Environmental movements worldwide

Grasso, Maria; Giugni, Marco

1

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS WORLDWIDE

Maria Grasso and Marco Giugni

Environmental movements: heterogeneous, transforming, and institutionalizing

Research on social movements generally tends to focus on specific movements or – at times – a given movement family. Moreover, comparative analyses are becoming increasingly common. In this regard, environmental movements are perhaps one of the most often studied social movements. The wider social movement literature abounds with books and articles dealing with different aspects of environmental movements. Such attention has translated into historical studies of environmentalism, sociological analyses of the social composition of participants and sympathizers of environmental movements, investigations by political scientists on the conditions and processes underlying environmental movements and activism, and still other forms of disciplinary inquiries. Many of these works are reviewed in this *Handbook*, which aims to bring together these different outlooks while maintaining a clear focus within social movement theory and research in terms of the main lines of inquiry. In this way, *The Routledge Handbook of Environmental Movements* provides an introduction to and overview of the different aspects relating to this field of studies, ranging from assessments of environmental movements in different regions of the world to the macrostructural conditions and processes underlying their mobilization and the microstructural and social-psychological dimensions of environmental movements and activism, to finish with discussions of current trends as well as future prospects for environmental movements and social change.

In this way, *The Routledge Handbook of Environmental Movements* aspires to become a reference point for international work in the field. To do so, it aims to provide critical reviews and appraisals of the current state of the art and indicate pathways for future development of conceptual and theoretical approaches as well as bringing together up-to-date evidence and empirical knowledge and understanding of environmental movements and activism. In doing so, it aims to encourage dialogue across the disciplinary barriers between social movement studies on the one hand and other perspectives on the other and to engage with, and reflect upon, the causes and consequences of citizens' participation in environmental movements and activities.

One difficulty when dealing with a specific movement or movement family is a definitional one: What do we mean by environmental movements? Intuitively, this seems like an easy question to answer, and each of us has perhaps a good idea of what environmental movements are

 DOI: 10.4324/9780367855680-1

in our mind. However, when it comes to delimiting the object of study from a scientific point of view, this can become somewhat less clear cut. Therefore, we believe it is a good idea at this stage to provide one from the outset. In a social movement perspective and following a general understanding of what movements are (Diani, 1992), an environmental movement

> may be defined as a loose, noninstitutionalized network of informal interactions that may include, as well as individuals and groups who have no organizational affiliation, organizations of varying degrees of formality, that are engaged in collective action motivated by shared identity or concern about environmental issues.
>
> (Rootes, 2004: 610)

However, since definitions are always debatable and depend to some extent on the theoretical perspective that one adopts, this one should not be taken as final, but more modestly as a compass that can guide us in our investigations as well as guide the reader through the various chapters included in the volume. It is not necessarily adopted in all the chapters, but it serves to keep the rudder straight while sailing between the various aspects of environmental movements throughout the volume.

When it comes to environmental movements, the main problem lies perhaps more in setting a thematic boundary than in the analytical definition as such. The distinction between environmental and anti-nuclear or anti-nuclear power movements is particularly telling in this regard. Sometimes movements in opposition to nuclear power plants are included as part of a broader environmental movement; at times, they are treated as if they were separate. Similarly, some movement branches – such as, for example, the climate or climate change movement, the animal rights movements, or the environmental justice movement – are sometimes considered as part of environmental movements but other times as distinct movements. Furthermore, some scholars speak of environmental movements, whereas others prefer to call them ecology movements. We should also note the metaphorical term "Green movements", which is sometimes used in the literature to refer to our subject matter, although this term is most often used with reference to political parties rather than in relation to social movements.

As we discuss at more length elsewhere (Giugni and Grasso, 2015), environmental movements share three main features: they are heterogeneous, they have profoundly transformed themselves, and they have generally become more institutionalized. All three aspects also come out clearly from the chapters included in this volume. Of course, many other features could be mentioned as well, which will also be addressed in the *Handbook*. Yet these three seem to characterize the movements quite well. Environmental movements are far from being monolithic entities. Rather, they are extremely heterogeneous. They display a wide variety of actors and organizations (from local and loosely structured to national and supranational professionalized organizations), issues and goals (covering all dimensions of environmental protection and related issues such as justice), strategies (from the most moderate to radical forms of action), and finally in terms of effects as well. This heterogeneity amounts to both a strength and a weakness. Insofar as the movement has multiple options for mobilizing, it can be seen as a strength. However, heterogeneous movements can have more trouble coalescing around a shared collective identity.

Another key fact is that environmental movements have profoundly transformed. This can be seen in the shift from conservationism to more politically oriented movement streams but also, in the short term, in the emergence of new actors and issues as well as new ways of framing the problems of the environment. While not entirely a voluntary process, this capability for change may have in fact contributed to the movements' survival, despite the ebbs and flows of

patterns of mobilization along with the strong organizational structures characterizing them compared also to other movements.

Moreover, environmental movements have also become strongly institutionalized. This can be seen in how they are now a constitutive part of contemporary societies. The general public and policy makers are very concerned with the environment and are increasingly sensitive to environmental problems. This awareness raising is also the major impact of environmental movements. Environmental actors have also institutionalized. The formation of Green parties is a clear sign of this, as is the incorporation of environmental organizations in policy networks. However, institutionalization has not touched upon the movements completely. Some examples, such as the anti-nuclear energy movements, are much less institutionalized. Moreover, this process has occurred to a greater extent in some countries, given also the different political opportunity structures.

