FOSTERING ENVIRONMENTAL CITIZENSHIP THROUGH FAITH

Exploring the practices of stewardship within the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya

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Abstract

This research explores the nexus of environmental citizenship and faith-based ecological stewardship through a case study on the Green Anglicans Movement (GAM) of Kenya. Inspired by African relational concepts, such as *Ubuntu* and *Ukama* and environmental citizenship theory, the practices and beliefs of GAM stewards are analyzed. 14 collaborative interviews with various stakeholders, including volunteers and religious leaders, as well as witnessing and experiencing among participants in Kenya, provide the data for this analysis. Data collection took place in Nairobi and the North Rift Valley of Kenya between September 2021 to May 2022. The study was conducted in collaboration with participants of GAM and Mwangaza Light, a social enterprise concerned with energy poverty alleviation and climate change mitigation in Kenya. Thematic analysis was used to explore the data.

Three research questions are addressed in this thesis, with the overall objective to better understand stewardship from the perspective of participants and explore how environmental citizenship may or may not be cultivated through stewardship. The first research question centers the participants' perspectives by asking: how do participants perceive the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya? By illustrating the movement's identity, successes, challenges, and vision for the future from the perspective of members, a greater understanding and context is established. Moreover, notions of stewardship and environmental citizenship begin to emerge through these narratives. The second research question asks: how is environmental stewardship understood by members of the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya? Inspired by African ethics and environmental citizenship theory, two key themes emerge: relationality and care. These themes are explored through the participants' descriptions of stewardship. Finally, the third research question asks: in what ways does environmental citizenship show through the participants' stewardship in the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya? During the analysis, elements from environmental citizenship theory are presented, leading to the suggestion that GAM, through notions of faith, responsibility, cooperation, participation, caretaking, and benefitting, may be fostering a form of environmental citizenship inspired by stewardship.

This study illustrates that environmental citizenship for members of GAM is a relational practice that participants do, often in community, through efforts of care. By viewing both people and the natural world as part of *creation*, a more holistic approach of ecological management can be considered. Ultimately, this research can support the global initiative to mitigate climate change by better understanding the practices and aims of environmental stewards and how environmental citizenship may be encouraged through a faith-based movement. Though religion and specifically Judeo-Christian beliefs have been criticized as being partly the cause of our current ecological crisis, religious institutions, making use of their agency, can offer guidance and leadership in their

communities and may have the power to influence attitudes towards the environment and climate change.

Keywords Environmental citizenship; stewardship; relationality; care; Green Anglicans Movement; Kenya

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Additional information

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC:	Anglican Consultative Council
ACK:	Anglican Church of Kenya
ADS:	Anglican Development Services
ASF:	Anglican Students Fellowship
CitDe:	Civil Society and Citizenship in Development
CS-Learn:	Theory and practice of learning in civil society
ENEC:	European Network for Environmental Citizenship
FBO:	Faith-based organization
GAM:	Green Anglicans Movement
KAYO:	Kenya Anglican Youth Association
NCCK:	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NGO:	Non-governmental organization
QCA:	Qualitative Content Analysis
TA:	Thematic Analysis
UN:	United Nations
UNEP:	United Nations Environmental Programme
WHO:	World Health Organization

FIGURES

FIGURE 1 Map of Kenya: Data collection area ... 9
FIGURE 2 Participant Levels ... 38
FIGURE 3 Representations of GAM ... 45
FIGURE 4 Successes of GAM ... 49
FIGURE 5 Challenges of GAM ... 53
FIGURE 6 Vision for GAM ... 57

TABLES

TABLE 1 Participant Information ... 37
TABLE 2 GAM Stewardship: Thematic Areas ... 60

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 Research Questions 3
1.2 Setting the scene 4
1.3 Definitions 5

2 CONTEXT 8
2.1 Kenya and its environment 9
2.2 The Green Belt Movement 11
2.3 The Green Anglicans Movement 12
2.3.1 GAM's Partners: Vehicles for growth 14

3 THEORETICAL CONCEPTS AND SOURCES OF INSPIRATION 17
3.1 Conceptualizing citizenship, from the mainstream to alternative views 18
3.2 Environmental citizenship, beyond the state 20
3.2.1 The virtues of a citizen 23
3.2.2 Relationality 25
3.3 Environmental stewardship 27
3.4 Overview: Reflecting on theory and practice in this study 29

4 METHODOLOGY 32
4.1 Overall methodological approach 32
4.1.1 Semi-structured interviews 33
4.1.2 Witnessing and experiencing 34
4.2 Methods of data gathering 35
4.3 Description of the data 37
4.4 Methods of data analysis 38
4.5 Ethical considerations and decolonizing methodologies 40
4.6 Positionality 41
4.7 Limitations 42

5 FINDINGS 44
5.1 Growing trees together: Hope, change, and vision for the future 44
5.1.1 What 'represents' GAM? Reflections from volunteers 45
5.1.2 Successes 49
5.1.3 Challenges 52
5.1.4 Imagining the future 57
5.1.5 Overview 59

5.2 Understanding environmental stewardship: Perspectives from GAM members ... 60
5.2.1 Relationality ... 61
5.2.2 Care ... 68

6 CONCLUSION ... 73
6.1 Contribution of this study ... 79
6.2 Recommendations for future research and policy initiatives ... 80

REFERENCES ... 83

APPENDICES

1 INTRODUCTION

> All of creation is waiting on its tip toes, in anxiety, waiting for the children of God to be revealed. These children of God will be very spiritual individuals, because these people will be fighting for the environment, they'll be fighting for the porcupines and the squirrels. They'll be fighting for the little dung beetles and the lions and the gazelles in the Serengeti. -P1[1]

> And there is the Archbishop praying for the children with their trees and their tree seedlings. That is a new image in the sanctuary. At the altar as well, where both creation, the human and non-human, come together for blessings and connectivity. -P1

As this Reverend, my first participant, spoke with such passion and enthusiasm, his eyes lit up through the screen. He was describing a photograph of the Archbishop of Kenya and a group of children proudly holding their tree seedlings in the church. Though we were thousands of kilometers apart, I felt deep emotion while listening, almost as if I was sitting with his congregation in the All Saints Cathedral of Nairobi. Through our conversations, the Reverend shared his personal journey of environmental stewardship. Moreover, he laid the framework for my understanding of the Green Anglicans Movement, a faith-based, environmental group developing through the Anglican Communion. His mission to serve the church, the community, and all of creation was manifested through our exchange.

Stewardship is a concept central to many faith-based environmental movements. Starting in South Africa and later spreading to Kenya, the Green Anglicans Movement (GAM) has taken an active role in encouraging stewardship and sustainability both in and outside the church. Part of GAM's mission is to encourage individuals to live sustainably and prepare churches and dioceses as 'Earthkeepers' (Green Anglicans, n.d.). GAM, in cooperation with its partner organizations, is working to mitigate[2] climate change and support the health and wellbeing of people by promoting tree planting, clean energy solutions, waste management, and more. Like many religions and

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[1] The participant (P1) is referencing Romans 8:19

[2] In terms of climate change, mitigation is reducing and steadying the levels of greenhouse gases that ultimately trap heat in the atmosphere. This is key in preventing the effects of climate change from worsening.

denominations, Anglicanism encourages environmental stewardship of the Earth, seeing it as a moral responsibility.

Environmental citizenship, a contemporary concept of citizenship gaining popularity over the past two decades, has also been seen as a means of fostering sustainability, inspiring community action, and fighting climate change. Descriptions of environmental citizenship often highlight responsibilities over rights, contest geographical boundaries, and necessitate the development of skills or virtues, such as scientific literacy and an element of morality (Pallett, 2017, p. 2). Diverging from conventional forms of citizenship, a virtue-based conception of green citizenship, centers an identity around certain ecological virtues and values (Barry, 2002; Connelly, 2006). However, feminist scholars (e.g., MacGregor 2006, p. 101) have criticized environmental citizenship for focusing attention on individual responsibilities and overlooking the rights of minorities and elements of justice and care, particularly from other perspectives.

This research seeks to explore the interconnectedness of environmental citizenship and stewardship through a case study on the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya. Conducting 14 collaborative interviews with various stakeholders, including volunteers and religious leaders, I hope to shed light on how members view the movement and participate as both stewards and citizens in their everyday lives. Moreover, through witnessing and experiencing, I had the opportunity to learn and participate with members in Kenya as an intern with GAM's partner organization, Mwangaza Light. Inspired by African relational concepts, such as *Ubuntu* and *Ukama*, I attempt to reconceptualize environmental citizenship in a way that is localized and pertinent for members of GAM.

Though it is evident that we are living in a climate emergency, global policies and initiatives to mitigate climate change have been slow. Public participation, from small consumer choices to large-scale activism, is growing, but the world is not yet on track to meet the goals of the Paris Agreement[3]. Unless significant actions are taken, the impacts of human-induced global warming will be irreversible (NASA, 2021), causing harm primarily to the world's most marginalized people. Both governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), including religious and faith-based institutions, have engaged in mobilizing against climate change.

The impact of faith-based organizations (FBOs) and religious institutions in the development and environmental sector, however, has been largely overlooked, though more research is emerging. Clarke and Jennings (2018, p. 1) argue this is because of the legal separation of church and state in most modern-day democracies. Donors hold on to the stigma of religious actors as conservative, traditional, and inflexible (ibid.). The 'de-religionization of development' after the Second World War

[3] the legally binding international treaty on climate change decided at the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference

was what Philip Fountain (2015) calls an act of purification and amnesia. Mainstream development sought to separate itself from proselytization (ibid.). However, religious institutions have played a critical role in humanitarian emergencies, education, and other social justice issues.

Religion and specifically Judeo-Christian beliefs have also been criticized as being the cause of our current ecological crisis by spreading despotic, anthropocentric attitudes towards the environment (White, Jr, 1967 as cited in Groot et al., 2011). These beliefs continue to dominate, yet attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors regarding the environment are seemingly evolving. Part of my research objective seeks to realize if the church has the potential to reframe the narrative that they have historically been a part of. Religious institutions, making use of their agency, can offer guidance and leadership in their communities and may have the power to influence attitudes towards the environment and climate change.

Ultimately, this research can support the global initiative to mitigate climate change by better understanding the practices and motivations of environmental stewards and how environmental citizenship may be fostered through a faith-based movement. Building upon emerging theories of environmental citizenship, my research objective is to explore environmental stewardship as a particular form of a wider notion of environmental citizenship within the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya. To do this, I first seek to describe the movement from the perspective of its members. Next, I conceptualize environmental stewardship from their point of view. Finally, I examine stewardship as a form of environmental citizenship and begin to explore its many dimensions.

1.1 Research Questions

1. How do participants perceive the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya?
2. How is environmental stewardship understood by members of the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya?
3. In what ways does environmental citizenship show through the participants' stewardship in the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya?

In this study, stewardship is understood as an ethical and biblical concept, describing the relationships and accountability of people to and within *creation*. Environmental citizenship, drawing largely from the work of Dobson (2003; 2007), Barry (2002), and Connelly (2006), is seen as the relationship among individuals and the collective, their commitment to the common good, and the cultivation of an identity and practices around certain ecological virtues and values. Therefore, environmental citizenship in

this case is not regarded as a project of the state, but as the practice of groups promoting such virtues for the environment and greater good. These concepts will be defined further throughout this thesis.

As an epistemological choice, I formed the first research question to offer a descriptive account of GAM, rather than centering theory. By first illustrating the movement from the perspective of its members a greater understanding and context is established. This is a necessary step in decolonial and participatory research that centers storytelling and knowledge sharing. In this section, I illustrate the successes, challenges, and future vision of GAM, as well as the symbols shared to represent GAM. Next, using my theoretical grasp of citizenship, stewardship, and African ethics, environmental stewardship was conceptualized from the participants' narratives. By examining their stewardship, I began to learn how members may also be employing their environmental citizenship. Finally, this research shows that environmental citizenship for members of GAM is a relational practice that participants do, often in community, through efforts of care.

1.2 Setting the scene

This study emerged from my experience as a Research Assistant for CS-LEARN, a consortium project between the University of Jyväskylä and the University of Oulu, and the research group on *Civil Society and Citizenship in Development (CitDe)* which focuses on the complexities related to learning to be a citizen. Because of this position, I was inspired to learn more about environmental citizenship and how it can be observed in diverse settings, such as the church. This specific case study developed as part of my internship with Mwangaza Light, a social enterprise concerned with energy poverty alleviation and climate change mitigation in Kenya, where I also served as Research Assistant in the spring of 2022. In recent years, Mwangaza Light has developed a close partnership with the Green Anglicans Movement (GAM) of Kenya. While completing my internship with Mwangaza, I began to better comprehend the symbiotic relationship of these stakeholders and I learned first-hand from the people spearheading GAM. Concepts of stewardship, relationality, and creation came up through our conversations and eventually shifted the course of my research. Though I only spent two months in Kenya, that experience influenced me greatly and allowed me to fully listen to and witness the achievements of my participants. Ultimately, those narratives serve as the heart of this thesis.

While I had many decolonial methods in mind, my participants preferred to schedule one-on-one semi-structured interviews. This was due to convenience (it was difficult to find a suitable time to meet as a group) and their personal preference.

Eventually, 14 conversations took place, 8 online, before I travelled to Kenya, and 6 in person. In addition to interviews, I 'witnessed' and 'experienced' events and gatherings of the movement in Kenya, taking note of what was happening and how I felt in a journal. My field notes, however, were mainly used for context and personal reflection, while the transcribed interviews are the core 'data' of this research used for analysis. In an attempt to decolonize environmental citizenship, I also incorporate insights on knowledge systems from the Global South and explore stewardship as a form of environmental citizenship that deviates from conventional studies and highlights relationality and care. That being said, I do not claim to be executing decolonial or Indigenous research in this study. In fact, as a white woman from the Global North, I am not sure if I have the right or authority to conduct research in the Global South, even if it is community centered. This is something I reflect on throughout this study and will discuss more in my Methodology. Acknowledging my positionality, I try my best to work together with my participants as co-creators of this research, to avoid 'extracting data' but rather focus on collaborating for results that will benefit the organization. Still, I found this rather challenging and am constantly learning how to be a better researcher, learner, and collaborator.

In the next chapter, I will introduce the context of this study, by sharing a brief history and the current status of Kenya's environment, the Green Belt Movement, and the Green Anglicans Movement. In Chapter three, I introduce the theoretical background and important concepts I considered before and during my analysis, focusing on environmental citizenship. Chapter four describes the methodology used for this research, which includes semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation, and witnessing and experiencing. I also describe the data, methods of data analysis, ethical considerations, my positionality, and limitations. Chapter five shares my findings in two parts: first, by outlining what GAM is from the perspective of members; I bring attention to representation of GAM, successes, challenges, and a future vision, as imagined by participants. Next, I begin exploring environmental citizenship through participants' understandings of stewardship and how, through the process of coding, two key themes emerged: relationality and care. In chapter six, I discuss further the relevant themes of this study while addressing my research questions. And finally, chapter seven concludes this thesis with final contributions and recommendations for future research.

1.3 Definitions

Although global warming and climate change are frequently used interchangeably, they have distinct definitions. Global warming is "the long-term heating of Earth's

climate system observed since the pre-industrial period (between 1850 and 1900) due to human activities, primarily fossil fuel burning" (NASA, 2021). Since the late 1800s, Earth's global average temperature has increased by about 1 degree Celsius and is projected to increase much more rapidly within the next century (NASA, 2021). Climate change is "a long-term change in the average weather patterns that have come to define Earth's local, regional and global climates" (NASA, 2021). These shifts in weather patterns are also propelled by human activities that cause global warming. Important climate change indicators include rising sea levels, warming oceans, severe storms, melting glaciers, heatwaves, wildfires, droughts, and floods. To mitigate, or lessen and prevent, the effects of climate change, the world must work towards minimizing global warming. For the purposes of the study, I will primarily use the phrase 'climate change' but am referring to both warming temperatures and the visible changes in weather patterns.

Cambridge Dictionary (2021) defines the environment as "the air, water, and land in or on which people, animals, and plants live". While Euro-Western[4] epistemology tends to separate human beings from the environment, seeing nature as a resource, driven by 'colonial map-making' (Woldeyes & Belachew, 2021, p. 66), many Indigenous cultures recognize humans as being part of nature or the cosmos. Woldeyes & Belachew (ibid.) explain this as a 'space-based' vs. 'place-based' perspective, with space representing natural resources sought by capitalists, while places are permeated with values and knowledge. Influenced by both European and African knowledge systems, as well as the Anglican Church, the participants of this study may have their own unique conceptualizations of 'the environment'. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3. When using the term 'environment', I am generally referring to what some scholars call the 'ecosphere' or planetary ecosystem, comprising of the air, water, land, and all organisms on Earth.

Finally, throughout this thesis, I use the terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' to differentiate between two socio-economic regions. The Global North is often equated with high-income or 'developed' countries of Europe and North America; they are also the perpetuators of colonialism and imperialism, while the Global South generally refers to the low-income or 'developing' countries of Africa, Latin America, and much of Asia and many were/are the subject of colonialism and resource extraction. I recognize the problems with these categories, particularly the prejudiced concept of developed/developing, but in certain cases it is helpful to distinguish between the two regions when discussing history, context, and the implications of this research.

[4] 'Western' generally refers to attributes of Europe, North America, and Oceania and can be equated with the 'Global North'. While I also hesitate to use this term due to its prejudiced conception, scholars often discuss Western epistemology as opposed to Indigenous epistemology and it can be useful in differentiating knowledge systems

As a woman from the Global North, I also believe it is important to reflect upon my privilege and question my ability to write about topics emerging in the Global South.

2 CONTEXT

As I spoke with that first Reverend and core leader within the movement whom I introduce in the Introduction, I began to picture a sanctuary full of trees. Tree growing, GAM's initial and most prominent thematic area, not only symbolizes the movement, but has a much larger, historical significance in Kenya. Through the work of Wangari Mathai, the Green Belt Movement became a global phenomenon and inspired future environmental and social justice movements, as will be discussed in this chapter.

