SOCI 360

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

CULTURAL FRAMING

AND THE

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

PROFESSOR KURT REYMERS, PH.D.

1

Cultural Framing Theory

- Social Movements as a form of "drama" (Della Porta p74, Edwards p93)
 - a. Frame Theory (Goffman): the "schema of interpretation" defines the "frame", or worldview, that an individual gets from his/her culture's "symbolic production"
 - b. Symbolic production in social movements— 3 elements (Della Porta p74-79, Edwards p94)
 - i. Diagnostic element who defines a problem?
 - ii. Prognostic element opens new spaces for action; may have a utopian dimension; note categories here: rejectionist, alternative, reformist
 - iii. Motivational element identity synchronizes with frames which prompts action

2

Cultural "Framing" Theory

- 2. Frame Analysis: Key Terms (Edwards p95)
 - a. Master Frames (Della Porta p79)

Broad Interpretations of reality, "-*Isms*".

For example: Communism in 1960s ("Better Dead than Red"),
Terrorism in the 2000s ("You're either with us or with the
terrorists"), or Socialism today (MAGA). OP p80-81)

b. Frame Bridging (Edwards p95)

Linking two or more frames in relation to an issue.

For example: Colin Kaepernick taking a knee at the National Anthem, or the "Thin Blue Line" flag (representing police support in light of the criticism coming from BLM).

c. Frame Extension/Transformation

Broadening the issues to incorporate a potential group of supporters (Edwards p95), or when specific concerns of a movement relate to more general social goals; if it goes too far, it might transform the movement (DP p82):

For example: An environmental movement dedicated to wildlife conservation becomes a climate change group.

Cultural "Framing" Theory

- 2. Frame Analysis: Key Terms
 - d. Frame Alignment (Edwards p 95, Della Porta p83)
 Relies on a dynamic relationship between the development of a movement and the cultural milieux of both the place in which it operates and its identity and institutions. (Della Porta)
 - Movements make reference to cultural currents;
 - ii. Religion may play an important role;
 - iii. Collective action is both a creative manipulation of new symbols and a reaffirmation of tradition (i.e., movements can't be too deviant in their ideas or methods). (DP p84)

Л

Cultural "Framing" Theory

Since the 1970s, **cultural "framing"** became a particularly important way of viewing society, as the speed of media delivery and form changed.

From the newspapers of the 19th century to broadcast media of radio and television in the first half (or so) of the 20th century, to the new "point-to-point" media of the Internet and social media networks of the 1970s to today, media "framing"-or the Interpretation of facts to support a particular ideological or cultural perspective-has been an important source of meaning provided to consumers of media over the past 100 years.

No more has this become apparent than in the **cultural perspective** on **the environment**, which today has broken down along the lines of protectors of **global ecosystems versus** protectors of **the economy** and traditional ways of life. But even within the environmental movement, there a differing frames...

5

Typology of Environmental

Movements (from Castells, The Power of Identity, Chapter 3)

| Туре | Identity | Adversary | Goal |
|--|----------------------------------|---|------------------------|
| Conservation of Nature (Group of Ten, USA) | Nature lovers | Uncontrolled development | Wilderness |
| Defense of own space (Not in my back yard) | Local community | Polluters | Quality of life/health |
| Counter- culture, deep ecology (Earth first!, Ecofeminism) | The green self | Industrialism, technocracy and patriarchalism | Ecotopia |
| Save the planet (Greenpeace) | Internationalist eco-warriors | Unfettered global development | Sustainability |
| Green politics (Die Grünen) | Concerned citizens | Political establishment | Counter-power |

6

The Environmental Movements (from Castells, The Power of Identity, Chapter 3) a. Types of environmental movements: i. Conservation Movements (pro-wilderness) ii. NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) Movements (antidevelopment) iii. Deep Ecology / Ecofeminism (radical) iv. "Save the Planet": Greenpeace (actionoriented) v. The Greens (political) The Environmental Movements • i. Conservation movements Can be traced back to 1662, as England's forests were becoming increasingly decimated by encroaching industrialization. Modern American conservationists were influenced by Henry David **Thoreau** (author of Walden), President Teddy Roosevelt (creator of the National Park system) and John **Muir** (founder of the Sierra Club). Goal: preserve wilderness Adversary: unchecked development Identity: nature lovers Group of Ten > Comprised of organizations such as:

- The Sierra Club
- The Audubon Society
- The Wilderness Society
- The National Parks and Conservation Association
- The National Wildlife Federation
- The Natural Resources Defense Council
- · Izaak Walton League
- · Defenders of Wildlife
- Environmental Defense Fund
- The Environmental Policy Institute

9

The Environmental Movements

iii. Defense of Space (NIMBY - Not In My Back Yard) movements

Precedented by negative impacts of local environments, NIMBY movements fight the consequences of on health, welfare, view sheds, property value, and land sovereignty. Preeminent examples are Love Canal in Niagara Falls and the Keystone XL pipeline in South Dakota. STOP NYRI was a local example from some years ago (2006–2009) in which Dr. K was deeply involved.