The *Handbook* is structured along six parts. Part 1 looks at the history, status, and prospects of environmental movements in different regions of the world. Part 2 examines a number of key issues and movement sectors. Part 3 deals with the macrostructural conditions and processes relating to the rise and mobilization of environmental movements. Part 4 addresses the microstructural and social-psychological dimensions of environmental movements and activism. Part 5 focuses on the consequences and outcomes of environmental movements. Finally, Part 6 offers a prospective outlook on environmental movements, looking at some recent trends and how they might influence environmental activism in the future. Each part includes a varying number of chapters written by leading scholars in the field. This introduction maps the terrain for the chapters to follow by pointing out the core issues they address and, above all, by briefly presenting the content of the chapters. We do so along the six-fold thematic structure of the *Handbook*.

Part 1: Environmental movements around the world

Much, if not most, of the literature on environmental movements focuses on the Western world, in particular on Western Europe (see, for example, Rootes, 2003) and North America. Indeed, the first environmental organizations appeared there, such as, for example, the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which is perhaps the first environmental organization ever, created in the US in 1866. This shows that environmental movements have longstanding historical roots. Similarly, one could argue, along with Inglehart (1977), that the post-materialist or, more broadly, progressive values that underly the rise of the modern environmental movements – the more "politicized" ones – first appeared in Western societies in the wake of the protest wave of the 1960s and 1970s and then spread to other parts of the world. Yet this by no means implies that environmental movements are non-existent or marginal actors in other parts of the world. Quite the contrary, examples of strong mobilizations in favor of environmental protection and other environment-sensitive issues can be found across the globe.

Part 1 of the *Handbook* looks at environmental movements in different parts of the world, allowing us to avoid the "Western-centrism" that has often characterized the study of social movements in general. Eight chapters form this part of the volume, corresponding to eight different regions. Chapter 2, by Sylvie Ollitrault, provides an overview of environmental movements in Western Europe. Chapter 3, by Ondřej Císař, looks at the other side of what once was called the Iron Curtain and focuses on the development of environmental activism and protest in Central Eastern Europe after 1989. This chapter shows in particular important variations of the movements' protest agenda across countries, more specifically in four Eastern European countries – namely, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary – arguing

that cross-country differences in protest agendas depend on what issues the mainstream political parties are competing on.

North America, the other area where much work on environmental movements has been focused, is discussed in Ellen Griffith Spears's Chapter 4. This critical reflection on the state of the movements in two major countries of North America (the US and Canada) reveals both distinct national trends and significant correspondences. Although the rise of post-materialist values and issues, which has often been associated with the rise of environmental movements as well as other "modernity-critical" movements, was said to have first developed in Western societies (Inglehart, 1977), protest and activism on the environment have also occurred elsewhere. The other chapters in this part of the *Handbook* clearly show that environmental movements are by far not limited to Europe and North America. Thus, for example, Joel E. Correia shows in Chapter 5 that Latin America has a long tradition of social mobilization to protect the environment, including emblematic protests against deforestation in the Amazon, oil extraction in Ecuador, and dam construction in Chile, which have galvanized grassroots resistance movements and captured international attention. This overview points also to the increasing levels of violence that threaten social-environmental movements in this part of the world.

Chapter 6, by Fengshi Wu, examines environmental movements in Asia. This comparative analysis covering a wide range of countries in East, Central, and Southeast Asia unveils the relationship between (domestic) political regimes and the rise, development, and outcomes of environmental movement. Chapter 7, by Salpie S. Djoundourian, focuses on the Arab world – the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) – a region where economic and social concerns usually overshadow environmental concerns. Yet, as this review shows, environmental movements and activism have also emerged in the Arab world. The chapter points in particular to the fact that, given Islam's reach as a state religion, academics and environmentalists are seeking inspiration from Islam to mobilize the environmental movement.

The last two chapters in this part of the volume look at experiences in Africa and in Oceania. Phia Steyn examines environmental movements in Africa in Chapter 8, focusing on the most recent developments. The chapter covers a brief historical overview of the movements' contexts, issues, microstructures, and future prospects. Then, Chapter 9, by Robyn Gulliver, Susilo Wibisono, and Winnifred R. Louis, turns to environmental groups across the four regions of Oceania – Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, and Australasia. The chapter examines the different environmental issues that groups focus on, their different strategies for promoting environmental behaviors, and the different mobilization tactics employed to gain supporters.

Part 2: Issues and movement sectors

As we mentioned earlier, environmental movements are heterogenous collective actors. They are formed by different actors and organizations, often adopting very different protest tactics and strategies. Furthermore, although the social profiles of the most committed activists are perhaps similar, people mobilizing on environmental issues come from different social backgrounds and are driven by different motivations. Environmental protests and movements address a wide range of issues, from nature protection and conservation to nuclear energy, extractivism, climate change, animal rights, alternative consumption, environmental justice, and still other issues. This is also what makes delimiting the boundaries of these movements challenging at times.