This research is explored in the context of the Green Anglicans Movement (GAM) in Kenya. Data was collected in Nairobi and the North Rift Region of Kenya (as shown in the map below). While GAM exists in other parts of Kenya and outside of the country, originally formed within the Anglican Church of South Africa, the findings of the case are restricted to this specific context. The research participants are members and volunteers of GAM. This chapter will provide a brief history of environmental policy and protection in Kenya and describes the advent of GAM in Kenya.

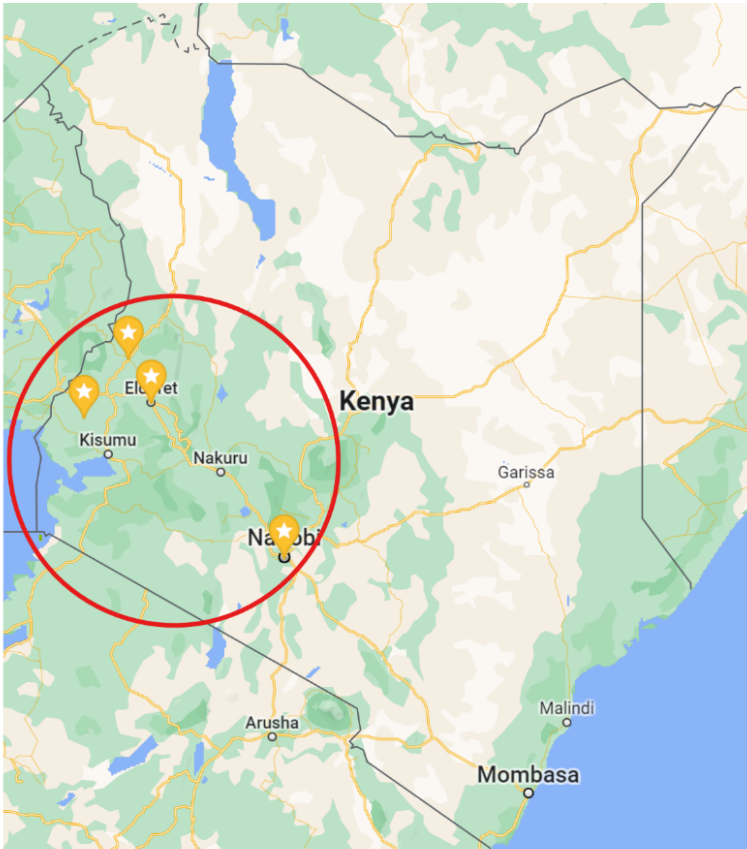

FIGURE 1 Map of Kenya: Data collection area
Note: from maps.google.com

2.1 Kenya and its environment

While Kenya has a diverse culture, history, and climate, the state was also succumbed to colonization and oppression, leaving lasting legacies including language and religion. Approximately 84% of Kenyans in 2010 identify as Christian (Pew Research Center, 2016), making Christianity the most prevalent religion. After gaining independence in 1963, civil society organizations were subdued and eventually many were co-opted or banned (Oloo, 2017, p. 26) The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) was one of the few organizations able to continue working. The most prominent and vocal civil society activists came from the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), the Catholic Church of Kenya, the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, and a few indigenous African religious groups. Today, civic activism in Kenya has transformed to be more individual, technological, and arts-based (ibid., p. 28). Despite opposition from the government, civil society movements are growing and becoming more multifaceted (ibid., p. 29). This brief history gives context for the emergence of GAM, a faith-based movement developing through the Anglican Church. Seeing

environmental degradation continue to worsen, GAM members mobilized within the ACK to construct the movement in Kenya.

Several environmental issues, associated with climate change, have impacted Kenya in the past years. Since 2014, an ongoing draught has wreaked havoc in the horn of Africa. Particularly, the past two years of low rainfall, together with the COVID-19 pandemic, insecurity, locusts, and diseases, have led former President Kenyatta to declare a national disaster on 8 September 2021 (OCHA, 2021). At least 2.1 million people are severely food insecure, and that number is predicted to rise (ibid.). Turkana, Kenya's most northern and poorest county, is being hit the hardest, with severe drought and famine. Deforestation is also a major concern in the region, contributing to food insecurity, disease, and the decreased productivity of ecosystems. Since 2000, Kenya has had an 11% decrease in tree cover (Global Forest Watch, 2021). The main drivers of deforestation are urbanization and commodity-driven logging (ibid).

Compared to neighboring states, Kenya has relatively high access to electricity, with approximately 75 % of its population with access (IEA et al., 2020). This may be due, in part, to the high proportion of international finance received for clean energy. Kenya accepts the most in the region, $689.5 million in 2016 (UNSD, 2020). Additionally, Kenya's total energy consumption from renewable energy is significant; in 2017, approximately 72 % of total final energy came from sustainable sources (IEA et al., 2020). However, despite the high percentage of international financing and energy consumption from renewable power, many Kenyan households live off the power grid or regularly face electricity outages; moreover, only 10 % of the Kenyan population has access to clean cooking technologies (ibid.). This means most people rely on firewood for their daily cooking.

Energy is a gender concern; women and girls are more likely to experience household air pollution because of time spent managing the household. In a study by Ezzati et al. (2000), young adult females in Kenya had the highest exposure to hazardous indoor air pollution. Household air pollution is the main cause of strokes, lung cancer, heart disease, and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease worldwide (WHO, 2022). Additionally, inhaling small amounts of particulate matter daily impairs the immune system and can impact both physical and mental health (ibid.).

In addition to the damaging impacts of smoke, fuel gathering (i.e., collecting firewood or charcoal) poses both serious health and environmental risks for women and children. In many low-income countries, children collect fuel for income generation, preventing them from attending school (ibid.). Gathering fuel is time-consuming, can be unsafe particularly in environments prone to violence, and raises the risk of musculoskeletal injury (ibid.). Furthermore, deforestation and the burning of fossil fuels are among the leading causes of climate change.

The government of Kenya, civil society organizations, and small businesses have been actively promoting the use of clean cooking solutions to replace wood and coal; however, the substitution of conventional wood and coal-burning cooking stoves has been slow and minimal. This may be due to affordability, lack of knowledge on the health impacts, and social acceptability (IEA et al., 2020). The Green Anglicans Movement, collaborating with Mwangaza Light, recently launched a new product, the Green Anglicans Cookstoves or 'jikos' in Kiswahili, which, according to Mwangaza Light (2021), can reduce indoor smoke emissions by up to 62 percent.

Kenya's constitution establishes the right to a clean and healthy environment, and promises access to data, participation, justice, and community land tenure. While recent laws have been put in place to actualize these civil liberties, many communities struggle to participate and protect themselves (Natural Justice, n.d.) This is in part due to exploitation and lack of awareness of one's rights and obligations as citizens. To enhance environmental justice and combat these issues, including deforestation and lack of access to clean energy, many advocates and organizations have emerged. The most prominent organizer, Wangari Mathai, envisioning a greener and cleaner Kenya, launched the Green Belt Movement, which today continues to inspire the work of GAM members.

2.2 The Green Belt Movement

At the 1972 Stockholm Conference, the Declaration on the Human Environment established the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) with its headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya. The location is significant; it was the first UN agency headquartered in the Global South. Against popular opinion, countries of Africa, Latin America, and Asia, united in support of establishing the UN office in Kenya (Johnson, 2012, p. 32). The formation of UNEP in Nairobi was a powerful move for the Global South and, according to notable advocate and scholar Wangari Maathai (2006, p.8), helped bring light to environmental issues and the local green advocates who have been working throughout Africa in the years prior. Moreover, the decision drew several international NGOs to Nairobi who aspired to work with UNEP.

At the same time, activists such as Maathai were working at the grassroots level to solve environmental issues, particularly deforestation. In 1977, Maathai officially established the Green Belt Movement. Collaborating with UNEP and both large and small NGOs, she later won a Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts. From the start of the movement up until the 2000s, Maathai (ibid., p.10) mobilized poor women, in particular, to plant 30 million trees throughout Kenya. She has played an instrumental role in the fight for sustainable development, equality, and harmony in Africa (ibid.).

Becoming the first African women to receive a Nobel Peace Prize, Maathai is also a role model for women across the continent and world.

As a grassroots, community-based organization, the Green Belt Movement worked "to mobilize community consciousness for self-determination, equity, improved livelihood securities and environmental conservation using trees as the entry point" (ibid., p.112). Their vision was "to create a society of people who consciously work for continued improvement of their livelihoods and a greener, cleaner Kenya" (ibid.) with the core programs of tree planting, food security, civic and environmental education, and advocacy (ibid., p.113). Thanks to activists like Wangari Maathai, Kenya has initiated a few large-scale environmental policies, including the ban on single-use plastic bags enforced in 2017. Moreover, these core values have become an integral part of the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya.

2.3 The Green Anglicans Movement

While Anglican Churches around the world have been advocates for environmental stewardship for years prior, it wasn't until 1990 that a fifth 'Mark of Mission' was added to what Anglicans deem the 'checklist' for mission activities. The first four 'Marks of Mission', developed by the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC-6) in 1984 in Nigeria, offer practical guidance for enacting a mission that teaches new believers, centers loving service, and challenges injustice and violence. Seeing the urgent need to address and find solutions to the climate crisis, the fifth Mark advocates for the safeguarding of creation and to "sustain and renew the life of the earth" (Anglican Communion, n.d.).

Since then, the Anglican Communion has incorporated environmental themes into its teachings. In 1998, bishops gathering at Lambeth expressed their concern for such issues and launched the Anglican Communion Environmental Network, "a network for those who care for God's creation" (ibid.). In 2002, it received official recognition as part of the Anglican Communion at an ACC-12 gathering in Hong Kong. Ten years later in 2012, the idea for a 'Green Anglicans Movement' was developed and launched, in an effort to expand the network in Africa, uphold the 'Fifth Mark of Mission,' and cultivate a movement around environmentalism and Anglicanism. Their vision, correspondingly, is "a church which is striving to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustain and renew the life of the earth" ("Green Anglicans, n.d.). While the movement first emerged in South Africa, it has since spread to nearly a dozen countries, including Kenya. The mission of the Green Anglicans Movement (hereby referred to as GAM) is to:

> resource and inspire Anglicans in the spirituality of Caring for Creation, inspire and encourage individuals to live sustainable lives, inspire and equip Churches and Dioceses to practical actions as Earthkeepers, and challenge and network individuals, Churches, and Dioceses to prophetic acts of advocacy (Green Anglicans, n.d.)

In Kenya, the idea of GAM was first adopted by the Kenya Anglican Youth Association (KAYO) and the Anglican Students Fellowship (ASF), an organization for university students. Youth learned about the movement at an Anglican conference held in Nairobi and together with leaders in the church decided to launch GAM Kenya, operating within the structure of the Anglican Church as well as the Anglican Development Services (ADS Kenya), a faith-based non-profit organization. Since then, the Kenyan chapter has created several educational and awareness campaigns concerning climate change and other environmental issues, particularly around energy-use and deforestation. However, as a new movement, it is continuing to grow and evolve and differs greatly among regions. A reverend (P1), based in Nairobi, and key member of the Steering Committee described GAM's advent and identity as a movement:

> Green Anglican came about because of the love we had for the young people. And the young people have multiplied this love and thrown it back to the church by showing their willingness of coming on board and helping in church matters. I don't, we don't call it an environmental matter, it is a church matter. -P1

What I refer to as the 'identity' of the movement is something members described diversely, but most agreed that it was a 'church matter' or Anglican/Christian movement at its core.

Currently, the three key thematic areas of GAM at the provincial level are tree growing, clean energy adoption, and waste management. While the movement in Kenya has focused primarily on tree growing since its inception, in 2021, clean energy was introduced through a partnership with efficient energy solutions providers Mwangaza Light and BURN Manufacturing. This area has been largely successful due to their partnership with Dr. Catrine Shroff, CEO and founder of Mwangaza Light, who is also an active member of GAM. The third theme, waste management, has been the least active area, though volunteers have led and organized trash clean-ups and have discussed the idea of developing a recycling center at the cathedral in Nairobi.

In 2018, the Anglican Church of Kenya, under the leadership of the Most Reverend Dr. Jackson Ole Sapit, adopted "Wholesome Ecology" as a pillar in their 10-Year Strategy (2018-2027). Wholesome Ecology recognizes that 'wholesome living' is dependent on a responsible and healthy relationship between man and nature (ADS-Kenya, 2021). The campaign on environmental stewardship is directed by the Green Anglicans Movement (ibid.). While most participants did not explicitly discuss this pillar, the adoption of Wholesome Ecology demonstrates the dedication of the Archbishop towards social and environmental transformation.

As of June 2022, there are 27 people on the Kenya GAM Steering Committee, which is working on a Strategic Plan (2022-2027) and 6 persons in the Core Group concerned with implementation of the Strategic Plan. Total membership of GAM volunteers is unknown and varies greatly from region to region. There is also a large range in the roles, responsibilities, and expectations of volunteers. Because of lack of documentation, this context is largely based on the conversations I had with GAM participants.

Finally, one important contribution towards GAM's growth and success in Kenya is that the Anglican Church is a locally embedded institution and a key provider of social services. As Alava (2016, p. 177) explains, established on her work in Northern Uganda, the effects of church activities can be greater than other development organizations due to their spiritual, historical, and political embeddedness. As a social institution gaining public authority through service provision towards the common good, the Anglican Church in Kenya has agency to influence public opinion and capacity to coordinate projects. This is largely thanks to the structure of the church and its development services [ADS Kenya], which will be discussed more in the next section.

2.3.1 GAM's Partners: Vehicles for growth

There are two key partner organizations – the Anglican Development Services (ADS Kenya) and Mwangaza Light – that serve instrumental roles in the growth of GAM in Kenya. In fact, it is difficult to separate them. For many participants, GAM is viewed as a movement, not an organization, and therefore requires the structure of the church and ADS Kenya to prosper. ADS Kenya is a faith-based non-profit organization that operates under the Anglican Church of Kenya. ADS Kenya has four overarching programs: community development, advocacy, institution strengthening, and research management. Moreover, within the community development program, ADS staff are tackling environmental issues such as conservation agriculture, climate change adaptation, and emergency drought response. Because of ADS's recognized name and reach throughout the country, the message of GAM can spread. One ADS employee and GAM volunteer (P14) explained:

> It is a partnership of people with common intent… ADS being a development and a social transformation arm, quickly picked up that. So, ADS has mechanisms around the country. Any part of this country you go to, there is an establishment of ADS, so it is a strong known brand, that now riding on it, we get very good mileage for the Green Anglican Movement. -P14

A challenge, however, based on my observations in the North Rift, is spreading that awareness of GAM [their mission and how they operate] to all ADS staff. While people in top leadership positions are passionate about GAM and see the connection between

GAM's vision and ADS activities, some lower-level program officers have yet to learn about GAM or understand the relationship.

A second, but also significant partner organization is Mwangaza Light, a social enterprise promoting clean energy adoption as part of climate change mitigation. In May of 2021, Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Kenya and Green Anglicans Patron, the Most Reverend Dr. Jackson Ole Sapit introduced the partnership between GAM and Mwangaza Light by launching the Green Anglicans Energy-saving Cookstove at a service held at All Saints Cathedral in Nairobi. The cookstoves, produced by Mwangaza Light and BURN Manufacturing, are marketed and sold through the church by Change Agents (last mile distributors) affiliated with Mwangaza Light. Change Agents are community members, largely women and youth, who benefit from earning a small source of income, gaining new business skills, feeling empowered, and learning and teaching about environmental protection. People are motivated to buy the cookstoves for their health, to save money, and support the environment and their local church.

Dr. Catrine Shroff, CEO of Mwangaza Light is also a core member of the GAM Steering Committee, dedicating much of her time to developing the movement. She has helped expand the movement, not only in terms of energy use and clean cooking, but has also partnered with additional organizations, FBOs, NGOs, community organizers, and church leaders (such as sisters from the Catholic Church) to spread the message of GAM. Like the youth activists, ACK Reverends, and core volunteers, she has played an essential role in helping GAM Kenya grow.

In recent months (as of April 2022), Mwangaza Light is piloting a new idea: for every cookstove sold, customers will receive a specified number of free tree seedlings. I witnessed anywhere from one to ten trees given away to a customer. A clever marketing approach, this entices new clients to purchase products since they receive something for free. At this same time, it can helps spread GAM's message of promoting environmental stewardship, connecting people to nature, and meeting GAM's tree planting quota. Mwangaza is also promoting the use of their solar energy solutions, such as solar powered public address (PA) systems and solar phone chargers, in part, to expand the idea of 'eco-churches'. The PA systems are gaining popularity in churches, particularly in rural areas, where energy blackouts are common. This partnership ultimately benefits both GAM and Mwangaza Light.

Finally, GAM has partnered with Equity Bank, Absa Bank, and Net Fund to receive funding and tree seedlings. GAM is also working closely with the Kenya Forest Service and county governments to implement their activities. All in all, as one contributor shared, GAM's partners serve as 'vehicles for growth', giving GAM the platform and resources to implement their ideas. Kenya's political and colonial history, environmental concerns, and the present authority of the ACK, reveals the context for

why GAM exists and how and why members are actively promoting environmental stewardship.

3 THEORETICAL CONCEPTS AND SOURCES OF INSPIRATION

This research is largely inspired by a virtue-based conception of green citizenship (Barry, 2002; Connelly, 2006) that entails the creation of a moral, ecological identity (Curtin, 2003), but from a feminist perspective, also considers justice, care, and inclusiveness (MacGregor, 2006; Lister, 2003). Moreover, African communitarian philosophy, including the concepts of *Ubuntu* and *Ukama* as written by Murove (2009a), Munyaka and Molthabi (2009), and other prominent scholars, is explored. These focal points were chosen after a thorough exploration of 'conventional' citizenship theory, including classic literature, as well as emerging cosmopolitan perspectives, and environmental citizenship theory. It wasn't until I began speaking with my participants, that I learned about Christian and African concepts of stewardship and *creation*.