- · Goal: quality of life
- · Adversary: polluters · Identity: local community



10

Not In My Back Yard!

- Fights back against toxic dumping in the United States
- Began in 1978 during the Love Canal incident in Niagara Falls, New York
- Lois Gibbs created the Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste
 - · Her son fell victim to the toxic dumping
- Suffered from epilepsy, asthma, urinary track infection and a low white blood cell count
- It was found that the toxic dumping caused birth defects in children and miscarriages
- In 1984, there were 600 groups fighting toxic dumping in the United States
- By 1988, the number had increased to 4,687

11

The Environmental Movements

iii. Counter-culture, deep ecology movements

Reproducing many of the anti-establishment values of the 1960s counter-culture (anti-war, feminism, sex/gender movements), Deep Ecology movements seek to transform the system at its roots (not merely reformative, but revolutionary). Examples are ecofeminism, Earth First!.

- · Goal: "Ecotopia"
- Adversary: Industrialism, technocracy, patriarchy
 Identity: the "green self"



| | 1 | | E. | R |
|------|------------|---------|----|---|
| | 41) | file. | | |
| Sec. | 1 | W. | | ì |
| | | - | 馬川 | ı |
| 1 | Congress . | 200.000 | | ă |

Earth First!

- Earth First! is a radical group led by David Forman, an ex-marine
- Engaged in civil disobedience and "ecotage" against dam constructing, logging, and other aggressions towards nature
 - $\,\,^{\circ}$ This comes with prosecution and even jail time
- The word "monkeywrenching" became a synonym for "eco-sabotage" after Abbey's book, The Monkey Wrench Gang was published



13

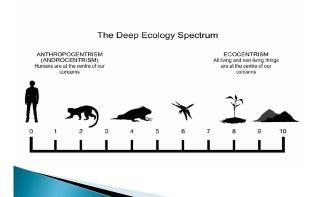
Earth First!

Deep Ecology:

- All life on Earth, human or non-human, has value
- Humans have no right to reduce the richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs
- Present human interference with the non-human world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening
- · Policies must be changed
- The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality
- Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation to directly or indirectly try to implement the necessary changes



14



15

Ecofeminism

- The belief that women are victims of the same patriarchal violence that is inflicted upon nature
- "Ecofeminism seeks to understand the interconnected roots of all domination, and ways to resist to change" - Judith Plant
- Ecofeminism, along with deep ecology and other aspects of radical environmentalism, looks to construct "ecotopia"



The Environmental Movements

> iv. Save the Planet



This branch of environmentalists are known to put their lives on the line with daring stunts and garner media attention to frame their agenda in the most dramatic ways. Examples are Greenpeace, and current climate change activism (represented by Greta Thunberg, Jane Fonda, etc.).

- · Goal: Sustainability
- · Adversary: Unfettered global development
- Identity: Internationalist eco-warriors





17

Greenpeace

- World's largest environmental organization
 - Media oriented, non-violent direct actions
- Founded in 1971 in Vancouver. Canada
 - · Headquartered in Amsterdam
- As of 1994, Greenpeace had over 6 million members and over \$100 million in annual revenues

Greenpeace Ideology comes from three distinct origins: · Warriors of Rainbow Native American story · Quaker-inspired attitude of bearing witness Business-like attitude to "get things done," set by Greenpeace leader David McTaggart Major campaigns: Toxic substances Energy and atmosphere Nuclear issues · Ocean/terrestrial ecology 19 The Environmental Movements v. Green Politics Green politics tries to change the current political establishment from within. Green politicians are concerned with: Peace Nuclear Power Environment State of the World Individual Freedom **Grassroots Democracy** Examples are Die Grunen (German green party), Jill Stein and the American "Greens". 2 $\underline{3}$ Goal: Counter-power Adversary: Political establishment Identity: Concerned citizens 20 Die Grünen and the "Greens" German Green Party Green Politics is technically not a social movement, but more of a strategy • Enters the realm of electoral politics in the name of environmentalism

21

In non-U.S. nations, Green Party

representatives have much more of a say in democratic politics because of the coalition-based parliamentary system (versus the U.S.'s "winner-take-all" representative system).

The Environmental Movements

| <u>41</u> | Themes of the environmental movements: | |
|-----------|---|--|
| i. | An ambiguous, deep connection to science and | |
| | technology (sci-tech is both devil and messiah) | |
| ii. | Environmentalist movements are science- | |
| | based (not always good science though) | |
| iii. | Struggles over "space and time" | |
| | Space of Flows: global and local (climate | |
| | change – local production of CO2 produces global effects) | |
| | Space of Time: clock time (industrial; clock punching) | |
| | timeless time (post-industrial; internet) | |
| | glacial time (ecological; 7th-generation) | |
| iv. | Grassroots democracy is implicit; control of | |
| | spaces should be in the hands of the masses | |
| | | |