The chapters in Part 2 of the *Handbook* account for such a heterogeneity in terms of the issues addressed by the movements. Without claiming exhaustivity, they cover some of the key issues and movement sectors. The part quite naturally starts with Chapter 10 on environmental conservation, by Angela G. Mertig, as it forms the first strand of environmental concerns

historically. This chapter discusses the meaning of environmental conservation, its historical background, contemporary features, and mobilization. The chapter looks at environmental conservation, illustrating this through the example of the US and other cases internationally. Chapter 11, by Helena Flam and Hiroshi Honda, examines the anti-nuclear movements as well as their historical transformations in the US where they started and also in Europe and a few Asian countries. This movement sector is often characterized by a strong degree of politicization of the struggles against the use of nuclear power. Chapter 12, by Ana Isla, looks at the impact of extractive activities and the large number of natural resources it removes. Centered on ecofeminist perspectives, it evaluates global capital's ecological management in North, Central, and South America.

In recent years in particular, environmental concerns have often come to be framed in terms of climate change. Eugene Nulman examines this aspect in Chapter 13 on climate change, an issue that has played a major role in recent environmental mobilizations, especially thanks to the strong involvement of pupils and students in the so-called Friday for Future demonstrations as well as other events. As the chapter shows, the climate change movement is a heterogenous network of formal organizations, informal groups, and individuals working to address the issue of global warming and its various effects, caused by greenhouse gas emissions. The chapter provides a very brief outline of the history and different aspects of the climate change movement, with a focus on campaigns in the Global North.

Animal rights, arguably one of the issues that has spurred the most radical and sometimes even violent forms of protesting, is examined by Lyle Munro in Chapter 14. This chapter describes the motivations and campaigns of Australian animal rights activists and shows the importance of the movement in helping reduce greenhouse emissions by a reduction in or elimination of meat in our diets. The existential threats of climate change and pandemics such as COVID-19 are discussed in the context of China's exploitation of animals. The chapter advocates the necessity of a mass movement of animal rights and environmental groups along with public health advocates to persuade governments to adopt more humane policies and sustainable practices. These aspects are discussed by Jasmine Lorenzini in Chapter 15. This is a broad topic that may include a variety of different, though related, aspects, from the more traditional political consumerist activities (boycotting and buycotting) to broader issues concerning food activism and lifestyle activism (de Moor, 2017). The chapter focuses on how political consumerism contributes to shaping citizens' relation to politics. It asks how political consumerism shapes citizens' democratic imagination; examines how food activism proposes to transform the economy, the state, and society; and explores alternatives to political consumerism in the environmental movement.

Food activism does not only rely on individualism, consumerism, and private property but also has deeper implications for economic justice, social equality, and democracy (Alkon and Guthman, 2017). Indeed, environmental concerns have come to be articulated in terms of justice, leading, for example, to the emergence in the US of an environmental justice movement in the 1980s as a response to existing disparities in the burden of environmental degradation and pollution facing minority and low-income communities. Phaedra C. Pezzullo discusses this dimension in Chapter 16 on environmental justice and climate justice. This chapter retraces the origin of the movement and how articulating new vocabularies such as "environmental racism" was critical to its initial period of mobilization, then examines environmental justice critiques of the environmental movement and the period of institutionalization, and finally identifies how climate justice reaffirms and reinvents environmental justice.

An overview of issues and sectors of environmental movements would not be complete without reference to the important role played by Indigenous movements in this context. Linda Etchart fills this gap in Chapter 17, exploring the relationship between Indigenous peoples and

nature, their spiritual beliefs with regard to man's place in the environment, and the significance of their worldview in the light of the struggle to keep global temperatures below 1.5% above pre-industrial levels. The chapter discusses the intersection of Indigenous and environmental movements and in particular how relationships and collaborations have evolved, leading to global networks of environmental activism. It looks at North and South America, aiming to highlight the voices of Indigenous representatives within Indigenous environmental movements and within the global movement against climate change.

Part 3: Macrostructural conditions and processes

With Part 3, the *Handbook* moves from accounts of environmental movements and their activities in different regions of the world and on different issues to conditions for their emergence and the processes underlying their mobilization. Scholars of social movements often operate an analytical distinction between macro conditions and micro dynamics (Klandermans, 1997; Snow, 2004). Accordingly, this part deals with the macrostructural conditions and processes underlying the mobilization of environmental movements; Part 4 is devoted to the microstructural and social-psychological dimensions of environmental activism.

While treated together, the chapters in this section of the book in fact deal with two aspects that, analytically, should be kept separate in spite of being related to each other. On the one hand, we must consider the conditions under which environmental movements emerge and mobilize. Such conditions may vary considerably from one context – whether national or local – to another, thereby providing different sets of opportunities for the emergence and mobilization of the movements. In the field of social movement studies, this is an aspect that has been notoriously emphasized by political opportunity theorists (Kriesi, 2004). At its best, it considered the influence of conjunctures – events and processes, as well as encounters between the social movements and their opponents – on the emergence, mobilization, and outcomes of the social movement contestation (Flam, 1994; Kriesi et al., 1995; see also Chapter 11). The latter have stressed above all the structural aspects of the context, looking at the role of political-institutional opportunities while cultural aspects have often been overlooked, at least as features of the broader context for the emergence and mobilization of social movements. Therefore, both the political context (McAdam and Tarrow, 2019) and the cultural context (Jasper and Polletta, 2019) should be considered when examining the macrostructural conditions for the emergence and mobilization of environmental movements.