Because I initially set out to explore how environmental citizenship can be conceptualized in this context, I believe it is important to first share how most scholars interpret this form of citizenship. Subsequently, I will share some views on virtues, including justice and care, as components of environmental citizenship. Next, in an effort to decenter conventional theories and bring attention to knowledge systems in the Global South, I share the notion of relationality from an African perspective. Finally, I will introduce environmental stewardship. While the literature on stewardship is vast, I chose to only center on a few key sources, as I will define the concept in my Findings Chapter from the perspective of GAM members, prioritizing their voice. Still, by introducing some existing research, I begin to demonstrate the similarities and differences between stewardship and citizenship that ultimately shaped the direction of my study. Moreover, I explain how stewardship is highly contextual and can be studied from a variety of perspectives.

3.1 Conceptualizing citizenship, from the mainstream to alternative views

For many, the concept of citizenship is connected to the nation-state; however, citizenship has various meanings and conceptualizations. Dominique Leydet's notion of citizenship is divided into three dimensions: 1) "legal status, defined by civil, political and social rights", 2) "citizens specifically as political agents, actively participating in a society's political institutions," and 3) "membership in a political community that furnishes a distinct source of identity" (2007). Scholars often build off the work of T. H. Marshall (1950) who defined citizenship as 'full membership of a community' with civil rights and social responsibilities; however, while Marshall's essay on citizenship is influential, he has been criticized of only including a working-class, white male perspective in his theory.

Pertaining to those rights and responsibilities, traditional citizenship theory makes a distinction between two approaches: liberal rights and civic republicanism. The liberal approach, being more concerned with legal rights, is primarily focused on protecting individuals. Whereas, the republican approach, concerned with responsibility, stresses citizen virtue and working for the common good. As Honohan (2017, p.) explains, citizenship is ultimately constituted as "both a legal status and intersubjective recognition of equality, and entails the active commitment, or civic virtue, of citizens".

In the Handbook of Citizenship Studies, Isin and Turner (2002, p. 4) go a step further by explaining citizenship as "a sociologically informed definition… in which the emphasis is less on legal rules and more on norms, practices, meanings, and identities". For various scholars (e.g., Yuval Davis & Webner, 1999; Isin & Wood, 1999), citizenship involves concepts of identity, cultural elements, institutional structures, and a sense of belonging. For Clarke et al. (2014) 'recentering citizenship' involves recognizing social relations and elements of power, contextualizing, and connecting theorizations to political projects. Balibar (2025) describes citizenship as a practice and process; it is both unfinished and imperfect. Contrasting with Marshall's conception of ideal citizenship, Balibar imagines it as 'always in the making' (ibid.), creating space for new types of citizenship to emerge.

Such new categories in discourse on citizenship are gaining recognition. Inclusive citizenship has been studied at large by examining both the inclusionary and exclusionary sides of one's social responsibility. Based on the work of Kabeer (2005) and Morris (2005), four values of inclusive citizenship have been identified: justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity (Lister, 2007). Global citizenship has become fashionable in the past few decades; with the establishment of multilateral institutions in the 20th century, such as the United Nations, and advanced technology connecting

the world, people began embracing the notion of a global citizen (Van Steenbergen, 1994, p. 5). Additionally, economic, cultural, sexual, and post-national citizenship, to name a few, have all gained recognition over the years. In recent years, Christian citizenship has also been explored, including within the African context (e.g., Bompani and Valois, 2017).

For much of the Global South, the 'Western' model of citizenship arrived with colonialism. India, for example, began acknowledging the rights and roles and its citizens in the early 19th century during British rule (Curtin, 2003, p. 293). The British utilitarian leaders at the time, including James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and Thomas Malthus, spread anti-Hindu liberal imperialism as they sought to replace subsistence farming with capitalist modes of production (ibid., p. 296). In India, and presumably all colonized states, citizenship was used to marginalize people and places (ibid., p. 296). The systemic violence of colonialism was a strike against Indigenous peoples and the environment and consequently has left some people in postcolonial contexts feeling disconnected from the liberal concept of individual rights-based citizenship (Robins et al. 2008).

In more recent years, an effort to both broaden and decolonize citizenship has emerged and to understand how citizenship exists outside of traditional public spaces. Clarke et al. (2014, p. 14) explain how citizenship has been imported, appropriated, and transformed into new alignments. "Citizenship is both exclusionary and aspirational, the object of desire and the product of dispute, as well as a dispute in itself" (ibid., 49). For the excluded and marginalized, citizenship presented an opportunity for political mobilization. From a feminist perspective, traditional ideas of citizenship neglect to consider the private, domestic sphere; scholars such as Yuval-Davis (1997; 1999) argue that private spaces must be included in the discussion of 'multi-layered citizenship'. Similarly, Ruth Lister (2003, p. 195) defines citizenship as "both a status, carrying a set of rights including social and reproductive rights, and a practice, involving political participation". Informed by inclusiveness, she argues that a feminist reconstruction of citizenship must also be internationalist and multi-layered (ibid., p. 196).

In their research on civil society in East Africa, Holma and Kontinen (2020; 2022) describe a type of localized citizenship that should be recognized in contextual, material, and political terms. Citizenship as a practice of 'good membership' highlights the spaces and communities where citizenship can be found (Holma and Kontinen, 2022). Moreover, research on everyday participation shows how citizenship habits can be constructed within communities while taking care of shared issues (Nguyahambi and Kontinen, 2022).

Environmental or ecological citizenship, also decolonial in nature, diverges from traditional notions of citizenship and the non-Indigenous perspective held by many

in the Global North of society being separate from the environment. Fostering environmental citizenship could be one way to give space to Indigenous and marginalized communities to reclaim their roles and responsibilities to the land, rather than the state, and to revise our understanding of citizenship in terms of community practice, membership, and belonging.

3.2 Environmental citizenship, beyond the state

Gaining popularity over the past two decades, environmental citizenship has been seen as a means of cultivating sustainability, inspiring community action, and countering climate change. Despite the popularity, there is not one clear, concise definition. Dobson (2007, p. 280) describes environmental citizenship as the relationship among individuals and the collective; the environmental citizen's commitment to the common good is stronger than self-interested behaviors.

It is difficult, however, to distinguish between environmental citizenship, ecological citizenship, green citizenship, sustainability citizenship, civic environmentalism and the like, as conceptualizations vary. Some scholars argue that they are integrally different, while others believe the similarities outweigh the differences. Academics such as Barry (2006, p.24) consider 'sustainability citizenship' to be a more multifaceted, critical mode of citizenship or a 'form of resistance', incorporating social, economic, cultural, and political elements. Van Steenbergen (1994) defines ecological citizenship as simply concerned with the rights and responsibilities of the 'earth citizen', consisting of a series of rights [e.g., clean air and water] and duties [e.g., do no harm]. This is parallel to Melo-Escrihuela's (2008) definition of environmental citizenship, concerned with personal duty and the participatory rights approach. Personal duty, or the liberal approach, highlights individual responsibility, while participatory rights, or the republican approach, stresses decision-making and civic participation (ibid.). This is in line with the general notions of liberal and republican citizenship discussed in the previous section. Environmental citizenship is often seen as being more 'republican' than 'liberal', emphasizing responsibilities over rights. Melo-Escrihuela, however, argues for the need of a third approach that "transcends the individual" and considers a civil society perspective.

The European Network for Environmental Citizenship (ENEC, 2018) uses 'environmental citizenship' as an umbrella term, covering different understandings of the relationship between the environment and citizenship. In my research, I will also use this concept as an umbrella term. Environmental citizenship, as previously discussed, often emphasizes responsibilities over rights, but it also contests geographical boundaries and necessitates the development of skills or virtues, such as scientific literacy

and element of morality (Pallett, 2017, p.2). Unlike other forms of citizenship, it broadens beyond state borders (Choi et al., 2009) and is both international and intergenerational (Dobson, 2007, p. 282). Our ecological footprint, for example, impacts global climate change; therefore, our environmental citizenship must be realized from a global perspective.

Environmental citizenship features both empowered participation and cooperation (Choi et al., 2009, p.32). Using this conceptualization, one could argue that to be an environmental citizen, one must first embrace stewardship or ecocentrism. Ecocentrism centers the ecosphere and acknowledges the responsibility of humans towards the environment. In contrast, anthropocentrism centers human values and experiences, meaning people have the right to govern nature. Those with an ecocentric worldview see intrinsic value in the ecosphere and should position their own needs as secondary to the Earth as a whole (Gray et al., 2017). Ecocentrism, however, also faces criticism, particularly when the environment is given more priority over Indigenous communities.

Some scholars (e.g., Thomashow, 1996) describe the necessity of creating a moral, ecological identity before becoming ecological citizens (Curtin, 2003, p. 302). Curtin (ibid., p. 303) further explains: "ecological citizenship requires that we see our moral identity as partially defined by public practices whose internal goods allow us to achieve cooperative goods for the more-than-human community". He declares that a moral transformation must happen, both in our understanding of the environment and what it means to be a participant (ibid.).

Berkowitz and his colleagues similarly describe environmental citizenship "as having the motivation, self-confidence, and awareness of one's values, and the practical wisdom and ability to put one's civics and ecological literacy into action" (2005, p.228). Their framework for environmental citizenship includes civics literacy, ecological literacy, values awareness, self-efficacy, and practical wisdom (ibid., p.230). The authors focus on education for sustainable development and using their framework in learning settings. In contrast, Horton (2006) argues that education and better knowledge about the environment are not adequate in cultivating such citizenship. His analysis suggests that environmental citizenship requires expanding the specific cultural and material conditions within which it develops; in other words, creating a 'green architecture' in which citizenship can be practiced (ibid., p. 133).

Not all scholars agree that environmental citizenship theory is favorable in practice. Agyeman and Evans (2006, p. 185) contend that it focuses too much on the environment, ignoring the broader social and economic attributes of development. They believe 'environmental justice' has a better possibility of mobilizing people, taking societal and financial issues into account. From a feminist perspective, MacGregor (2006, p. 101) critiques environmental citizenship for its gender blindness. Despite having

legal status, women [and other minorities] continue to be excluded from participating as equal citizens (ibid., p. 103). Moreover, as mentioned, environmental citizenship often emphasizes responsibilities over rights. This is problematic when rights are not equally distributed. It also relieves the government of its duty to provide when responsibility through citizenship is up to the individual (ibid., p. 114). Thus, environmental citizenship cannot be realized without first recognizing and resolving these disparities.

Karlsson (2012) argues that developed countries should be responsible for providing new sustainable technology rather than putting guilt on individuals through the notion of responsible citizenship. While technology is vital and the Global North should certainly be accountable as they contribute the most to global climate change, framing environmental citizenship as a concept of guilt can be cynical and misleading. Karlsson (ibid.) disregards the inherent power that comes with acknowledging one's rights and responsibilities and the idea that individual behaviors can lead to collective action. Systemic change is essential in decreasing the effects of climate change, but that can only happen when individuals demand it, generally in the form of mass social movements. Moreover, though we live in a capitalist, market-driven society, our growth mindset intertwined with over-consumerism is the reason we have human induced climate change; claiming that economic growth is the solution when it has historically been the one of the causes of climate change is also problematic.

The most popular approach in environmental policy has commonly been implementing 'fiscal self-interest' tactics, employing monetary rewards and reprimands. While this has been largely successful, scholars (Dobson, 2007; Maiteny, 2002; Barry 2006) argue that superficial behaviors will not necessarily shift underlying attitudes. 'Responsible environmental behavior' can be beneficial in mitigating damage, but environmental citizenship has the potential to encompass the participatory creation of a sustainable society (Choi et al., 2009). The former requires little change in one's views of the world, while the latter requires a deep understanding, learning, and shift in ideology concerning the relationship with one's environment (ibid., p.32).

Some research (Maiteny, 2002) also points to the idea that positive environmental behavior change is more likely to continue long-term when it is motivated by meaningful experiences, or an intrinsic drive. Behavior change that is influenced by short-term monetary incentives, regulations, and anxiety [or what Karlsson refers to as guilt] is more likely to be temporary (Maiteny, 2002).

Overall, drawing from these scholars, environmental citizenship can be seen as the relationship among individuals and the collective, their commitment to the common good, and the cultivation of an identity and practices around certain ecological virtues and values (Dobson, 2007; Barry, 2002; Connelly, 2006). In this study, it not

regarded as a project of the state, but rather the practices of people promoting those ecological virtues for the greater good. In the next section, I will explain what I mean by 'ecological virtues' and how those relate to a citizen's identity, practices, and membership.

3.2.1 The virtues of a citizen

For many scholars, the concept of identity, shaped by our values and virtues, is at the core of citizenship, as they attempt to dissect the citizen's role, and how and why they participate. Barry (2002, p. 145), advocating for a virtue-based conception of environmental citizenship, explains: 'the greening of citizenship is an attempt to encourage and create an identity and mode of thinking and acting, and ultimately character traits and dispositions that accord with the standards and aims of ecological stewardship'. From his view, cultivating an identity around certain ecological virtues and values can lead to environmental citizenship.

Virtues, as explained by Connelly (2006, p. 53) are settled dispositions to behave in a certain way. Unlike habits, they are critically reflected on through reason and emotion, in constant flux, and merits of character. They "go beyond their bearers" because they are social and require a notion of the common good (ibid., p. 51). For Connelly, an eco-virtue is "ecological thoughtfulness plus the disposition to pursue appropriate internally motivated action" (ibid., p. 60). Using compassion as an example, one might have empathy for the natural world and choose to organize a clean-up because they are internally motivated to do so. Other virtues of an environmental citizen can include justice, faith, hope, charity, courage, wisdom, and care. Moreover, though virtues can result in action, that same action, participation, and engagement can lead to the development of eco-virtues as well (Connelly, 2006, p. 69).

The relationship between religious moral and civic virtues has also been studied in various contexts. In their study on Islamic communities in rural Tanzania, Nguyahambi and Kontinen (2020) found that building habits through religious activities can contribute to fostering 'good citizenship', in other words, "a good believer is a good citizen" (p. 121). Moreover, they found that citizenship habits in this context were community-centered and harmony-seeking. Though not specific to the environment, emerging research shows that values and virtues can be connected to citizenship.

Beckman (2001, p. 180) explains how a 'politics of virtue' can complement the more conventional approaches to solving environmental issues. He states: "encouraging ecological virtue, the sense that attending to the needs of other species and future generations are parts of the good life, provides an alternative to the focus on incentives" (ibid.). In other words, promoting environmental citizenship can be a compelling substitute to market-driven responsible environmental behavior.

One argument against the virtue-based conception of citizenship is the conflict with the principles of the liberal-democratic state (Beckman, 2001, p. 180). Considering freedom and regard for people's various beliefs, the state should remain neutral and not support or promote certain virtues (ibid.). Beckman explains that individualism, equality, and skepticism are the three main barriers to developing a politics of ecological virtue. Nevertheless, governments rarely remain neutral, and the role of democracy is to ensure that the majority of citizens and their ideals are being represented. Democratic citizenship presumes that people can discern between good and bad in responsible ways. What's more, through this study, I argue that environmental citizenship can exist with or without the state's consent and can be found in various places, both in the public and private domain.

A virtue-centered approach to green citizenship must also consider agency and motive (Connelly, 2006, p. 67). Without power and capacity, people cannot be expected to develop virtues for the greater good and therefore poverty remains the biggest obstacle. Dobson (2003) argues that justice, consequently, is the most important virtue. Likewise, Rawls (1973), in *A Theory of Justice*, explains that "justice is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought". This aligns with intersectional, feminist scholars, such as Sherilyn MacGregor (2006, p. 101) who argue that sustainability is not possible without justice.

From a Global North perspective, environmental justice stresses finding the best social model to ensure equity and redistribution of environmental burdens and resources (Ssebunya et al., 2019, p.178). Justice is generally associated with fairness; however, this is a people-centered, anthropocentric understanding. Ecofeminist, Warren (1999 as cited in Ssebunya et al., 2019, p.180) offered a more inclusive concept of justice using a nondistributive model which can supplement, complement, and preempt a distributive model. Based on this model and drawing on the work of African environmental ethicists Godfrey Tangwa, Segun Ogungbemi and Munyaradzi Murove, Ssebunya et al. (ibid., p.175) propose an eco-collective responsibility theory, specific to the African communitarian society that upholds cooperation, mutual dependence, harmony, relationality, and unity.

Ssebunya et al.'s (ibid., p.184) Afrocentric environmental justice theory underscores the shared responsibilities and bond between people and the environment. It emphasizes both individual involvement and benefiting from sustainability as a group (ibid.). Moreover, the theory advocates for intra-generational and intergenerational justice and is less people-centered than the 'Western' approach to justice. Mweshi (2019, p.203) concurs that justice as harmony between humans and nonhumans is fundamental to an African conception of environmental ethics.

Finally, feminist reconceptions of environmental citizenship also acknowledge that citizens are dependent on each other for care. Ecofeminist philosopher Val

Plumwood (1995; as cited in MacGregor, 2006, p. 108) explains how relationships of kinship, mutuality, and care are essential for ecological flourishing. This contrasts from the more conventional liberal and individualistic practices of citizenship. Feminist scholar Ruth Lister (2003, p. 199) declares that care "as a political ideal and practice that transcends the public–private divide" must be a key consideration when exploring citizenship. Similarly, Selma Sevenhuijsen (1998, p. 20) defines care as "a social practice, in which different sorts of moral considerations and moral vocabularies can be expressed". She argues for the re-evaluation of care within citizenship studies, integrating feminist ethics and gender theories.

Irene Mingol (2013) illustrates how the ethics of care "highlight the responsibilities that arise from the relationships and interpersonal links between human beings and the importance of attending to specific needs, particularly of the most vulnerable". Care as a means of support, empathy, concern, and community, can become a source of inspiration for citizen participation (ibid.). In the next section, I explore the relationships that enable and serve as a purpose for care. Drawing primarily from African communitarian philosophy, I define relationality as proposed element of environmental citizenship.

