prognostic), and it used vocabulary that focused on sustainable development (motivational). While the Chipko movement had a similar diagnostic frame, it lacked the clearly defined goals for the prognostic framing. In addition, one of the Chipko movement's biggest obstacles was the motivational framing of the movement. As stated in the Chipko chapter, the movement focused on preserving forests, and preservation can be seen as

being anti-development. In a world that wants all states to develop, a frame of sustainable development, instead of preservation, is better for the social movement if it wants to attract international support and funding.

To sum up these findings in a few sentences: even though the GBM was operating in a closed political structure, it was able to overcome this obstacle to enact policy change with the use of international awards, strong leadership, a centralized organizational structure, and effective framing of the social movement. The Chipko movement is also responsible for the passing of policies aligned with the movement, but the Chipko movement does not have the same international recognition as the GBM. This lack of international support and growth of the movement could be attributed to the changing leadership, decentralized organizational structure, and issue framing that hindered the external support of the movement.

This research can add to the literature on social movement theory because there is not much research done on environmental movements. The factors I analyzed could possibly help create new hypotheses for New Social Movement (NSM) theories.

Since I was only able to look at policy changes to measure the success of these movements, this research lacked the public opinion part that is also a component of the success of a social movement. Having interviews with individuals involved or affected by these environmental movements would add a more comprehensive look at their successes. Policies are still useful in looking at success, but collecting personal stories on these movements would be able to make this research more complete.

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