Social movements, however, are not only constrained by macro-level conditions such as political opportunity structures or cultural frames. One should also consider meso-level conditions that structure the context for the emergence of mobilization of social movements in general and environmental movements more specifically. Here, we refer to organizational networks – that is, the web of connections between social movements organizations – but also between them and other kinds of organizational actors, which may provide the resources needed to mobilize but could also create some barriers to mobilization. Indeed, networks can either facilitate or inhibit mobilization and play a key role in recruiting movement participants (Crossley and Diani, 2019). At the same time, social movement organizations continue to be of vital importance for social movements, contributing to their internal dynamics (Walker and Martin, 2019). Furthermore, movement organizations may also act as powerful "political entrepreneurs" by framing environmental issues in a certain way – for example, as social problems requiring political solutions rather than being "natural" and inevitable – as the "framing" literature has shown (Benford and Snow, 2000; Snow, 2004; Snow et al., 2019). This, in turn, facilitates movements' mobilization.

This part of the *Handbook* deals with both the structural and cultural conditions of environmental movements and the processes underlying their mobilization. The first three chapters deal with the political and cultural context of environmental movements as well as their organizational networks. Chapter 18, by Joost de Moor and Mattias Wahlström, focuses on the political context, the traditional terrain of political process theorists. This chapter discusses the relationship between political context and environmental movements using the concept of political opportunity structure, which captures a broad range of elements in the political context that may impinge on mobilization, strategies, and the outcomes of environmental movements. The chapter illustrates the theoretical arguments through the recent example of the climate movement, showing how variations over time in political opportunity structures on the international level produced changes in the movements' strategies. Moreover, the chapter points to the limitations of a view that puts too much emphasis on such structural conditions. The cultural side of environmental movements' context is examined in Chapter 19 by Scott Frickel and Florencia Arancibia. To do this, the chapter turns to the relationship between environmental movements and environmental knowledge by focusing on the role of experts and expertise. The chapter focuses on empirical and strategic questions concerning how expert mobilization into environmental movements is organized; the conditions under which they are more likely; and effects on science, environmental conflict, and socioecological change more broadly.

More broadly, Chapter 20, by Mario Diani, looks at environmental movements' organizational networks or, in his own terms, the interdependence of multiple actors and the systems of relations that bind them in broader patterns. This is a fundamental aspect to study for making sense of collective action and its forms and emergence, including those linked to environmental movements. The chapter provides the conceptual tools to explore the relational patterns that link groups and associations interested in environmental issues to each other, generating more complex forms of organizing – or "modes of coordination". The chapter furthermore also looks at multiple relational levels, from inter-organizational alliances to co-memberships to identity mechanisms. This is aimed at assessing, importantly, to what extent practical exchanges between environmental actors match mutual recognition on the symbolic level.

Once in motion, a movement follows a given trajectory and undergoes certain processes, which are in part influenced by the very same macrostructural conditions – both political and cultural – but also by their own internal logics and dynamics. Research has often focused on social movement organizations to depict how they evolve over time. From this perspective, Kriesi (1996) has offered a helpful framework, suggesting that four aspects must be considered in the analysis of organizations' development: organizational growth and decline, internal structuring, external structuring, and goal orientations and action repertoires. Concerning the transformation of goal orientations and action repertoires, he proposed a typology combining two criteria: whether the organization has a constituency or client orientation and whether there is direct participation by the organization's constituency or a lack thereof. The combination of these two criteria yields four possible trajectories, depending on whether more emphasis is put on one or the other aspect: institutionalization, involution, commercialization, and radicalization.

Although meant to describe the possible trajectories of social movement organizations, rather than entire movements, this distinction between four main processes is also helpful for studying the development over time of social movements as a whole. More specifically, three chapters address three of these four trajectories or processes, which are particularly relevant for environmental movements: radicalization, institutionalization, and commercialization. Gerry Nagtzaam and Pete Lentini look at radicalization in Chapter 21. This chapter focuses more specifically on the Radical Environmental and Animal Liberation Movement (REALM). It

addresses the issue of REALM actors' radicalization, arguing that REALM radicalization shares broad similarities with other radical, extremist, and terrorist radicalization but also that they diverge significantly with respect to the ideological and tactical positions on the use of violence, the emphasis that they place on the value of life, and how social networks reinforce the values of life and non-violence as both irrevocable in theory and in practice.

Håkan Thörn examines in Chapter 22 the apparently contradictory process of institutionalization. The latter is only apparently opposed to radicalization, as both processes may well take place – and often do so – at the same time within a given movement, although not necessarily by the very same movement organizations. The chapter also shows how recent developments associated with globalization, neoliberalism, and ecological modernization have transformed the field of environmental politics profoundly, calling for a re-conceptualization of movement institutionalization and arguing that a key dimension of current climate activism, affecting how institutionalization is shaped today, is a politics of responsibility. Philip Balsiger discusses in Chapter 23 paths towards commercialization, examining the relationship of environmental movements to markets. The chapter argues that the question of the relation of environmentalism to the capitalist market economy divides the movement and that there are historically two branches in the movement: a transformative, radical, anti-capitalist branch and a reformative branch advocating green capitalism. The chapter further examines the position of each branch with regard to commercialization.