3.2.2 Relationality

> The world of forces is like a spider web, of which one single thread cannot be caused to vibrate without shaking the whole netweb. (Tempels, 1959, p. 41)

In his book on Bantu Philosophy, Tempels (1959) explains the interconnectedness of humans, animals, vegetables, and cosmos existing interdependently and influencing one another. For many in Africa, this corresponds to the concepts of *Ukama* (Shona) and *Ubuntu/Botho* (Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, and Tswana), also known as *Umundu* in Kikuyu and *Umuntu* in Kimeru, languages spoken in Kenya. At its simplest terms, *Ukama* translate to relatedness while *Ubuntu* indicates humanness (Murove, 2009a, p. 315). While 'related' implies belonging to the same family, for many Africans and Indigenous peoples, human relationality is not decided by blood alone (ibid., p. 316). A common occurrence (that I also experienced in Kenya), for example, is being called mama (mother) as a form of respect, rather than 'madam' or 'miss'. As Murove (2009a, p. 317) states, "among Africans, Ukama provides the ethical anchorage for human social, spiritual and ecological togetherness."

Ubuntu is a person's self-fulfillment and manifestation as a human being (Munyaka & Motlhabi, 2009, p. 65). It is the essence of being human, both in terms of self and 'shared humanity' (Moyo, 2021, p. 1). More than just a philosophy, it is a way of being and interacting with the world and encompasses elements of respect, community, personhood, identity, and morality (Munyaka & Motlhabi, 2009, p. 65). *Ubuntu* is strongly based on the collective and interdependence among people (ibid., p.

70-71). Beyond the social world, it concerns "the entire spheres of human relations" (Molefe, 2019). Moreover, within African cultures, it is the capacity to express compassion, reciprocity, harmony, dignity, and humanity to build and maintain community (Nussbaum, 2009, p. 101).

In their research on climate change communication in Africa, Okoliko and Petrus de Wit (2021, p. 42) use the term 'Afro-relationality' to describe "a perspective on the person-community nexus [that] can be expressed as persons-in-relationship or persons-in-community". Highlighting *Ubuntu*, they reference the identity and solidarity (Metz 2007, 2016 as cited in Okoliko & Petrus de Wit 2021, p. 43) that is part of a relational framework, displayed through being and pursuit of the common good (ibid.). This is ultimately expressed in the Nguni saying, "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*," meaning "a person is a person through other persons" (Tschaepe, 2013, p. 49).

While *Ukama* and *Ubuntu* are complex concepts that deserve much more attention within my writing, as a non-African, non-Indigenous woman who has spent little time immersing myself in communities that practice them, I do not know if I have the authority to write about them. I believe the way we grow up, within an individual nuclear family or community-centered culture, can greatly influence our thinking. Still, I have chosen to use these viewpoints as inspiration rather than solely rely on theories from the Global North and thus am continuously reflecting and learning more as I write this thesis. Moreover, I hesitate to write about 'African' worldviews as Africa is a vast and diverse continent with varied philosophies, but highlighting the overarching, shared understandings that exist in many sub-Saharan African countries (as written primarily by African scholars) can contribute to a greater solidarity among communities. Moreover, normalizing the exploration and understanding of these worldviews can lead to a greater global ethic. Thus far, I perceive *Ubuntu* within every theme of my research, but particularly as part of relationality or the *Ukama* concept of relatedness. The compulsion to be in community, in relation with one another, to participate, respect, and show compassion is, in my understanding, an essential element of *Ubuntu*.

Relationality is also a common concept in broader Indigenous studies. Anishinaabe scholar Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair (2013, p. 86) talks of a 'relational framework' in Anishinaabe thought in which humans are "one part of a life-making system". In his seminal book on Indigenous research methods, Shawn Wilson (2009, p. 7) describes relationality in saying "relationships do not merely shape reality, they are reality". Relationality not only helps us find our place in the world, but it also connects us to the cosmos. Furthermore, we can better recognize complex relationships in contexts of oppression, violence, and exploitation. As Maral Moradipour (2019) describes in their research on relationality and migration, "relationality allows us to leave open the possibility of innumerable human and non-human positionalities

while accounting for the diverse communities to which people belong and the different, but entangled, ways that power and oppression impact these communities".

Within African ethics, understanding the world as an interconnected whole is key. Relatedness, from this perspective, is not limited to human relations, but includes the natural environment, the past, present, and future (Murove, 2009b, p. 28). As Murove (ibid., p. 28) states, it "blurs the distinction between humanity and nature, the living and the dead, the divine and the human." This an important consideration when exploring environmental stewardship, a practice that is both personal and social, spiritual, and applied.

3.3 Environmental stewardship

In the first two chapters of Genesis in the Bible, man's role on Earth is presented with two diverging views. The first observes human's position to work the land. God's gift of creation can be perceived as a right; and with that right comes a sense of power. The second view advises man to care for creation; humans have the responsibility to act as stewards of the Earth. Environmental stewardship exists not only in the Christian tradition, but within most religious and spiritual doctrines. Moreover, though it is ingrained in religious thought, Earth stewardship is an ethical concept, calling for the accountability to and relationship in the greater Earth community (Chapin III et al., 2015, p. 175).

In the Global North, the idea of stewardship is often defined as managing one's property with man in control of nature. Critics of stewardship associate the concept with power, oppression, exploitation, and money (May Jr., 2015, p.80). However, in both the Judeo-Christian tradition and non-Western cultures, environmental or earth stewardship can imply restraint, mutuality, and advocacy for nature (ibid., p.77).

In Latin America, the concept of *Pachamama* displays a different reciprocal relationship between the earth and its inhabitants. *Pachamama* is the earth, but also a mythical-religious idea of space that nourishes humans and other living creatures (ibid., p.81). *Pachamama*, mother earth, is both a living being and the reason for being, and for that reason she must also be nourished (Mamani-Bernabe, 2015, p.65). For the Aymara in the Andes, earth stewardship is part of their cultural worldview, giving respect to *Pachamama*.

In Kenya, *Harambee* or "pooling efforts together" signifies a practice which involves community members doing communal work towards both individual and shared causes (Okyanda 2014, p.72 as cited in Ssebunya et al., 2019, p.183). *Harambee* symbolizes cooperation, mutual aid, social responsibility, and self-reliance (ibid.). These types of ideals are found in many African communitarian societies. *Harambee*

also demonstrates the importance of solidarity, having shared values, and mutual obligations to one's community. Shortly after Kenya gained independence in 1963, the first Prime Minister, and later President Jomo Kenyatta adopted the term *Harambee* to 'pull the country together' and mobilize communities in the construction of a new nation. Becoming Kenya's national motto, it is now still present on the coat of arms. While there has been criticism of the origins of the term, it has been largely seen as positive. *Harambee*, or the 'self-help' movement, in many ways, promoted the practices of citizenship for a newly, independent Kenya. It encourages cooperation, while also emphasizing personal responsibility.

While *Harambee* and *Pachamama* are not exact synonyms for stewardship, we find the concept of social responsibility and care for the environment in cultures around the world. We can especially look towards Indigenous communities to learn about their relationship with the Earth.

Much of the literature on stewardship focuses on motivations and shows how one's values and social benefits can influence participation. Pro-environmental values motivate stewards and community membership often leads to fulfillment and maintaining stewardship. In their research of six natural resource groups in Colorado, Bruyere and Rappe (2007) learned that "helping the environment" was the most significant motivation for participants. Using a survey conducted in six different planting sites in the spring of 2010, Fisher et al. (2016, p. 75) found that the stewards who came to plant trees were motivated by their personal, collective, and organizational relations (ibid. 45). In a similar study on environmental stewardship networks in Australia, Bramston et al. (2011) found three aspects of environmental stewardship motivation: (a) developing a sense of belonging, (b) caretaking the environment, and (c) expanding personal learning.

Arakawa et al.'s (2018) review on the environmental stewardship and the pathways and barriers to community cohesion shows how identity, power, and agency can influence how low-income communities and communities of color react to environmental concerns. Motivators for environmental stewardship include spiritual fulfillment, increasing personal efficacy, and ecological knowledge; however, barriers, particularly among marginalized communities, include distrust and discontent with political processes (ibid., p. 11-13). One way to increase community cohesion is by reconceptualizing stewardship to focus on resilience, skills, and ownership (ibid., p.19). This aligns with Bennett et al.'s (2018) description of environmental stewardship that centers actions, motivations, and levels of capacity to care for or responsibly use the environment. Without capacity and motivation, stewards are unlikely to achieve their actions.

Some research has also pointed towards the connection between stewardship and democratic citizenship. 'Citizen-based environmental stewardship' is gaining

traction among government agencies; it is believed that stewardship can increase community resilience, civic engagement, and inspire partnership between people and their governments (Baker, 2014 as cited in Arakawa, 2018). In their study on the MillionTreesNYC initiative, which takes advantage of civic engagement by centering tree planting by volunteers, Fisher et al. (2016, p. 45) found that participants involved in the program actively employed their rights as democratic citizens. This is contrary to growing research on the diminishment of civic engagement and civic spaces. The researchers learned that the volunteers were more civically engaged than the general US population, granting some support for their claim that tree planting can lead to better practices of citizenship. Fisher and their colleagues (2016, p. 42) conclude:

> In short, urban environmental stewardship is an expression of active democratic citizenship and, thus, what drives individuals to become involved teaches us about what makes our cities and our societies function better.

Little research, however, has been done in Africa on the connection between stewardship and civic participation, and even fewer studies in the context of a religious movement. Thus, in my Findings, I will begin to explore these connections, in an effort to develop a new conceptualization of environmental citizenship that takes stewardship and African ethics into account. Additionally, I intentionally give space to the participants to define environmental stewardship from their own world view. In the Findings Chapter, I describe how members of the Green Anglicans Movement understand stewardship in relation to the movement and their own personal experiences.

3.4 Overview: Reflecting on theory and practice in this study

Though I introduce a variety of theories, I consider them all important elements in this thesis. To explore environmental citizenship, first citizenship needed be defined, both from traditional and cosmopolitan views. While conventional forms of citizenship stress legal status and ties to the state, other less conventional forms emphasize everyday practice, meanings, identities, and 'good membership' (Isin & Turner, 2002; Webner & Yuval Davis, 1999; Holma & Kontinen, 2022). Moreover, feminist and internationalist views of citizenship underscore inclusiveness and recognize justice and care as essential features (Lister 2003; Yuval-Davis 1999). In this conclusion to chapter three, I draw these perspectives together to describe the key theories that inspire this research.

The concept of environmental citizenship, highlighting empowered participation and cooperation (Choi et al., 2009, p. 32), can help foster an identity and practices that are in harmony with ecological stewardship (Barry, 2002, p. 145). For an environmental citizen, their commitment to the collective and common good outweighs

personal interests (Dobson, 2007). Stewardship, advocating for the accountability to and connection in the 'greater Earth community' (Chaptin III, 2015, p. 175), also displays reciprocity, cooperation, and social responsibility. Identity, power, and agency can influence or deter the work of stewards (Arakawa, 2018), while belonging, caretaking, and personal learning can serve as motivations (Bramston et al., 2011).

Learning from *Ukama* and *Ubuntu*, interacting with the world from this perspective embraces elements of respect, community, personhood, identity, and morality (Munyaka & Motlhabi, 2009, p. 65). Seeing the world as an interconnected whole is key and understanding that relatedness is not limited to human relations, but includes the natural environment, the past, present, and future (Murove, 2009b, p. 28).

Prior research has been done drawing on the work of citizenship and stewardship. Between 2014 and 2016, Kidwell et al. (2018) conducted a qualitative study within the Eco-Congreation Scotland network. They coined the term 'eco-theo-citizenship', an integrated and analytical framework that highlights a values-, practice- and citizenship-based methodology to research pro-environmental behavior within religious environmental groups. Their study illustrated a slower, conservative approach to climate change mobilization by focusing on values and concern. However, they also found that the organization can under-report their accomplishments on the basis of a 'culture of modesty' (ibid.). I return to this theory and others in my Findings Chapter, as I attempt to reconcile environmental citizenship and stewardship, ultimately asserting stewardship as a form of a wider notion of environmental citizenship.

Moreover, building off Alexis de Tocqueville's claim that the virtues required of citizenship are constructed through voluntary associations, environmental citizens can also develop those virtues by participating in environmental groups (Horton, 2006, p. 129). In this thesis, environmental citizenship is not seen as a project of the state, but as the practice of groups promoting such virtues for the environment and greater good.

Rather than rely on one specific theoretical framework, however, I choose to utilize a data driven approach. The literature inspired my research, but the narratives from my participants ultimately directed this study. Moreover, from a decolonial perspective, knowledge is in construction and all truths are falsehoods, meaning there is no simple truth or universal wisdom. "Unlearning and re-imagining how we construct, produce, and value knowledge is integral to decolonizing research." (Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021). In challenging the coloniality of knowledge[5], it is important to bear in mind that knowledge, including what is cited in this theoretical review, is not truth for everyone nor representative of all my participants or members of GAM. Nevertheless, by using environmental citizenship as a starting point for my research,

[5] A concept developed by Anibal Quijano critiquing the legacy of colonialism that is perpetuated through a Eurocentric system of knowledge

I gained a new perspective about environmental activism, which considers individuals, communities, land, relationships, and contexts.

4 METHODOLOGY

Regarding research on environmental citizenship and stewardship, various mixed qualitative and quantitative methods have been used. Interviews, observations, and questionnaires are common. This chapter will introduce the overall methodological approach, methods of data gathering, and data analysis I have used for my research. Moreover, ethical considerations, positionality, and limitations will be addressed.

4.1 Overall methodological approach

To gain a holistic understanding of environmental citizenship and stewardship within the Green Anglicans Movement, I chose to utilize one primary method: a) semi-structured interviews and one secondary method b) witnessing/experiencing. A third method of photo-elicitation was used during the interview process to create a more participatory and welcoming experience.

After conferring with some of the research participants and asking their preference, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the key method. This type of methodology is one of the most flexible and common approaches in qualitative social science data collection (Leeuw, 2008), allowing us to collect stories, narratives, and personal accounts from participants (Tracy, 2020, p. 78). By including photo-elicitation as part of the interview process, the images can be used as an 'ice breaker' to establish a comfortable space for conversation (Epstein et al., 2006 as cited in Lapenta, 2011, p. 205). Displaying their own images also gives participants the chance to reflect on their own understanding of the movement.

Finally, field notes, through witnessing and experiencing, were used as supplemental information to add complexity to the study. As a researcher, having the opportunity to take part in activities within the study context can shed light on many

realities. To incorporate storytelling, both references from participants and excerpts from my field notes are used throughout this thesis.

4.1.1 Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview is a qualitative data collection strategy that includes a list of predetermined but open-ended questions, giving the researcher control over the themes, while avoiding a fixed range of responses (Given, 2008, p. 810). These types of interviews can help uncover 'thick description,' the practice of exploring contextual meanings of behaviors and engaging with and understanding a culture before making assumptions or theories (Geertz, 1973 as cited in Tracy, 2020, p. 31); however true 'thick description' requires commitment, time, ample interpretation, compassion, and rational inference (Tracy, 2020, p. 32). Through in-depth conversations, a researcher can immerse themselves into that culture, at least to some extent, yet further methods are needed for a deeper analysis.

Before and during interviews, it is vital for a researcher to acknowledge their role, subjectivity, and identity (King & Horrocks, 2010 as cited in Tracy, 2020, p. 156). This is one reason I prefer to partner with a local organization who better understands the context and can support constructing the interview questions. By collaborating with Mwangaza Light and members of the Green Anglicans Movement, I hoped to develop more culturally sensitive and appropriate questions. This approach can also support my efforts in using decolonial methodology. Chilisa (2012, p. 186) describes three principles when conducting postcolonial indigenous interviews: allowing the process to be guided by "a relational way of knowing", recognizing the participants as "knowers" who have a web of connection with the environment and living, and fostering continuous dialogue between the researcher and participants. With the last point, Chilisa further defends the participants' right to critique the narrative written about them and bring their own worldview to the discussion. As discussed in Chapter 5.4, I do not claim to be conducting Indigenous research; however, I do draw from Chilisa and other Indigenous scholars in an effort to conduct ethical and fair research that amplifies the voices of my participants.

Photo-elicitation

As part of the semi-structured interview process, the participatory method of photo-elicitation was used. Photo-elicitation involves using photographs or other visuals in an interview to produce discussion and uncover layers of meaning that may evoke emotions, concepts, or recollections (Glaw et al., 2017). This, along with other arts-based approaches, is innately participatory, as participants have the freedom to choose their visuals and direct the narrative. The images in this study were all

participant-produced, meaning they were taken or acquired by the research participants. This approach can empower respondents by granting them the opportunity to display their world from their own point of view (Lapenta, 2011, p. 206).

Participant-generated image production, also known as 'reflexive photography', gives space for the respondent to share their definitions of meaning, allowing definitions to 'reflect back' from the subject (Harper, 1988 as cited in Lapenta, 2011, p. 206). Ultimately, it allows participants to see themselves from a distance, can increase voice and authority for interpretation, and provides motivation for involvement in the research process (Lapenta, 2011, p. 206). As mentioned earlier, at the start of an interview, the images can also be used as an 'ice breaker' to establish a comfortable space for conversation (Epstein et al., 2006 as cited in Lapenta, 2011, p. 205).

Photo-elicitation is particularly helpful in understanding meaning, as autophotography can encourage informative answers and feelings that may not arise in a traditional interview (Glaw et al., 2017). Because my research relates to feelings and attitudes about the environment, photographs might allow for a more holistic and multifaceted understanding of what environmental citizenship looks like.

Moreover, the use of photos and objects as symbols is common practice in postcolonial Indigenous interview methods (Chilisa, 2012, p. 184). The Mmogo method and Anishnaabe symbol-based reflection method are two examples of methodology that encourage participants to make and focus on visual representations of their experiences (ibid.). While I am not employing these specific methods, I want to recognize and honor the many Indigenous approaches in using symbols as a research practice. During my analysis, I will also explore how the images, such as a photo of trees, symbolize the movement.

4.1.2 Witnessing and experiencing

Finally, as I would like to understand the role of the Anglican Church in influencing or embodying environmental citizenship, observation – or as I prefer to think of the process, witnessing and experiencing – can be a useful approach to identify cultural norms and barriers. The connection between faith and the environment, for example, might be illuminated by observing a tree-planting ceremony organized by the church. Because observations are "registered through the researcher's mind and body" (Tracy, 2020, p. 5), it is important to acknowledge one's own attitudes and biases towards a situation. Self-reflexivity as well as insight and immersion into a particular context are essential (Tracy, 2020).

As a white woman from the Global North, I, however, am wary of ethnography given its historical relation with colonialism and the exploitation of marginalized people, particularly in Africa. There are many ethical concerns regarding social science research, which I will continue to discuss in Section 4.5. Thus, rather than observing

people, I prefer Tracy's (2020, p. 77) concept of 'witnessing'. Bearing witness and participating *with* participants instead of performing an observation *on* a community is more decolonial in nature and recognizes the complexity of fieldwork (Tracy, 2020, p. 77). While these might be considered just words used to convey a similar if not the same practice, and there are surely ethnographers conducting engaging and ethical observation, I believe there is power in the vocabulary we choose to employ.

In this sense, I would also call myself a 'play participant' (Tracy, 2020, p. 154) or 'active participant' (Spradley, 1980, p. 60), taking an active role in engaging with the organization and participating in events (e.g., planting trees), but also taking notes explicitly, rather than covertly. In African Studies, emphasizing the experience of people, instead of observations about people, is also essential (Adams, 2014). One way to do this is by the practice of 'accompaniment,' forming knowledge by immersing oneself into community life alongside people in daily activities (ibid.). While either play or accompaniment could be used, I prefer to call this 'experiencing' as I am taking part in various experiences with the organization. In addition to using my five senses, I also wrote about how I *feel* intuitively in any given situation (Tracy, 2020, p. 155). Successful play or experiencing requires a constant process of negotiation to ensure members' needs and expectations are met (ibid.). By employing witnessing and experiencing, I gained further insight into cultural-ecological relationships, stewardship, and everyday citizenship practiced by my participants.

Field notes were recorded both during and after witnessing. I kept two journals for descriptive and reflective field notes. The first descriptive journal was used for general notes on observations at meetings, events, and other happenings. The second journal was used as diary, to share my personal experience and reflections of working in Kenya. Due to time constraints and other limitations, I chose not to code this data, but rather focus on analyzing the interview transcripts. Regardless, having the opportunity to witness and experience GAM's activities in Kenya gave me a greater context and allowed me to form stronger relationships with members of GAM, the co-creators and beneficiaries of this research.

4.2 Methods of data gathering

This research was conducted in collaboration with Mwangaza Light and the Green Anglicans Movement (GAM). Mwangaza Light is a clean energy supplier located in Nairobi, Kenya dedicated to reducing energy poverty and enhancing energy efficiency. Their Green Churches initiative, developed in partnership with the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) in 2018, seeks to make clean energy and climate change mitigation a vital part of church operation. Dr. Catrine Shroff, CEO and

co-founder of Mwangaza Light and active member of GAM, was the main contact for this study.

A research notification was sent by Dr. Shroff inviting members of GAM to participate in the study. The notification described the main research objectives, practical information regarding the time and place of the interviews, as well as instructions for participating. 8 members responded to the open call. In the fall of 2021, 8 interviews, lasting between 30-60 minutes, took place through Zoom, a web-based application. This format was chosen due to restrictions of the COVID-19 pandemic. While Zoom has its limitations, including technical difficulties and a lack of intimacy, positive aspects might include increased flexibility and dismantling power dynamics between the researcher and participant (Tracy, 2020, p. 187).

After traveling to Kenya for an internship and fieldwork between March-April 2022, 6 additional interviews took place, in person. A similar format was utilized, though some of the questions evolved. Meeting in person allowed for a more intimate conversation in the participant's place of choice, which created a comfortable setting. Face-to-face interviews also gave me the chance to develop rapport and gather non-verbal data, that might not be possible to do over Zoom (Tracy, 2020, p. 183). Moreover, avoiding the technological issues I had with Zoom, I was able to better hear and understand the participants.

Further informal discussions took place in Kenya, as well as witnessing and experiencing. I attended meetings with various stakeholders of GAM, including Mwangaza Light, World Renew, and the Anglican Development Service (ADS). I was invited to people's homes, where I learned more about the clean cooking initiatives of the church. As part of my internship, I also interviewed and spoke with many Change Agents of Mwangaza Light. Finally, I attended services by the Anglican Church and had the opportunity to plant a tree in Karura Forest, as part of a World Wildlife Day event. This will be further discussed in the analysis.

As part of the photo-elicitation methodological approach, participants were asked to send one or more photographs that represent GAM. This was further explained in the research notification as a photo that displays a source of inspiration, an activity, or anything that they feel embodies GAM. During the start of the interview, the photo(s) was displayed on the screen, and participants were asked to describe the nature and essence of the picture (what, who, and why they chose that photograph). After the photos were explained, the conversation continued, and questions were asked.

The interview questions were created in collaboration with Dr. Shroff and members of GAM. When designing the interview, we wanted to include questions that answered the research questions, but also benefitted the goals of GAM. As a new movement, GAM is continuing to grow, and members are still identifying their roles

and learning how they can best contribute. With my collaborators at GAM, we believed including questions related to the successes, challenges, and future vision of GAM would be helpful to the steering committee. As my research is rooted in environmental citizenship theory, I wanted to understand participants' motivations by asking questions related to their behaviors and attitudes about the environment and to recognize the participants' views on their rights and obligations towards the environment. While the interviews were fluid and varied, the general points of interest included: successes and challenges within the movement, conceptualizations of environmental stewardship, incentives for participating, and impact of involvement (personally, for the community, and/or for the church). After an in-depth literature and theoretical review on the topic, questions were developed to support the research questions of this thesis.

4.3 Description of the data

14 participants were interviewed. All, but one, self-identify as volunteers, leaders, or members of GAM. 26 photographs were collected. 8 interviews took place on Zoom in the fall of 2021 and 6 took place in person in the spring of 2022. English was spoken. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed. The participants live in various parts of Kenya. Additional informal discussions and witnessing took place between March-April 2022. Detailed descriptive and reflexive field notes were also taken.

TABLE 1 Participant Information
Note: at the time of the interview

Participant	Occupation	Role within GAM (self-described)	Location
P1	Reverend, ACK	Steering Committee, future coordinator	Nairobi
P2	NGO employee	Steering Committee, youth volunteer (administration)	Nairobi
P3	Property Manager	Steering Committee, volunteer	Nairobi
P4	FBO employee	Steering Committee, volunteer	Nairobi
P5	Reverend Cpt., ACK	Steering Committee, volunteer (publisher team)	Nairobi
P6	GIS and media specialist	Steering Committee, champion (data collection and management)	Nairobi

P7	Youth Organizer, ACK	Ambassador of Mumias Diocese, champion	Mumias
P8	Regional Manager, Clean Energy Company	Volunteer	Siaya
P9	FBO employee	Steering Committee, volunteer	Eldoret
P10	FBO employee	Volunteer	Eldoret
P11	Sales Lead, Clean Energy Company	Volunteer	Eldoret
P12	Diocesan Administrative Secretary	Volunteer	Eldoret
P13	Reverend, ACK	Volunteer	Choreber
P14	FBO employee	Steering Committee, volunteer	Nairobi

Note: Author's construction

The participants whom I interviewed fall into the first three self-described hierarchical levels: the provincial level which oversees all of GAM, the diocesan level which includes community leaders, and the regional level of GAM partners. Some participants fell into multiple levels (i.e., they serve as both Mwangaza staff and members of the Steering Committee). At the local level, witnessing and informal conversations took place with Mwangaza Change Agents and volunteers; these were used to produce a report for Mwangaza but are not included in the core data analyzed for this study.

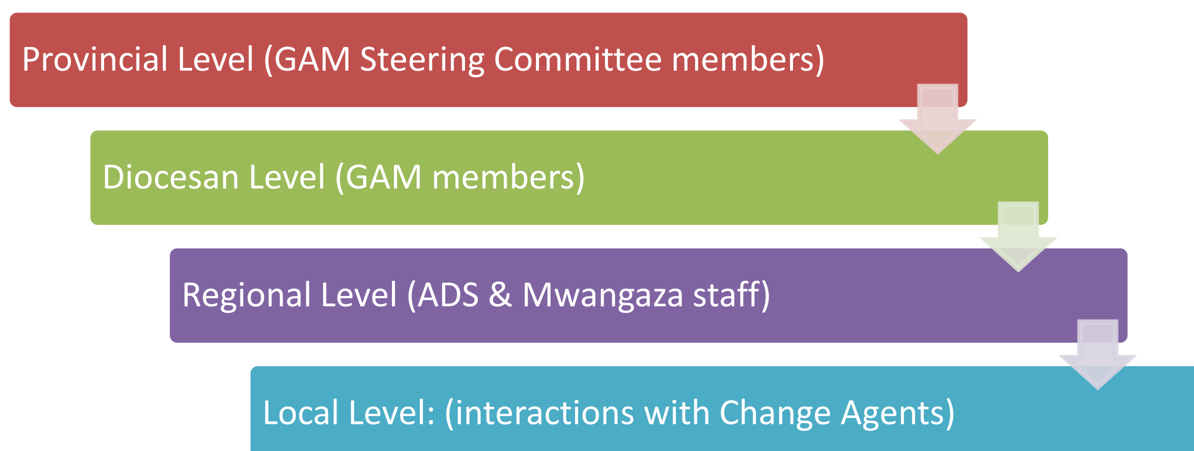

FIGURE 2 Participant Levels
Note: Author's construction

4.4 Methods of data analysis

From a decolonial perspective, data analysis methods are not necessary, as the sharing of knowledge encompasses analysis and research does not require set outcomes, but rather should be descriptive. Those that do choose to analyze their data often do it in collaboration with their participants. While I would have preferred this approach, it was not possible given to time restraints, as well as the degree to which participants were interested in giving their time for the study. Thus, to interpret meanings within the data, I opted to employ a thematic analysis (TA), inspired by qualitative content analysis (QCA). In doing so, I strived, however, to allow my participants' experiences, rather than preconceived theoretical ideas, to guide the coding process.

Both TA and QCA recommend systematic procedures for generating codes and themes from qualitative data. The goal of TA is to identify and interpret important features of the data, guided by the research questions, which are not fixed and can change throughout the research process (Clarke & Braun, 2016). QCA, similarly, is concerned with connotation and interpretation, the significance of context when establishing meaning, and the data-driven process (Schreier, 2014, p. 6). However, because there are strict predefined steps to follow with QCA, I preferred carrying out an inductive thematic analysis, which is more flexible and does not necessitate the predefined steps. Like QCA, I do code, create categories, and then define the coding units or themes.

Because qualitative research is interpretive and situational, it is important to remember that the same material can lead to different explanations and each is valid (Schreier, 2014, p. 21). The researcher's bias as well as the context of the research influences the meaning that is produced and even becomes part of the data (ibid., p. 22). Exploring imagery and social meanings, I believe TA is an effective way to discover new insights.

For my analysis, I initially employed the software Quirkos to examine and code the data. Quirkos uses an electronic system for visualizing and exploring qualitative data. During the initial phase, 14 interviews were first read and analyzed. This allowed me to refamiliarize myself with the data and begin asking open-ended questions that are typically used during initial coding (Lofland et al., 2006, p.201). Those questions eventually directed my research; through this process, and during the interviews themselves, I began to learn about new concepts and decided to pursue a new direction. Established on the main concepts asked in the research questions, segmentation (Schreier, 2012, p. 126), also known as selective coding, was employed. Targeting specific segments of the data, the final coding frames were data-driven, inductive, but also partially concept-driven, as I selected information to code based on specific theoretical concepts. From Tracy's (2020, p. 209) perspective, this could also be

considered an iterative approach, focusing on specific facets of the data that connect to the theory and continuously reflecting throughout the process. These sections were then coded manually using Microsoft Word and Excel.

4.5 Ethical considerations and decolonizing methodologies

In this section, I explore the ethical concerns and decolonizing approaches I considered in my research. There is a great disadvantage and risk when working in a new or unfamiliar context; I do not speak Kiswahili nor have I visited East Africa before my internship; however, I believe researchers can be of service if they work closely with local communities to support a shared goal. Recognizing the relationship between knowledge and power and how knowledge has been extracted from the Global South and used to maintain colonization is vital. Researchers, both knowingly and unconsciously, may foster 'colonization of the mind' (Ngugi wa Thiong'o as cited in Tuhiwai Smith 2012, p. 62), particularly when using hegemonic languages such as English.

Decoloniality, emerging in Latin America, focuses on unraveling and separating knowledge from a Eurocentric episteme. Prominent decolonial scholars, such as Aníbal Quijano (2007) and Walter D. Mignolo (2011), have dissected the power of the colonial matrix, or structures of power, control, and hegemony that emerged during the era of colonialism. Mignolo (2011) explains decoloniality as the analytic approaches and socioeconomic/political practices resisting the pillars of 'Western' civilization: coloniality and modernity. This means decoloniality is both a political and epistemic venture (ibid.). Contemporary decolonial movements seek freedom by challenging the idea of modernity, since modernity is part of the colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 2007). To counter the coloniality of knowledge, some scholars encourage the use of decolonial methodology, including tactics of accompaniment (Adams, 2014). These research strategies draw upon local perceptions as an epistemological foundation (ibid.).

While I am not working with people who explicitly identify as Indigenous, I am working with a diverse group of participants, mostly local to the land, within a Christian organization in a post-colonial context. In that sense, I feel that it is important to highlight and employ certain decolonial approaches during the formation of my thesis; yet, as a white, non-Indigenous woman, I have also questioned my right to use Indigenous methodologies. The fear of appropriation and effectively colonizing Indigenous knowledge by using it in 'Western' academia is a legitimate ethical concern. It is also contentious among researchers. Indigenization, the adopting and extending of Indigenous knowledge systems to transform spaces, places, and minds (Antoine et al., 2018), involves bringing Indigenous knowledge and methods together with 'Western' knowledge systems. This can help break free from colonial epistemology; however, it

is a process that centers and derives from Indigenous Peoples. Decolonization, conversely, is the work and responsibility of everyone. Particularly for individuals of settler identity, decolonization allows us to examine our beliefs about Indigenous Peoples and culture by learning about our own land-community relationships, unbalanced power dynamics, and the dominant discourses we use (ibid.). Therefore, in the case of my research, I argue that it is better to use a synthesis of 'decolonizing methodologies' that feature and celebrate marginalized voices from the Global South. To achieve this, I try my best to exercise critical reflexivity, acknowledge reciprocity, embrace diverse knowledge systems, and learn from community-centered approaches.

Moreover, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012, p. 6) explains, the term 'indigenous' is also problematic because it collectivizes separate communities as one. Consequently, I tried to find and utilize theories and methods that fit with my specific context of Kenya. One main element, if not the most important, of both Indigenous methodology and community-based research is to involve local communities throughout the research process, including the design and application of the project. I have done this by collaborating directly with members of the Green Anglicans Movement and staff of Mwangaza Light. Ultimately, I am attempting to co-create my research to ensure it is suitable and beneficial for the community.

To ensure informed consent throughout the research process, the necessary documents were shared and explained to participants before and during our discussions. A privacy notice, describing the processing of personal data for scientific research purposes (*Articles 13, 14, and 30 of Regulation [EU] 2016/679*), was sent to all participants. The notice described the rights of the data subjects, including their right to withdraw consent, access data, and rectify information. Data was kept secure in a password-protected file on my computer and hard drive. As described in the privacy notice, all data will be erased by December 2023. To prevent identifiability, direct identification data will be removed, and participants are identified on the basis of a code, ultimately using pseudonymized data. During the interviews, direct and verbal consent was asked to ensure participants were comfortable with recording and understood the process and their rights.

4.6 Positionality

Drawing from transformative participatory action research methodology, the ultimate goal of my research is to support the organization in the 'radical transformation of social reality' (Chilisa, 2012, p. 198). I hope the participants will have more awareness of their resources and thus mobilize and continue to grow the movement in support of the environment. As a researcher, I am a committed partaker and learner

throughout the study, rather than a disconnected observer (Hall, 1979, p. 5 as cited in Chilisa, 2012, p. 198) or discoverer (Datta, 2018). As a self-proclaimed environmental activist, I also strive to aid in the fight against climate change and environmental degradation and am particularly passionate about environmental justice. Though I am not an Anglican, I see value in the Green Anglicans Movement and other faith-based movements that are encouraging environmental stewardship.

It would be mistaken to not acknowledge my Euro-Western upbringing and white privilege and how that impacts my work with communities who have been exploited, oppressed, and colonized. This is reflected, for instance, in my journal during my internship:

> When I leave my apartment, I don't walk more than 100 meters before hearing the word *mzungu*. Children, smiling and waving, shout at me and I smile and wave back. Men on motorbikes beckon for my attention, asking if I need a ride. Some people come and just want to shake my hand. My white skin is so visible, I wish I had a superpower of blending in. But I acknowledge the immense privilege I have as a *mzungu*… and the power dynamics that come along with it… (Journal Entry 10/4/22)

My whiteness gave me privilege, but also impacted my research, as elements of power are interwoven in every discussion I have. To an outsider of one's community and nation, people may be hesitant to share their true thoughts and feelings. Simultaneously, there are many privileges I am granted as a white woman. Every day I spent in Kenya, I felt very aware that I was working in a post-colonial state. The shadows of colonialism, through culture, architecture, and the church structure itself is palpable. In both my personal life and research, I have a strong stance against political imperialism, marginalization, and exploitation. I do not believe objectivity is required, but critical reflexivity is key. Acknowledging my positionality as a white, middle-class woman and being reflexive of my work in a post-colonial state is vital in decolonial research. Moreover, reframing myself as a continuous learner, rather than a discoverer of knowledge is key. My research participants are the experts in this context and my role as a researcher is to simply work together to co-create the study. I also want to ensure that they are the beneficiaries of this work. What's more, I acknowledge that having a desired 'knowledge production outcome' is a paradigm of research in the Global North; important knowledge can also come from the process itself and does not require an 'end-goal' (Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021).

4.7 Limitations

There were several limitations in this study. The first, most obvious, was the small sample size based on a nonprobability sampling approach, otherwise known as voluntary responses. I relied on my partner Dr. Shroff to share the research notification

and find suitable participants; however, only a handful of participants responded to the initial call. Dr. Shroff then contacted specific individuals and asked if they would be willing to participate in the study. Working with a small, limited group of people has undoubtedly skewed the results; nevertheless, as a case study, I do not claim that the findings are applicable in other contexts or even representative of GAM as a whole in Kenya.