Part 4: Microstructural and social psychological dynamics

Research on social movements has paid much attention to the microstructural and social psychological dynamics underlying participation in social movements and protest activities. Referring more specifically to street demonstrations, elsewhere we distinguished between three interrelated layers of explanatory factors for participation in social movements, which apply more generally to participation in social movements and protest activities: mobilizing context, microstructural dynamics, and social psychological dynamics (Giugni and Grasso, 2019). Leaving the mobilizing context aside – we considered this aspect in the previous section – the other two aspects reflect two broad approaches to the study of social movements from a micro-level perspective.

A longstanding tradition in social movement research stresses the importance of the structural dimension of movement participation. This includes a variety of aspects referring to the determinants of participation in environmental movements and the microstructural dynamics of environmental activism. Two such aspects seem particularly relevant here. On the one hand, the first aspect refers to social class and, more generally, to the social bases of environmental movements and activism. Scholarship on social movements has examined the role of social class as an important structural component of movement participation (della Porta, 2015; Eder, 1993, 2013; Kriesi, 1989; see Eidlin and Kerrissey, 2019, for a general discussion). The role of social class has been put at center stage in particular by new social movement theory.

Scholars in this research tradition have stressed the fact that the new issues and movements that arose in the 1970s and 1980s – especially those relating to environmental protection – were the sign of the mobilization of "middle class radicals" (Parkin, 1968). On the other hand, one of the most consistent findings of research on micromobilization is that individual participation in social movements rests on people's previous embeddedness in social networks (Corrigall-Brown, 2013). Discussions of environmental activism must take such "mobilizing structures" into account and study the recruitment process through which people are brought

into environmental activism. This means looking into the collective vehicles through which people mobilize and engage in collective action (McAdam et al., 1996) and, above all, the social networks and ties that support and facilitate mobilization (Diani, 2004). These aspects have been stressed in particular by resource mobilization theorists.

Social movement scholars have also paid a great deal of attention to the social psychological factors facilitating or preventing participation (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2013). Accordingly, discussions of environmental movements and activism would not be complete without reference to the psychological dynamics of participation in demonstrations. This includes a variety of aspects such as identity (Hunt and Benford, 2004), ideology (Snow, 2004), emotions (Goodwin et al., 2004; Flam and King, 2005), motivations (Klandermans, 2015), commitment (Erickson Nepstad, 2013), and still others. Of particular importance here is the role of political attitudes and values as predispositions favoring – or preventing – engagement in environmental movements. Research has shown in this regard that committed environmental activists tend to have a strong left-libertarian value orientation. In addition, consideration should also be given to the ways in which specific framing processes may favor participation in social movements. As we mentioned earlier, the ways in which environmental problems are framed – for example, by environmental organizations – is of outmost importance. At the micro level this reflects on smaller or greater changes that one gets involved in environmental movements and activities.

All these microstructural and social psychological dynamics may support people's participation in environmental movements and lead some to become environmental activists, sometimes with strong degrees of commitment. However, as several chapters in this volume attest, environmentalism has changed over time in many respects. One such change is that environmentalism takes on an increasing importance in people's everyday life. Today, environmental concerns do not necessarily lead to voting for a Green Party candidate, becoming a member of an environmental organization, or participating in some kind of protest activity on these issues. They are often expressed in a number of everyday practices – starting from political consumerism to forms of alternative living – that reflect new forms of political opposition to mainstream predominant cultural norms and values (Haenfler et al., 2012). This does not mean that those individuals who act in an "environmentally friendly" manner in their everyday life do not also take part in more "traditional" protest activities, but simply that the terrain for political opposition about the environment has, at least in part, shifted its focus.

Part 4 of the *Handbook* turns to the microstructural and social psychological dynamics underlying environmental activism. The first three chapters in this part look at some of the micro-level characteristics that have been shown to account for participation in social movement activities and therefore are also important for environmental movements. Magnus Wennerhag and Anders Hylmö examine in Chapter 24 the role of social class in engagement in environmental movements. The chapter focuses more specifically on the class composition of environmental movements and environmental movement organizations. It discusses the possible causes and consequences of this composition, including the role of class-related framings and demands in environmental movements. David B. Tindall, Valerie Berseth, Marjolaine Martel-Morin, and Erick Lachapelle look in Chapter 25 at political values and socialization. They show empirically the importance of values for environmental activism by examining variables such as the new ecological paradigm scale, post-materialist values, identification with the environmental movement, and participation in environmental movement activities.

The next two chapters deal with two of the key micro-level processes through which people are driven to participate in social movements and protest activities, including those carried out by environmental movements: recruitment through social networks and framing. Chapter 26,

by Clare Saunders, examines the role of social networks and recruitment, with a thematic focus on climate change and a territorial one on the United Kingdom, but looking at different types of environmental action. The chapter focuses on the role of networks in recruiting activists to climate change mobilizations and examines the relative importance of personal networks, indicators of social capital, and organizational memberships as recruitment tools in four types of activism: climate change marches, school strikes, movements using civil disobedience, and pro-environmental behavior. On the other hand, Chapter 27 by Louisa Parks, turns to the role of framing in environmental movements. It distinguishes between studies of how social movements frame environmental issues and more internally oriented processes and studies of how the issue framings of environmental movements match up with others at large in society. The chapter suggests that reading framing processes in broader perspectives might contribute to debates about the role of framing processes for environmental movements – and social movements more generally – and to the continued and crucial debate on inclusion and deliberation in a model of ecological democracy.