Time and resources were also limitations in this study. To gather more information for a richer analysis, I would have liked to meet my participants again and ask supplementary questions; however, that was not possible given time restraints and the availability of most members. To craft a more holistic understanding of the movement, I also would have liked to visit different areas of Kenya. My research was limited to a few select regions, mainly Nairobi and the North Rift Valley, due to my short stay in the country. Moreover, the Covid-19 pandemic, spanning from 2020 to 2022 (and onwards) was an ongoing limitation that created difficulties around meeting. 2022 was also an election year in Kenya, which meant attention was focused on the election, both within and outside of the movement.

As mentioned, as a researcher and *mzungu*, I was given a great deal of respect, but that likely influenced the results of my study. Social desirability may have been amplified; it's difficult to know if the answers I received were given to suit the interviewer; this is a common limitation in social science research. During witnessing, my presence and involvement may have also impacted the social setting. This is a common ethical consideration when conducting ethnography.

Moreover, my lack of knowledge of the context, language, and local methodology was a constraint. Using English, the colonizer's language, can create gaps in my research. The use of Kiswahili or a local language would have been preferred; however, all my participants were comfortable and fluent speaking English. Prior to beginning my research, having a better understanding of the Anglican church structure and history of religious and faith-based organizations in the region would have benefitted my research.

Finally, I must acknowledge the subjective nature of my analysis. While researcher bias is often seen as a limitation in social science research, my partiality has allowed me to fully participate in the movement, to learn alongside the members, and to want my research to succeed so I can share the results with my co-creators. We have a common goal of greening our environment and therefore helping humanity and *creation*. However, as an outsider to the movement, that has also impacted my own perspective. I am neither Kenyan nor Anglican and therefore cannot fully comprehend what it means to be a part of the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya. This has given me objectivity, but also serves as a limitation.

5 FINDINGS

This research analyzes environmental citizenship through the practice of environmental stewardship in the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya. Chapter 5.1 was written to give greater context and benefit the organization, as it illustrates an overview of GAM Kenya, how participants see the movement, its successes, challenges, and a vision for the future. When members were asked, "what 'represents' GAM?', tree growing was the most popular response. The biggest successes of GAM, according to participants, were the activities initiated, overall structure, support from the clergy, enthusiasm, efforts related to education, and creating a sense of community. The biggest challenges were shifting behaviors and mindsets, mobilizing resources, awareness, convincing the clergy, organization, activities, and external issues such as poverty. Envisioning the future, participants shared that they hope to expand the network, focus on policy, enjoy liturgy in the forest, and advocate for a stronger sense of social and environmental justice.

Chapter 5.2 defines environmental stewardship as understood by members of GAM. Two main themes emerged within the participants' descriptions of stewardship: relationality and care. As part of relationality, the themes of cooperation, participation, responsibility, and faith were most present. Within care, caretaking/managing and benefitting were the two central themes. Throughout this chapter, these topics are linked to theory on environmental citizenship, relationality, and care, to support the argument that GAM participants are employing a particular form of environmental citizenship through their everyday practices as stewards.

5.1 Growing trees together: Hope, change, and vision for the future

Members of GAM who participated in this study defined the movement as a faith-based group who collaborate together to overcome their challenges and create a more

just and sustainable future. By growing trees, an emblem of GAM, members are actively practicing their stewardship. Though numerous challenges were cited, including lack of resources or organization, participants expressed their optimism and hope for the future, particularly when sharing the support of the clergy and their collaborators. In this section, I illustrate these points by describing how participants see the Green Anglicans Movement themselves. By speaking with members from different levels of authority (leaders/volunteers) and different areas in Kenya (provincial/local level), I hope to share a variety of views that may not always be voiced.

5.1.1 What 'represents' GAM? Reflections from volunteers

In the photo-elicitation interviews, 26 photos were shared that 'represent' GAM. In conversations about the photos, participants raised five reoccurring themes when asked 'What represents the Green Anglicans Movement?' These themes include tree growing, Karura Forest, trash cleanups, green energy, and community events.

FIGURE 3 Representations of GAM
Note: Created by author on canva.com

Tree Growing

Most of the photos shared during the interviews were of tree planting and growing. GAM volunteers frequently cited deforestation and loss of trees as the biggest problem in Kenya and the largest thematic area of GAM. For the general public in Kenya, tree coverage has also become a popular issue, particularly after the Kenyan government, through the Ministry of Environment and Forestry and with support from UNDP, announced the 10 Percent Tree Cover Strategy. Through this approach, the government has pledged to manage, preserve, and increase forests to achieve a minimum 10 percent forest cover nationally by 2022. As of June 2022, the minimum target was achieved. GAM, in cooperation with their partner organizations, also has their own target to plant 15 million trees over the course of five years.

One youth participant and founder of GAM in Kenya explains why she believes tree growing is so significant:

> …we have established ourselves mostly on tree growing and it is because it is a simple concept; whether you are educated, you are elite, whether you are young or you're a child, you are a man, you're in the village, in rural areas in urban areas, everybody knows what tree growing is, it's just planting trees. The only difference is how to properly grow the trees or what trees to grow, but it's a really simple concept. -P2

Using trees to educate people and engage communities has been a fruitful and easy way to spread the Green Anglican message. Trees have also begun to be incorporated into different rituals and events at the church. During confirmations, for example, the bishop will plant a tree together with each child who has been confirmed. On birthdays, there are plans to plant a number of trees according to how old the person is turning. This has been rightfully called the 'Good Anglican Birthday Champions Event'. One Reverend and key GAM Steering Committee member (P1) shared a photo from his confirmation class, explaining:

> That is a new image in the sanctuary. At the altar as well, where both creation, the human and non-human, come together for blessings and connectivity. -P1

Trees are often planted at the church compound, but many are also given away, to be planted at home. At an event that I attended in April 2022, the Senior Clergy Conference of ACK Kenya in Nairobi, we [GAM and Mwangaza Light] gave away 5000 trees. From my perspective, the conference attendees, all senior clergy members, were very excited to receive the seedlings.

Trees also serve as a good representation of GAM as they are living and growing elements of the environment. There are both health and economic benefits to tree growing, but many participants talked about their spiritual well-being and enthusiasm for GAM. One participant (P6), a GIS and media specialist based in Nairobi, shared that trees remind him of his passion with the environment.

Karura Forest

When asked the question, 'what represents GAM?', one volunteer, an employee at a large FBO (P4), shared a photograph of Karura Forest in the center of Nairobi. Though only one photo of Karura was shared, forests and parks were a recurring theme within participant discussions. Moreover, Karura Forest has a distinct significance for GAM members; it is a common meeting point for events and gatherings and area where trees are planted in collaboration with the state. This GAM member (P4) explained how the forest is a place of healing and recovery. Shaped by Wangari Mathai's legacy, the trees and forests display the importance of enjoying creation and connecting with

the environment. The participant also explained the Christian biblical mandate to 'care for creation'. As one volunteer called it, 'forest bathing' or walking together through the trees, is a way to reconnect with nature. On my first full day in Kenya, in March of 2022, I also had the opportunity to walk through Karura Forest with members of GAM. Through a partnership with the Kenya Forest Service and Equity Bank, we celebrated World Wildlife Day by planting indigenous trees in the forest.

> Yesterday was a lot, but what a beautiful and inspiring day… we had a walk in Karura Forest, where I immediately felt a sense of calm and ease in the center of Nairobi. And I got to plant a tree! It was truly an honor and a special experience to be a part of. The day was full of prayer and gratitude but also words of action. (excerpt from my field notes)

Taking part in a 'forest bath' as I walked through Karura and feeling the soil run through my fingers as I planted a tree gave me appreciation for why participants feel Karura Forest, specifically, embodies GAM. With few trees in the city, it is also one of the few green areas where people can come and enjoy. But unfortunately, with an entrance fee, it is not accessible to everyone.

Trash Cleanups

Another common theme that appeared in the photographs and conversations was trash or waste cleanups, as a part of waste management. According to one member of the Steering Committee, a property manager in Nairobi (P3), cleanups encourage people to be more responsible, inspire youth involvement, and are a way to connect within the community and achieve something together. Waste management was a reoccurring theme when discussing practices of stewardship. Participants explained how it was important to avoid pollution, manage it through recycling and composting, and clean the environment to set a good example for others.

Green Energy

Another major theme displayed in the photos was green energy, referring to cleaner and more sustainably produced sources of energy. The photos shared specifically displayed the new Green Anglicans Cookstoves, highlighting the collaboration between GAM and Mwangaza Light. According to participants, the clean energy cookstoves inspire conservation and environmental stewardship. Many participants talked about the need to conserve fuel and the health and monetary benefits of using cleaner energy sources.

The Green Anglicans Cookstoves also display a bright green color, which is significant in their branding and retailing. Unlike other cookstoves, which are often black, the GAM cookstoves stand out and demonstrate the connection to the Green

Anglicans Movement. As one Mwangaza Light employee explained, green also represents a cleaner future and the fight against climate change; green is the color of growth, vitality, and the environment.

Community Events

Finally, some photos displayed community gatherings hosted by GAM. Participants discussed collaborating with the Catholic Church, spreading awareness, celebrating together, encouraging, and showing teamwork through various activities. One participant (P6), a young steward in Nairobi, explained how events are an opportunity for leadership and recruiting champions and volunteers to join the movement. Cooperation, as an element of environmental stewardship and citizenship, will be discussed further in the Findings Chapter.

Summary

Through photo-elicitation, a few key findings emerged. The first was the practice of tree planting as an integral part of GAM and one that represents the movement. Trees, serving as both a symbol and practical act in responding to threats of climate change, can also be used an entryway for stewardship. In their study on urban environmental stewardship, Fisher et al. (2016, p. 17) explain how trees can be "a universal expression of the human desire to shape one's own future and ensure the continuity of one's community". Moreover, the researchers claim that tree planting was a form of civic engagement that can lead to better practices of citizenship (ibid.).

As members of GAM plant and advocate for the growing of trees within civic spaces, I argue that they too are expressing environmental citizenship through their stewardship. Particularly as tree growing for members is often seen as a collaborative effort, done together with family and friends, to support the entire community, it adheres to the principle that environmental citizenship is about the relationship among individuals and the collective and the commitment to the common good (Dobson, 2007, p. 280). Moreover, tree planting as a communal act, particularly when done in conjunction with religious rituals and celebrations, aligns with African communitarian philosophy that describes personhood through relationships with community and the interdependence among people (Munyaka & Molthabi, 2009, p. 65-71). Green spaces, such as Karura Forest in Nairobi, also bring people together and serve as a source of inspiration and gratitude.

Within the photos shared, collaboration was also a key element. While this was clearly demonstrated in the photos of 'Community Events' with sisters of the Catholic Church, collaboration was also presented through tree planting, trash cleanups, and selling the Green Anglican Cookstoves. By working with their partner organizations,

Mwangaza Light, the Kenya Forest Service, and various donors, GAM members can succeed in implementing their activities, and therefore practicing their stewardship. Cooperation, as a relational element of stewardship, will be discussed further in Section 5.2.1.

5.1.2 Successes

Participants noted that the greatest triumphs of the Green Anglicans Movement thus far were the activities initiated, overall structure and organization, support from the clergy, enthusiasm, efforts related to education and awareness, and creating a sense of community. During the analysis, 20 initial codes were generated, resulting in 6 general themes. By exploring these successes and challenges, we can learn how members perceive the movement, which then supports the analysis of their stewardship. Furthermore, notions of stewardship and environmental citizenship emerge through these narratives, as will be discussed in the Conclusion.

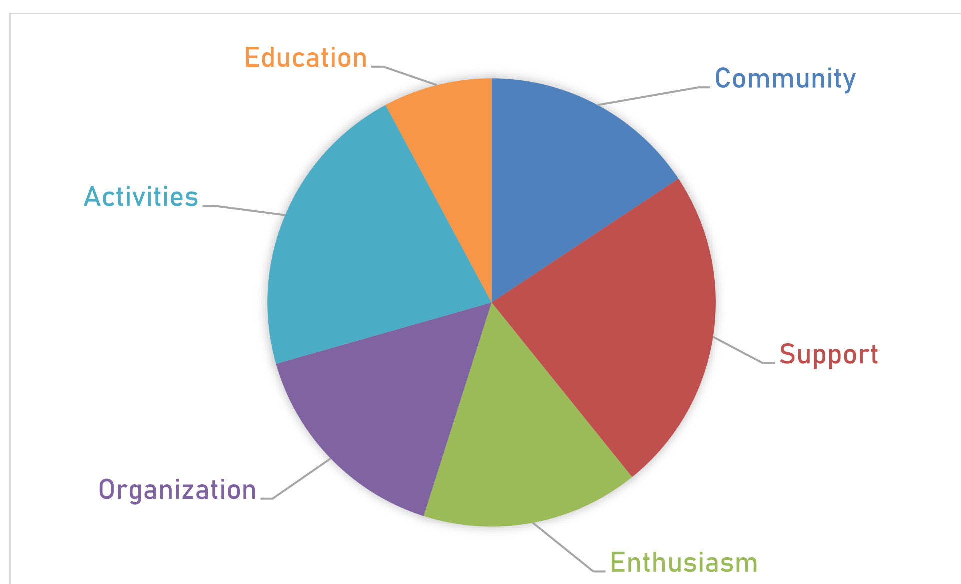

FIGURE 4 Successes of GAM

This graph displays the number of times the themes were mentioned explicitly as a success by participants during the interviews. *Note: Author's construction*

Support from the church

When discussing support, GAM participants shared the actions and words from members of the clergy. Involved, 'eco-conscious' clergy members are referred to as 'eco-bishops'. The Archbishop is also a big supporter of GAM and has stressed the importance of environmental action through his sermons. One participant, an NGO employee and one of the founders of GAM from KAYO (P2), explained that:

> …having the clergy on board and with our Archbishop at the very top of it all is a success because everywhere he goes, he speaks about Green Anglicans with such a passion that if you are an Anglican and you do not know about Green Anglicans, you want to find out what it is, and they want to be a part of it. -P2

Participants also described how the church gives ADS and GAM a platform to execute their ideas. This would not be possible without the support of passionate clergy members.

> …that is also a big win because we get a lot of support from the church. Lots of support. In fact, it is overwhelming. We cannot say a big thank you, enough thank yous to our archbishop through the Anglican Development Services for what they're doing. They give us a platform to execute what is in our minds and our ideas have slowly turned to reality because of what the church is doing. -P1

Activities

Since the birth of GAM in Kenya, many activities have been organized around the themes of clean energy, waste management, and tree planting. For tree growing, participants noted that specific goals and outcomes have been achieved:

> For tree planting, we are targeting to plant 15 million trees by 2026. So we have requested the church through the admissions office to send out, communicate, to all dioceses that every year a diocese must struggle to plant 75,000 trees. And that will help the entire church in Kenya plant 3,000,000 trees every year and by 2026 our 15 million trees are on the ground, and they are grown. -P1

Each diocese is working towards this target. Regarding clean energy, partnership with Mwangaza Light and the launch of the Green Anglicans Cookstoves has been considered a great success. As an intern for Mwangaza Light, I attended various sales events and talked with both agents and customers. At a 'Farmer's Field Day' exposition in Nandi, in March 2022, I wrote:

> Its peaceful here. The clouds are beautiful, pillows of white. The grass a bit brown, waiting for the long rains[6] to come, but the trees are vividly green. Cows are walking around, though that's no different from the city. The jikos[7] are popular. As soon as we pulled them out of the boxes, several women wanted to see them. (except from my field notes)

While culture and changing behaviors can be a challenge, I was surprised that many of the farmers were enthusiastic or at least curious about shifting from a three-stone fireplace to a GAM cookstove. The Mwangaza Change Agents I spoke with shared that they enjoy supplying the GAM cookstoves because they gain a small commission, feeling empowered as businesspeople, and learn and educate their community about environmental protection. They shared that their customers are motivated to buy the

[6] The long rains refer to the long rainy season in Kenya from late March to early June.
[7] Kiswahili for cookstoves

cookstoves for their health and wellbeing, to save money, to support the environment, and to support their local church.

Enthusiasm and growth

General excitement and development for GAM is also a major accomplishment, according to participants. They believe the movement is growing fast and has momentum. Members shared that it gives people, and particularly youth, passion and has the ability to 'transform lives' and empower individuals:

> …we've shared and we have seen mothers pick it up, fathers pick it up, children pick it up, teenagers pick it up; and the youth are still at the front line running with it because it changes their lives. -P1

Self-dignity and purpose were also key words that participants used when describing the enthusiasm of youth. Moreover, there is enthusiasm within the church:

> I would say across the dioceses, within the church, the Anglican Church of Kenya, all our bishops are now into it, every bishop wants to be an 'eco bishop'. That's the talk right now. And knowing how our dioceses run once a bishop is into it, he will influence. It's just more or less automatic, it becomes a ripple effect in the dioceses. -P3

Passion among youth, Mother's Union, and 'eco bishops' is helping GAM continue to grow across Kenya.

Organization and structure

According to participants, GAM has a passionate committee and a strategic plan that was ratified in the House of Bishops. As a team, a joint vision and mission for GAM Kenya was created. Each Diocese was also challenged to create their own committee for GAM. Moreover, members noted the flexibility of approaches that is thanks to the organization.

Many participants also described how the structuring of the Anglican Church in Kenya has been a huge benefit. Because the church reaches people from Nairobi to remote regions of Kenya, accessibility is high. When referring to the church structure, ADS is also a significant actor. While in some ways, ADS can be considered a partner to GAM, in other ways, because of its embeddedness within the church and the church's embeddedness as a local institution in Kenya, it is the reason GAM has the capacity to grow and operate. ADS is well organized, funded, and operates throughout the country. Participants noted this as a success.

Community and partnership

In addition to a good structure, GAM has brought people together through various partnerships. One key partnership is with ADS, as mentioned, within the church structure itself. GAM has also developed partnerships with other organizations and experts in the field. Participants believe members are encouraging to one another and have increased a sense of community. At the same time, people within the community feel empowered and GAM 'champions' emerge. A Reverend and Steering Committee volunteer (P5) on the publishing team explained:

> Once you've done the sensitization or once you do the awareness to the community, if that goes out and does the same, empowers someone else in the community, we come up with champions. For these champions, as long as you call someone a champion, this person is motivated to do bigger and bigger things. So then motivating others is easier. -P5

Awareness, therefore, can increase both a sense of community and leadership among members. Converts have also been made to the Anglican Church because of the movement and people are returning to worship:

> And we are seeing even young people coming to church. We are seeing older people returning to church because the church is standing for something that they care about. And it is amazing. You know, even having my good sister Dr. Shroff joining us in the Anglican church. Ahh, that's a sister right there. That's a sister right there. -P1

Another community member and female entrepreneur in the North Rift explained how her customers with Mwangaza Light were impressed with the Church's initiative in going green. This has helped expand the Anglican community in her neighborhood.

Education

Finally, few participants talked about education as a success for GAM. Through forums and events, members have begun teaching the public about the environment. This training is helping communities and fostering a sense of responsibility among individuals.

5.1.3 Challenges

The biggest challenges members observed were shifting behaviors and mindsets, mobilizing resources, awareness, convincing the clergy, organization, activities, and external issues such as changing weather patterns, corruption, and poverty. Curiously, many core challenges are also the same points of success, showing the complexity of each theme. During the coding process, 26 initial challenges were observed. These were grouped together in the 7 themes shown below.

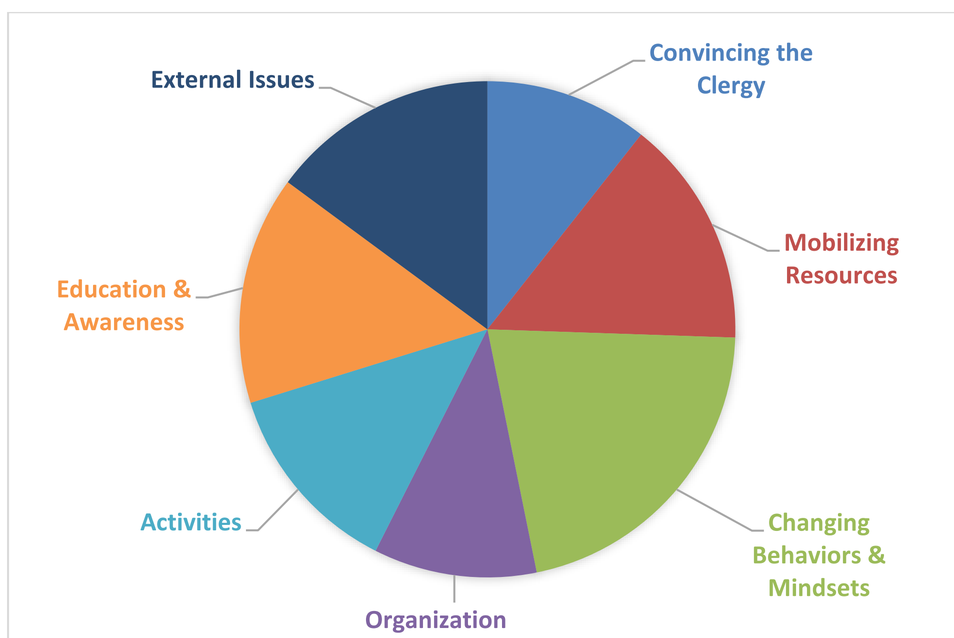

FIGURE 5 Challenges of GAM

This graph displays the number of times the themes were mentioned explicitly as a challenge by participants during the interviews. *Note: Author's construction*

Changing behaviors and mindsets

Creating new habits among citizens in Kenya was by far the biggest challenge noted by participants. It is difficult to embrace change and adopt new technologies. Moreover, changing behaviors takes time and patience. One Diocesan Administrative Secretary stated:

> It's a key kind of challenge because it is dealing with humanity, it's dealing with the mindset over people… and it takes time to change mindsets. -P12

Another participant, a faith-based organization employee, explained the necessity of having interest:

> People must have the interest, otherwise people will not be able to actively engage and participate in. So, the challenge has been to really create the interest in people to care for creation, to take care of the environment, to participate in interventions that are geared towards environmental conservation. -P9

Participants explained how cultural factors can be a challenge in shifting behaviors. For example, many people are weary to move from using a traditional three-stone fireplace to a cleaner cookstove, such as the Green Anglicans Cookstoves. A passionate youth organizer and GAM ambassador in Mumias (P7) explained:

> …the challenge is our people, they don't embrace these ideas so fast. They have a lot of suspicions, and also some are entangled by the issue of culture. You know, a lot

> of cultures around use of three stones… and using wood to cook. And [there is] a lot of culture, a lot of beliefs around that. The mentality around traditions, it was a challenge for us to introduce that, although the uptake became somewhat easier after some time. -P7

For some, this obstacle was discussed in terms of culture, but for others it was simply a part of being human. A reverend in the North Rift described that:

> …the challenge is the change. People like the comfort zone, that is they have been comfortable with what they have been doing and when you want to change them, they're not very quickly changing. They change very slowly. -P13

Change, when it involves one's culture and traditions, is complex. I began to better understand this after spending a few days in a village outside of Eldoret. One evening, I was invited to the 'village grandmother's house', an important leader and caretaker in the area. In my journal, I wrote:

> We walked into the kitchen and immediately the smell of smoke hit me, though it was comforting, the smell of a campfire is nostalgic, taking me back to my childhood camping trips. Grandma was sitting next to the fire making tea with fresh milk from her cows and a bit of sugar. Alice proudly showed me her 'three-stone fireplace', sharing how this is what most women in Africa use. Its what their mothers used and their grandmothers (…) there is so much cultural significance to the traditional fireplace- it represents their culture and perhaps a sense of belonging, a source of pride as a woman- the kitchen is her domain, she is in charge here. She watched her mother and aunts build a fire and learned herself once she was old enough. If the smell is nostalgic for me, I can only imagine what it is for these women. The kitchen is also a meeting point, a place of gathering in the community. The fire provides warmth and comfort as we sit around it, drinking our tea. Some children came by to fill up their milk jugs and ran back home in the night. Different neighbors would come by and sit for a cup of tea and some bread. They chatted in Kalenjin and Kiswahili about local news. (excerpt from my field notes)

The evening I spent in the village drinking tea and talking with neighbors was an illuminating experience. At some point, the rain started, and the power went out, but the fire continued to provide us with light and warmth. I felt complex emotions myself over the fireplace, appreciating it but also knowing the harm it is causing. I imagine many of the women I talked with felt the same way, a mix of emotions.

Mobilizing resources

Many members also shared their difficulty in mobilizing resources and fundraising. Lack of capital was the biggest challenge, for both the organization and the people whom it tries to reach. A regional manager with Mwangaza Light (P8) explained that rural families, for example, cannot afford to purchase the Green Anglicans Cookstoves, but the church does not have the funds to offer it at a lower price:

> Another challenge that I need to mention though is about the capability. Most people love to buy their products, but they are not able financially. So the poorest has not been reaching, though we have been targeting the poor and made it easier for them

> to access the products in their loans, but still, you find that we are having a challenge on repayment. -P8

Organizing events can also be a challenge when financial support is low. One participant explained:

> The church is big and the needs are many, so you find it can't only focus on environment, so financial is a bit of challenge. We are trying to come up with different ways of trying to get finances. But we also acknowledge that it's also a challenge because we find ourselves, sometimes we have to work with no budget to do an event. -P6

Other participants talked about the battle to organize and mobilize volunteers. While people are excited, external issues may prevent them from joining.

Education and awareness

While GAM has succeeded in beginning to spread awareness around climate change and the environment, continual awareness and education remains a challenge. Some participants discussed this in terms of curriculum development and suggested the design of courses, guides, and literature that can be given to communities. Participants also expressed this challenge as lack of awareness around the theology of creation:

> …the lack of understanding of the theology of creation, sometimes I feel like that that can be a hindrance. Sometimes, just the knowledge of a... how to take care of the environment, sometimes, people do lack that. You'd be surprised, like I want to plant a tree, but I don't really know what type of tree I should plant in the area that I mean or how deep a hole I should dig? Or how often? -P4

Guidelines on tree growing, for example, were a common recommendation among members. Other participants (P12) shared ideas for developing core curriculum for Sunday Schools, to increase education and awareness around the environment for youth.

Activities

Activities were another theme described as both a success and challenge by participants. While tree 'planting' has been a huge achievement, tree 'growing' remains a problem. This can be due to lack of training or poor management:

> The challenge we are facing is that most young people do not follow up on the planted trees. You realize we call it tree growing, not tree planting. Which means you have to plant a tree, again go back there tomorrow to water it, go there weed it. And see it is out of danger. And protect it. -P7

Other activities that members would like to see accomplished are improved waste management, events that encourage enjoying nature and creation, and political

actions such as protests. While trees and energy solutions have been the core focus of GAM, participants (P1) described ideas of a recycling center to improve waste management. Members (P4) also shared the wish to spend more time enjoying nature with their community; however, lack of time and resources can make implementing such activities difficult.

Convincing the clergy

While some members of the clergy have become strong advocates of GAM, not everyone is passionate about the movement. As one participant described:

> The main challenge is just to really have people join the movement, like convince the churches. You find probably not every bishop is passionate about the environment or the people, so you have to really pay an effort to make them get interested. -P6

Another participant, an FBO employee and Steering Committee volunteer (P9) explained:

> …maybe because people don't see it as they are commanded, even among the church leaders, sometimes you find they are trained as clergy, ordained priests, so they don't see environment issues as part of their commandment... as part of their mandate, as part of their business. So some of them would want to concentrate on preaching and just doing spiritual matters -P9

Several participants noted that one of the tasks of GAM is to remind people that environmental stewardship is a biblical mandate and must be integrated into everyday life. Continuing to spread that message among members of the clergy remains a challenge.

Organization

While the structure of the Anglican Church and ADS has been a benefit to GAM, organization within the national chapter itself is an issue. This is mainly due to GAM being a relatively new movement in Kenya. Some participants shared the need for greater leadership, which would also help improve monitoring and evaluation:

> The weaknesses… is now in monitoring and the follow up because as much as they are meeting, sometimes there's no real… commitment to say that this is what we want to do so that we are saying if we are putting up 10,000 trees, for example in the year 2022, how are we going to ensure that we do not come below that? -P10

Communication among different branches is also a challenge, as well as spreading the message from the provincial level to local churches. Lastly, the naming of or marketing the movement as 'Anglican' was also expressed as a challenge as it may deter non-Anglicans from joining.

External Issues

Many external issues were discussed as major challenges of GAM, including climate, weather, drought, corruption, poverty, and competition. Poverty was cited as one of the biggest barriers because it prevents participation, awareness, and capacity. One member, an FBO employee in Eldoret, noted:

> So that is the biggest challenge, that poverty is really pushing people to continue destroying the environment other than conserving the environment and it's the challenge that now we are faced with to see how we can give them alternative sources of livelihood, including planting fruit trees, doing conservation agriculture(...) -P9

This aligns with environmental justice theory that often describes poverty as the biggest barrier to participation. Many green citizenship scholars (Connelly, 2006; Dobson, 2003; MacGregor, 2006) also describe the necessity of justice to alleviate poverty and promote sustainability.

5.1.4 Imagining the future

Finally, when volunteers were asked how they envision the future, four main points were shared: expanding the GAM network, focusing on policy, enjoying liturgy in the forest, and advocating for a stronger sense of social and environmental justice.

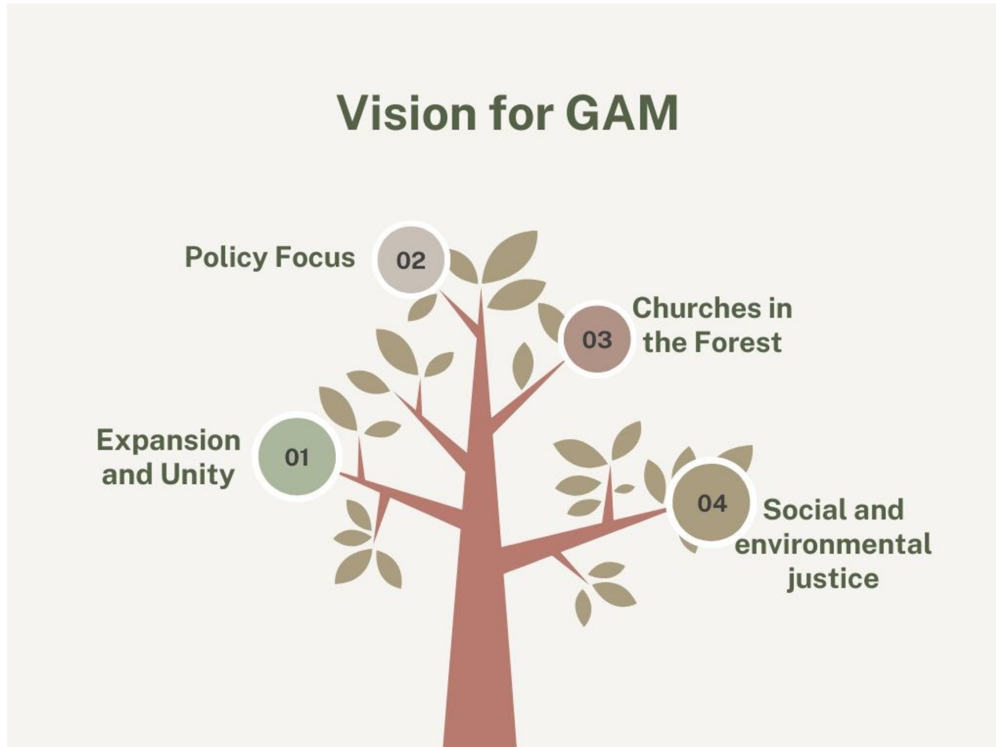

FIGURE 6 Vision for GAM
Note: Created by author on canva.com

> We envision a future where the Anglican Church becomes an inspiration, a leader, of the environment in this country. It becomes a voice for the environment. Because trees and plants can't speak, but we as humans can speak for them and we… so it becomes a protector, a voice, an inspiration, a leader that will bring change… that will bring a flourishing environment to sustain us here in Kenya and to help us to enjoy, to use… and to heal us, because the environment heals. -P4

Expansion and Unity

Many GAM participants expressed their desire for GAM to expand, particularly to non-Anglican networks. For some, that meant GAM would evolve to accept and work with all communities, no matter their religious background. For others, that simply meant developing new partnerships in an interreligious context. This is beginning to happen as members of GAM work with sisters from the Catholic Church on various events. According to participants, expanding GAM can also improve social cohesion in Kenya, while 'widen[ing] the umbrella' (P1) would help GAM reach more people in diverse settings.

Policy Focus

Other GAM members expressed their vision of a more politically involved organization. Participants spoke about 'fighting for a position within the legislature' (P7) and being more engaged at the community and state level. Increased civic engagement was an important matter for some participants and an area where GAM has the potential to grow.

Churches in the Forest

Several participants spoke about the need to either enjoy nature or reconnect with it through church. One way to do this is by enjoying liturgy 'outside the sanctuary among the trees' (P1). GAM members want to bring church to the forest and bring the forest to church, by planting trees around the compounds. Participants explained how spending time outside and appreciating nature can also promote environmental stewardship. In South Africa, the birthplace of the Green Anglicans Movement, members participate in 'Holy Hikes'. This was a concept that some participants were interested in bringing to Kenya.

Social and Environmental Justice

Lastly, members spoke about justice for creation, both people and the environment:

> I'm looking forward to the church giving a voice to the voiceless environment, making the world understand that the way we will fight for human rights, because the church has been very keen fighting for human rights, the way we would fight

> for human rights, we fight equally for the rights of God's creation, the non-human creation and we see their dignity restored. -P1

This participant shared his vision of providing a 'voice for the voiceless' (P1). Among many participants, increased advocacy for people and the natural world came up in conversation. Moreover, they expressed how improving and expanding upon the GAM thematic areas would lead to greater social and environmental justice.

As mentioned, justice is a key virtue of environmental citizenship (Connelly, 2006, p. 69). In fact, for Dobson (2003), justice is the most important virtue. Developing a 'politics of virtue' by advocating for justice, care, faith, and other moral concerns can complement the more conventional approaches to resolving environmental issues (Beckman, 2001, p. 180). Feminist and internationalist views of citizenship also recognize justice as an indispensable feature (Lister 2003; Yuval-Davis 1997). While advocating for greater social and environmental justice, perhaps GAM members are actively employing their environmental citizenship.

5.1.5 Overview

This section addressed the first research question of this study: *how do participants perceive the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya?* The participants understand GAM as a faith-based movement organized by a group of Anglican stewards who work together to achieve their goals of tree planting, clean energy, and waste management. Moreover, they are collaborating to envision their future objectives of expanding the movement, becoming politically engaged, enjoying liturgy in the forest, and advocating for environmental and social justice.

For scholars such as Connelly (2006, p. 69), justice is a key virtue of environmental citizenship. In fact, Dobson (2003) claims justice is the most important virtue. Developing a "politics of virtue" by advocating for justice, care, faith, and other moral concerns can complement the more conventional approaches to resolving environmental issues (Beckman, 2001, p. 180). Feminist and internationalist views of citizenship also recognize justice as an indispensable feature (Lister 2003; Yuval-Davis 1997). While advocating for greater social and environmental justice, I argue that GAM members are actively employing their environmental citizenship.

The successes shared by participants also point to the relational aspect of stewardship. Members expressed 'support from the church' as one of the biggest successes, referring to the passion of 'eco-bishops' and the Archbishop, who advocate for GAM. Additionally, the platform given to ADS and GAM from the church, illustrates this essential cooperation that enables participation. Moreover, the church, as an embedded cultural and religious institution, can support GAM members. As Alava (2016) describes in her research, the embeddedness of churches both enables and constrains

their ability to affect societal change. This is also depicted as the participants describe 'organization' and 'convincing the clergy' as challenges within the movement.