Chapter 28, by Chie Togami and Suzanne Staggenborg, looks at the role of gender, an aspect too often neglected by scholars of social movements. The chapter examines the ways in which gender influences the mobilization of environmental movements, showing that gender dynamics are connected to several related processes occurring at different levels – macro, meso, and micro – which affect the mobilization of environmental movements. The role of gender in environmental movement recruitment and participation, ideology and framing, and tactics is analyzed. Next up, Chapter 29, by Francesca Forno and Stefan Wahlen, discusses an increasingly relevant aspect in theories of social movements and political participation: namely, everyday life as an important "locus for change" from which to understand contemporary mobilization and politicization. The chapter focuses on the interplay between everyday life and environmentalism, first by discussing in general terms everyday life and its implication for collective action. Then it examines why, how, and when everyday practices started to be increasingly utilized as a way to address environmental problems. Finally, it looks at the extent to which practices of everyday life can give rise to and support different forms of mobilization on individual as well as collective levels as well as across different scales.

Part 5: Consequences and outcomes

The outcomes and consequences of social movements have long been a neglected aspect of this field of study (Giugni, 1998). This is no longer true; since the late 1990s, research on how collective mobilizations and protest activities may – or may not – bring about social and political change has flourished (Bosi et al., 2016). Such increasing attention paid to this aspect has also benefitted our knowledge of the effect of environmental movements, although much remains to be done in this field. Part V of the *Handbook* tries to fill this gap by looking at different kinds of effects of the movements.

Research on the consequences of social movements is typically divided into three main broad types: political, biographical, and cultural (Giugni, 2008). Broadly speaking, these refer, respectively, to effects of movement activities that alter the political environment, effects on the life course of individuals who have participated in movement activities, and effects on their broader cultural environment. Of these, political consequences are by far the ones that have most often been studied by scholars of social movements. Even more narrowly, the bulk of research in this field has dealt with policy effects: that is, effects on legislation or other policy changes. This is especially true when it comes to the impact of environmental movements, as works on other kinds of effects are very rare in this case. Yet even studies of the policy effects

of environmental movements still remain rather sparse, and most focus on anti-nuclear energy (see cross-national comparative analyses by Flam, 1994; Kolb, 2007; Midttun and Rucht, 1994, among others). This is perhaps because these effects are more tangible and easy to measure – for example, through a decrease in the number of nuclear power plants built or the percentage of electricity produced through nuclear energy in a given nation – rather than on environmental movements in their broader meaning (Rucht, 1999) or by comparing both anti-nuclear energy and ecology movements (Giugni, 2004).

The chapters in Part 5 of the *Handbook* all deal with the consequences and outcomes of environmental movements and activism. While they obviously cannot cover the full range of potential consequences, taken together, they address all three types of outcomes most often considered in the social movement literature. Chapter 30, by Erik W. Johnson and Jon Agnone, deals with policy and legislative outcomes. This chapter applies Gamson's (1990) classical distinction between acceptance and new advantages, firstly, to discuss how environmental movements effect policy and legislative outcomes and secondly, to illustrate this through the case of climate change policy in the US. Yet, though crucial, influencing policy is not the only way through which social movement may have an impact. Also important is the extent to which they are able to influence public opinion (Burstein, 2014). This aspect is addressed by Joanna K. Huxster in Chapter 31, which explores the relationship between environmental movements, public opinion, and environmental attitudes from an interdisciplinary perspective. Although few empirical studies exist on the environmental movement's direct influence on public opinion, the chapter hypothesizes that this relationship might work by outlining the potential avenues and barriers to shifting environmental attitudes that relate to the actions of the movements.

Chapter 32, by David J. Hess, shifts the focus from political to cultural outcomes. This is a very broad category, including a wide variety of different kinds of potential effects not always easy to identify and delimit (Earl, 2004). This chapter examines the role of environmental movements in scientific, technological, and industrial change, all particularly relevant areas for movements mobilizing around environmental concerns. The chapter argues that attention to the material and epistemic dimensions of environmental movements is central to understanding the problem of outcomes, and it adopts a "sociotechnical perspective" on these dimensions. This approach includes the construction of new analytical categories and questions, such as the comparative analysis of industrial transition movements, the politics of design, and undone science.

The final chapter in this part of the *Handbook*, Chapter 33 by Sara Vestergren and John Drury, looks at biographical consequences of environmental activism. In a way, these can also be seen as a particular type of cultural outcome, as they often consist in changing or keeping alive certain attitudes and values of participants in social movement activities. However, unlike the previous type, which take place at the macrostructural level, here we are dealing with the micro, individual level. The chapter examines the range of biographical changes, such as changes in consumption behaviors and increased well-being, that may emerge as a result of environmental activism and activism in general. It shows that participation in environmental activism can have a profound effect on the lives of those participating, suggesting that perceived supportive interactions and relationships with other environmental activists are important for such biographical consequences to endure over time.

Part 6: Environmental movements in the twenty-first century

Environmental movements and activism have evolved greatly over time, transforming themselves in several ways. From the early days of the nineteenth century, when the focus was on

nature conservation and preservation, moving into the politicization of ecology in the 1960s and 1970s to more recent strands including environmentalism and lifestyle politics, environmental justice and green democracy, the range of actors and organizations involved, and the tactics and strategies adopted, as well as the issues addressed, have broadened considerably. The movements have also shifted their scale from the local to the national and finally to the worldwide scale, leading to what some have called "global ecology" (Finger, 1992; Lipschutz and Conca, 1993; McCormick, 1989). However, on the other hand, the formula "think globally, act locally" (Rucht, 1993) – which remains an important mantra for environmental activists – seems to suggest that while environmental problems are inherently global, responses to them are perhaps best implemented at the local level.

The last part of the *Handbook*, Part 6, looks at some recent trends and how they will influence environmental activism in the future. Among the more recent developments in the features of environmental movements and activism is no doubt the increasing presence and involvement of the youngest generation. Started in the summer of 2018 as an individual "school strike" enacted by the now-world-famous, then-15-year-old Swedish schoolgirl Great Thunberg, a unprecedented wave of strikes and mass demonstrations – known as "Fridays for Future", as they were mostly held on that day of the week, at least initially. Since then, they have spread worldwide and taken place at the global level involving millions of young people around the world protesting against climate change and pushing the political authorities – the "adults" – to act with great urgency to bring effective solutions (see de Moor et al., 2020; Wahlström et al., 2019 for comparative analyses of some of the demonstrations). To be sure, these protests are not only attended by pupils and students. However, the latter are seen as their initiators and play a key role in the movements, and this has been reflected by the particularly high numbers of very young people in protests, at least in some countries.

In this respect, Chapter 34, by Sarah Pickard, Benjamin Bowman, and Dena Arya, discusses the specificities of young people's involvement in environmental movements in the twenty-first century. More specifically, it addresses why and how there has been a growth in youth-led environmental activism and young people's involvement in the current environmental movements – including in the more radical branch using civil disobedience of the UK Extinction Rebellion – as well as outcomes and the likely future of their environmental activism. They argue that, while young people form a specific generational unit and some are using what they call "Do-It-Ourselves" (DIO) politics in their environmental activism, they are not a homogeneous group. The future of their environmental activism will depend partly on political and policing reactions.

Partly related to the strong involvement of the youngest in the movements, another key feature of environmental movements and activism is the increasingly important role played by the net and online forms of activism. This holds for social movements more generally, leading some to speak of a "logic of connective action" – a clever allusion to and transformation of the title of Olson's (1965) seminal *Logic of Collective Action* – meaning that the rise of a personalized digitally networked politics in which diverse individuals address common problems that, for some can be seen as replacing or supplementing a more traditional network environment made of direct contacts and ties (Bennett and Segerberg, 2013). Chapter 35, by Anastasia Kavada and Doug Specht, examines the role of digital media in environmental activism by focusing on processes of organization and the rapid formation of collectives. Their chapter shows, while also pointing to the limitations of these tools, how activists and environmental movements have utilized social media, digital maps, memes, and other kinds of visual communication and leveraged the affordances of these tools in the fight for the environment.

Just like social movements in general do not simply perform the function of opposing or promoting certain issues or changes – be they political, social, cultural – so to do environmental movements more specifically also raise broader issues linked to the meaning of democracy and its future as well as the ideal organization of society. Amanda Machin examines in Chapter 36 a recurring feature of green movements: their emphasis on democracy. The chapter, however, stresses that there is no necessary connection between democratic means and environmental ends. It delineates a green democratic imaginary that enables and shapes discussions of democracy between greens characterized by six dimensions: decentralization, inclusion, passion, participation, protest, and rupture – in turn highlighting the connections and contradictions of these dimensions and their appearance in relation to various green movements.

Relatedly, Chapter 37 by Elia Apostolopoulou examines the emergence of various social-environmental movements mobilizing against the increasing neoliberalization of nature, space, and the commons and opposing environmental, social, and spatial injustices and the undemocratic character of socio-spatial and social-environmental change often putting up barriers against the relentless capitalist exploitation of public spaces and socio-natures within and beyond cities. Finally, Chapter 38 by Carl Cassegård, the last chapter in this part and final chapter of the entire *Handbook*, offers an enticing outlook toward the future of environmental movements.

References

Alkon, Alison Hope, and Julie Guthman. 2017. *The New Food Activism Opposition, Cooperation, and Collective Action*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Benford, Robert D., and David A. Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 611–640.

Bennett, Lance W., and Alexandra Segerberg. 2013. *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bosi, Lorenzo, Marco Giugni, and Katrin Uba. 2016. "The Consequences of Social Movements: Taking Stock and Looking Forward." Pp. 3–37 in Lorenzo Bosi, Marco Giugni, and Katrin Uba (eds.), *The Consequences of Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burstein, Paul. 2014. *American Public Opinion, Advocacy, and Policy in Congress: What the Public Wants and What It Gets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corrigall-Brown, Catherine. 2013. "Participation in Social Movements." Pp. 900–905 in David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans, and Doug McAdam (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Crossley, Nick, and Mario Diani. 2019. "Networks and Fields." Pp. 151–166 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly J. McCammon (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Second edition. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

della Porta. 2015. *Social Movements in Times of Austerity: Bringing Capitalism Back Into Protest Analysis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

de Moor, Joost. 2017. "Lifestyle Politics and the Concept of Political Participation." *Acta Politica* 52: 179–197.

de Moor, Joost, Katrin Uba, Mattias Wahlstrom, Magnus Wennerhag, and Michiel De Vydt (eds.). 2020. *Protest for a Future II: Composition, Mobilization and Motives of the Participants in Fridays For Future Climate Protests on 20–27 September, 2019, in 19 cities around the world*. Retrieved from: https://osf.io/asruw/

Diani, Mario. 1992. "The Concept of Social Movement." *Sociological Review* 40: 1–25.

Diani, Mario. 2004. "Networks and Participation." Pp. 339–359 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Earl, Jennifer. 2004. "The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements." Pp. 508–530 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Eder, Klaus. 1993. *The New Politics of Class: Social Movements and Cultural Dynamics in Advanced Societies*. London: Sage.

Eder, Klaus. 2013. "Social Class and Social Movements." Pp. 1179–1182 in David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans, and Doug McAdam (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Eidlin, Barry, and Jasmine Kerrissey. 2019. "Social Class and Social Movements." Pp. 517–536 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly McCammon (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Second edition. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Erickson Nepstad, Sharon. 2013. "Commitment." Pp. 229–230 in David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans, and Doug McAdam (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Finger, Matthias (ed.). 1992. *The Green Movement Worldwide*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Flam, Helena (ed.). 1994. *States and Anti-Nuclear Movements*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press

Flam, Helena, and Debra King (eds.). 2005. *Emotions and Social Movements*. London. Routledge

Gamson, William A. 1990. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Second edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Giugni, Marco. 1998. "Was if Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 371–393.

Giugni, Marco. 2004. *Social Protest and Policy Change: Ecology, Antinuclear, and Peace Movements in Comparative Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Giugni, Marco. 2008. "Political, Biographical, and Cultural Consequences of Social Movements." *Sociology Compass* 2: 1582–1600.

Giugni, Marco, and Maria T. Grasso. 2015. "Environmental Movements in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Heterogeneity, Transformation, and Institutionalization." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 40: 337–361.

Giugni, Marco, and Maria T. Grasso. 2019. *Street Citizens: Protest Politics and Social Movement Activism in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta. 2004. "Emotional Dimensions of Social Movements." Pp. 413–432 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Haenfler, Ross, Brett Johnson, and Ellis Jones. 2012. "Lifestyle Movements: Exploring the Intersection of Lifestyle and Social Movements." *Social Movement Studies* 11: 1–21.

Hunt, Scott A., and Robert D. Benford. 2004 "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment." Pp. 433–458 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Jasper, James M., and Francesca Polletta. 2019. "The Cultural Context of Social Movements." Pp. 63–78 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly J. McCammon (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Second edition. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Klandermans, Bert. 1997. *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Klandermans, Bert. 2015. "Motivations to Action." Pp. 219–230 in Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kolb Felix. 2007. *Protest and Opportunities: The Political Outcomes of Social Movements*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1989. "New Social Movements and the New Class in the Netherlands." *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 1078–1116.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1996. "The Organizational Structure of New Social Movements in a Political Context." Pp. 152–184 in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2004. "Political Context and Opportunity." Pp. 67–90 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Marco Giugni. 1995. *New Social Movements in Western Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lipschutz, Ronnie D., and Ken Conca (eds.). 1993. *The State and Social Power in Global Environmental Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

McAdam, Doug. 1996. "Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, Future Directions." Pp. 23–40 in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements:*

Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, Doug, and Sidney Tarrow. 2019. "The Political Context of Social Movements." Pp. 17–42 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly J. McCammon (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Second edition. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

McCormick, John. 1989. *Reclaiming Paradise: The Global Environmental Movement*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Midttun, Atle, and Dieter Rucht. 1994. "Comparing Policy Outcomes of Conflicts Over Nuclear Power: Description and Explanation." Pp. 383–415 in Helena Flam (ed.), *States and Anti-Nuclear Movements*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Parkin, Frank. 1968. *Middle Class Radicalism: The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Rootes, Chris. 2003. *Environmental Protest in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University. Press.

Rootes, Chris. 2004. "Environmental Movements." Pp. 600–640 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rucht, Dieter. 1993. "'Think Globally, Act Locally'? Needs, Forms and Problems of Environmental Groups' Internationalization." Pp. 75–95 in D. Liefferink, P. Lowe, and A. P. J. Mol (eds.), *European Integration and Environmental Policy*. London: Belhaven.

Rucht Dieter. 1999. "The Impact of Environmental Movements in Western Societies." Pp. 204–224 in Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly (eds.), *How Social Movements Matter*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Snow, David A. 2004. "Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields." Pp. 380–412 in David A. Snow, Sarah Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Snow, David A., Rens Vliegenthart, and Pauline Ketelaars. 2019. "The Framing Perspective on Social Movements: Its Conceptual Roots and Architecture." Pp. 392–410 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly J. McCammon (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Second edition. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

van Stekelenburg, Jacquelien, and Bert Klandermans. 2013. "The Social Psychology of Protest." *Current Sociology* 61: 886–905.

Wahlström, Mattias, Piotr Kocyba, Michiel De Vydt, and Joost de Moor (eds.). 2019. *Protest for a Future: Composition, Mobilization and Motives of the Participants in Fridays For Future Climate Protests on 15 March, 2019 in 13 European Cities*. Retrieved from: https://osf.io/asruw/

Walker, Edward T., and Andrew W. Martin. 2019. "Social Movement Organizations." Pp. 167–184 in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly J. McCammon (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Second edition. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.