Ultimately, by sharing these successes and challenges, the movement can be better understood as a group of organizers within a religious institution, bound and limited by its own structures. These themes also begin to point to the barriers and opportunities towards stewardship and environmental citizenship. By answering the first research question, this section offers greater context and familiarity with the practices of GAM members, which leads to the next research question of exploring their stewardship.

5.2 Understanding environmental stewardship: Perspectives from GAM members

After describing the Green Anglicans Movement and what it symbolizes for members, I sought to understand environmental stewardship from their perspective. 60 initial codes were produced. Next, the codes were categorized into 6 general codes: cooperation, participation, responsibility, faith, caretaking/managing, and benefiting. Finally, drawing from environmental citizenship theory and African ethics, two main themes were determined: relationality and care (as shown in the table below).

TABLE 2 GAM Stewardship: Thematic Areas

Themes	**General codes**	**Examples of initial codes**
Relationality	Cooperation	Collaboration Reciprocity Connection Support Cocreating
	Participation	Interaction Rituals Education Awareness Leadership Creativity
	Responsibility	Concernment Sustainability Accountability Selflessness
	Faith	Creation Serving God

		Guilt Gratitude Guardianship
Care	Caretaking/Managing	Minimizing (use of resources) Improving, enhancing beauty Strategic planning Political action Simplicity
	Benefitting	Health and wellbeing Economic return Happiness Passion

Note: Author's own construction

5.2.1 Relationality

Drawing from African ethics and discourses on citizenship studies, relationality can be considered a key aspect of membership within a community or state. The concepts of *Ubuntu* and *Ukama*, in particular, show us how relatedness is not limited to human relations, but includes the natural environment, the past, present, and future (Murove, 2009b, p. 28). For GAM members, environmental stewardship encompasses cooperation, participation, responsibility, and faith.

Cooperation

There were many elements within the theme of cooperation that the participants considered. Some stressed the importance of working together as a community and organization. Others spoke about encouraging one another and the importance of knowledge sharing. Many, including an FBO employee in Eldoret (P10), talked more generally about connection and coexistence with both people and the natural world. One participant, with years of experience working in the humanitarian and climate scene, asked the question:

> How are we supposed to ensure that we are living together? Even the microorganisms in the soil, how are we taking care of those? -P10

Recognizing the importance of microorganisms and the need for a healthy environment was a common thread among participants. Moreover, the idea of 'living together' both with and within the environment displays cooperation. Another participant, a youth volunteer (P2), spoke of working together in a variety of contexts. She explained that one can be an environmental steward by:

> (…) speaking to different people on the pulpit or off pulpit, on our social media, just seeing that there's this work that you can do together -P2

Here we see the importance of collaboration within the church, in the community, and even in online civic spaces. Another participant (P4), an FBO employee in Nairobi and long-time GAM Steering Committee member, shared his view on the 'essential connections' in life:

> There are three main connections for me… one is connection to other people and of course the connection to yourself… connection to God and connection to the environment. Those are all very essential connections in this life that we need to figure out and make flourish. And these connections are connections of care, of support, of love and that means also with environments, so a good steward for me is somebody who connects with the environment who enjoys the environment, who sees it as an asset to life, you know and also doesn't abuse it, but uses it. -P4

While this excerpt also touches on care and responsibility, it highlights the profound connection many stewards feel, that is often [in this context] personal, spiritual, and communal. These connections strongly display the relationality between participants, the environment, and God, reminding us of the 'social, spiritual and ecological togetherness' of *Ukame* (Murove, 2009a, p. 317). From an environmental justice perspective, cooperation and collaboration are also key principles. In Ssebunya et al.'s (2019, p.175) eco-collective responsibility theory, for example, specific to the African communitarian society, they found that cooperation along with mutual dependence, harmony, relationality, and unity were the most significant values.

Within an 'interdependent web', as Tempels (1959 illustrated, humans are linked to the cosmos and moreover, so is personal salvation. There is a reason why my participants seldom spoke of 'the environment' but spoke frequently of *creation*. As one Reverend and prominent leader in movement explained:

> Actually, it is *creation*. They are teaching me not to call it environment much because they say that once we remove creation out of the environment, we remove the fun out of it, we remove God out of it. So, when you talk of creation you call it creation. There is a sense of stewardship, a sense of faith in it, and it's more tangible. -P1

Like *Ubuntu* and other African communitarian philosophies that highlight connection, Christianity, like other religions, does the same. To call the environment *creation* is to acknowledge God's role, to view humans as part of the interconnected web or the cosmos. It encourages respect (i) because it is God's *creation* but also (ii) by demonstrating the inseparability of humans and nature. To call the environment *creation*, means we are all one, related and unified under God. This also means humans are 'co-creators' as many of my participants pointed out. The same Reverend went on the clarify:

> Christian stewardship is all about enhancing the beauty perfectly, because again, we are *co-creators*. God gave us the uniqueness of creating and making beautiful things. But as human beings we have created them for the sake of taking care of the selfish person that we are all centered towards the man, and we've never thought about the other creation. -P1

Many messages can be extrapolated from the Reverend's view. Anthropocentrism and responsibility are something I will discuss later, as well as faith as a component of relationality. The idea of co-creation, however, also falls within the realm of cooperation. For Green Anglicans, they are not only connected to each other and the natural world, but they are also connected to God. To be 'co-creators' means to work together, in collaboration with God, to preserve *creation*. The Reverend continued:

> God is working with us even as we fight this climate crisis. -P1

Another Reverend and GAM Steering Committee volunteer asked the question:

> How does it feel to be a *co-creator* with God? When you think, if I do this, with the ministry or with God, it feels nice. Yeah, so once he wants the rest of the world to be part of the partnership with the ministry or with the call, then it becomes a good thing, right? -P5

Working in partnership with both the church and God led to feelings of content for this young Reverend.

Finally, an important component of cooperation is partnership with the local and national government. This was only briefly touched on, and participants had diverging thoughts concerning the actions of the state. One enthusiastic Reverend in Choreber (P13) shared his positive sentiment:

> …I want to thank the Kenyan government for restricting also, not going extreme, they put some measures so that they don't cut every tree. Yeah, and especially the natural trees. They can allow these exotic [trees to be cut], but the natural trees, they have put very strict measures to curb [cutting]. -P13

The government of Kenya, with support from UNDP, was successful in implementing their '10 Percent Tree Cover Strategy'. Not only are more trees being planted, but policies have been created to prevent the cutting of native trees as well. GAM has begun working with the Ministry of Environment to achieve their own target of planting 15 million trees. This cooperation, along with GAM's other organizational partnerships, is vital to their success.

Other participants were less optimistic regarding the state and cooperation…

> One positive thing that the government has done is to insist on the protection of forest areas (…) which the government actually holds and trusts for the people. We have the national parks and the game reserves, which are also controlled by the government. So by and large, there is a mechanism of managing those areas. But, failure to provide adequate education sometimes even to government officials has resulted in a compromise, a lot of compromises; (…) there has been an encroachment over time. -P14

While this participant, a longtime FBO employee specializing in education-based programming, acknowledges the good legislation and mechanisms for success, he

explained that corruption is a major problem concerning government engagement. Other participants also described corruption and lack of implementation:

> Due to the nature of our country, things to do with corruption and people watching, learning, you find that sometimes what we are advocating for as a movement may not be easy. -P6

This volunteer presented his frustrations with the state, and how it can make engagement more difficult.

Participation

Another element of relationality is participation. In this case, interacting with one another, attending rituals and events, educating the public, and continuously learning were ways in which GAM members participated. Some chose to be leaders, while others followed and 'complied'. The use of creativity and innovation was also a unique facet of participation. By far, the biggest activity within the movement thus far is tree planting/growing. Participating in tree planting ceremonies for birthdays, weddings, and other special events is a noteworthy approach in promoting environmental stewardship.

Within the traditional African vision, As Shutte describes in her analysis of *Ubuntu*, "the self exists only in relationships with others" (2009, p. 91). The essence of being, therefore, is participation (ibid.). This is a common thought both in African ethics and the discourse on citizenship. Without citizen participation, civil society fails to function. Like many scholars, Choi et al.'s (2009) conceptualization of environmental citizenship reminds us that both empowered participation and cooperation are requisite. One participant (P8), a regional manager for a clean energy company based in Siaya, explained:

> One can be a steward by ensuring that they protect the forest or the trees around them (…) saving money by using the products. You can divert that money to other things. And also participating in such programs and educating other members of the society, or the community about the importance of saving our environment, importance of planting trees, importance of using these renewable energy products in concerns of such things. -P8

Here, he touches on the importance of education, particularly for people outside of GAM. For this participant, part of being a steward means spreading awareness and teaching people about the climate crisis, tree planting, renewable energy, and so on. While some scholars (e.g., Berkowitz et al., 2005) argue that civics and ecological literacy are key in promoting environmental citizenship, others (e.g., Horton, 2006) believe education is not adequate and a 'green architecture' must be created. Nevertheless, teaching and awareness can help construct such an architecture and foster a sense of stewardship among citizens.

Other participants talked more about being 'involved' in programming and taking charge as leaders:

> I must get involved in interventions that preserve and conserve the environment and beyond myself, I've promoted within my family and within my institution and within my church, and within my community. Because I have to be that person who is in the lead of telling people that it's important to take care of the environment, it must start from my family, my colleagues. Then after the people I interact with. -P9

From an African communitarian perspective, a person existing relationally is in an everlasting state of dependence and interdependence (Murove, 2009b, p. 29). One has autonomy and control over their life, but also exists within an interconnected whole. This also relates to citizenship, concerning individual rights, citizen virtue, and collaboration. This GAM member, an FBO employee in Eldoret, (P9) believes that we must first participate in environmental efforts before endorsing those values outwards. This can align with Thomashow (1996) and Curtin (2003)'s view of creating a moral, ecological identity before becoming ecological citizens in practice. Participation may help foster that moral identity; yet according to Curtin (2003, p. 303) a "moral transformation" must happen in order to participate.

Participation, as an element of relationality, also connects to *Harambee*, the Kenyan concept of pooling together. Important elements of *Harambee* include cooperation, solidarity, and mutual aid. The Kenyan government used the motto of *Harambee* to mobilize communities to participate in various communal efforts, effectively promoting citizenship.

In addition to individual leadership, some participants acknowledged the Anglican Church as a leader of environmental awareness:

> I see the church taking that lead in in telling people that this is what we want to do and the goodness with here is that the church has a voice, the church has a constituency, it has a following. -P10

This GAM member and FBO employee shared her vision of the church as a leader. Because so many Kenyans look to the church for guidance, they have the authority and capacity to direct people and encourage participation.

Responsibility

The idea of responsibility as a core element of stewardship appeared early in my research. Participants discussed this sense of responsibility in terms of concernment, sustainability, accountability, selflessness and 'working hard'. For some, they felt an obligation to God, while others talked about saving future generations. Most addressed both commitments in our discussions, as well as their responsibility in helping

the community and *creation* as a whole. Few participants, however, discussed their obligations towards the state.

A property manager and GAM Steering Committee volunteer (P3), using an analogy of dirty dishes in their kitchen, discussed the importance of accountability. For her, an environmental steward is:

> …someone who is accountable, basically on matters [of the] environment, uh, in the sense that if the area I stay in is dirty, I should not feel like someone else should be fixing it. I should feel like I should be fixing it or I should be getting it fixed and it just starts from the home. If I find the dishes are not clean, I will ask whoever has to clean it to do it, and if they're not doing it, will I just leave it there until when they come and clean it? No, I'll start cleaning it up. -P3

She also believes that stewards must take initiative. Rather than wait for someone else to wash the dishes, they should start cleaning themselves.

Sustainability is most commonly known as "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (UN, 1987). Many GAM members shared their concerns about future generations and believed that was the basis of stewardship:

> So for me environmental stewardship I would say is being responsible for and taking care of this environment that has been given to us freely by God and to just taking care of it well, to be able to serve us, but also to be able to serve the future generation, that is for sustainability. -P6

With future generations in mind, another participant explained how stewardship can be practiced:

> (…) it's about working hard to ensure that as we do other activities, we make sure that they are not affecting our environment. Like we are cutting trees, we minimize the use of trees. Like we minimize the use of resources, we use them well so that they can save us in the future (…) So it's about taking care of your environment. Making it useful. Making it safer for you and generations to come. -P8

And to sum, a participant in Eldoret explained:

> We have to take individual responsibilities and ensure that what we are doing is impacting on our life now and the life of our children -P10

This displays the notion of individual responsibility for the common good. Dobson's (2007, p. 280) definition of environmental citizenship as the relationship among individuals and the collective and the environmental citizen's commitment to the common good displays both aspects of relationality and responsibility. To be a steward, according to participants, one must be accountable to *creation*, while cooperating and recalling their faith.

As mentioned, few participants declared their responsibility to the state. GAM member (P14) said this is partly due to Kenya's complex colonial history. He explained,

in pre-colonial times, people embraced the "'three S's': self-sustainability, self-propagation, and self-governance". But once the colonial government arrived, they had different priorities, and after Kenya gained independence, further 'bad practices started in creeping in' (P14). Corruption, among other problems, has deterred citizens from both wanting to participate and having the capacity to be involved. Still, post-independence, the concept of *Harambee* was successful in bringing people together in projects for the common good. Most projects were highly localized and emerged from places of high standing, such as the Anglican Church. People felt, and still feel, a great sense of responsibility towards the church.

Faith

> Some people serve God through their singing… some through giving, but if I can serve God by taking care of the environment, then that's my thing. -P3

A final core element of relationality for GAM members was their relationship to God and the church. Many, including a GAM member based in Nairobi (P3), talked about serving God through environmental stewardship. She described her role and identity as a steward and how that connects to her faith. Another relational approach between stewards and their higher power is by 'farming God's way'. Associated with sustainability, responsibility, and faith, participant (P10), an FBO employee in Eldoret, shared:

> …we want to do *farming God's way*; we want to ensure that we are not disturbing the environment. We want to ensure that what we are doing is sustainable and what we are doing now that be able to feed the generation come 20 years. -P10

The 'farming God's way methodology' as some members called it, is a way to teach people about sustainable agriculture that feels familiar and caring. Using a language and practices that are intertwined with Christian doctrine has shown to be a positive approach. For example, 'God's blanket' (mulch) protects soil from overexposure to sunlight and saves water. The methodology also includes preparing and praying for the land, planting seedlings in rotation, and making use of compost. Lessons typically start with a scripture reference. A clear element of faith, farming in this manner also displays participants' sense of responsibility and dedication to God. As the steward (P10) described, they want to farm in a more sustainable way, to show their stewardship, because they believe it is part of their responsibility.

Most participants' definitions of environmental stewardship made reference to their faith. A passionate youth organizer and GAM volunteer in Mumias (P7) described:

> …we believe that God is the owner of all creatures, isn't it? And we believe that plants, the environment was set by God, and so a human being superior over all other creatures was given a responsibility to take good care of the environment. So,

> if you talk about environmental stewardship, it is simply that divine role that was given to humanity by God to take care of creation. -P7

This participant defines stewardship as a 'divine role' for mankind, explaining it as an obligation to God. While this is also an element of responsibility, it presents the participant's faith as a main factor for motivation and involvement.

Another participant, a Steering Committee volunteer in Nairobi (P3), spoke about her identity as a Christian:

> I feel like as a human being that is my foundation, that I'm a Christian and have Christian principles that I try to live by (…) So if I got something within scripture that tells me I need to restore this environment, then I will always be doing it, knowing that I'm doing it as a service to God. -P3

Ultimately, for the participants, working in 'service to God' is a key point of stewardship. Their faith guides them, whether it be by reading scripture or listening to sermons from church leaders. Faith is also an eco-virtue, as described by Connelly (2006, p. 69). Because of their faith, participants are internally motivated to act. While this 'service to God' was demonstrated positively, notions of guilt or blame were also revealed:

> Because he has given us this environment to take care of and if we cannot take care of it, then we are not being good stewards. It's like God has given me children to take care of, if I don't take care of those children, then I'm not being a good steward and I should feel guilty about it when I do find myself not doing it and why should it be different for the environment because that is something that God has given you to take care of, yeah... so we are not experts, but we are all young in how to take care of the environment. -P3

This participant shares that a steward does not need to be an expert, but they must have faith and distinguish their obligation to God. Lack of action or faith may result in feelings of guilt or regret. Another participant, Reverend and key GAM Steering Committee (P1) shared:

> I wonder if Jesus comes back to his world that he was part of its creation, I want him to be proud of us as his children. That we did our best (…) I don't want to lie in my grave one day looking back and seeing all the difference that I would have done and yet I did nothing. -P1

Making God proud and avoiding remorse were frequent topics in our conversations. Overall, faith was an important, relational component of stewardship for GAM participants.

5.2.2 Care

A vast element of stewardship for GAM members is caretaking and good management. In this section, I have defined care in terms of (1) care for *creation*, or the care we

give to the environment through caretaking and managing, and (2) care for ourselves, the benefits one receives through caretaking. Care can also be considered an eco-virtue of environmental citizenship and important consideration for ecofeminist scholars.

Care for creation[8]

> (…) when a visitor comes to my home… I don't want [him] to come into my home and he sees seats that are dirty, the floor that full of litter and filth, no. I want him to come, I want his first impression to be "Wow, this is a place that I can actually sit, I feel welcome. Did you do all this for me?" -P1

The analogy of Earth as our home is a tale common across cultures. As this Reverend describes, if we want to be happy with our home, we must keep it clean; the same can be said about our larger home, the Earth or *creation*. Many participants defined stewardship in terms of being a good caretaker:

> Environmental stewardship is being concerned and being a good, let me say caretaker of the environment, not the one who destroys, but the one who takes care of the environment -P9

This concept of caretaking or managing is essential. For GAM members, being a good steward involves lessening one' impact, minimizing use of resources, reducing pollution, forest protection, clean cooking, strategic planning, political action, and many more ecological actions. Caring for *creation* was an underlying theme in many of the participants answers when describing environmental stewardship:

> When you take good care of the existing trees, you are being a good steward. (…) By also making sure that the air that we breathe is clean. Discouraging emissions. With cooking, the type of fuel you use is not polluting the air around you. Then you are being a good steward of the environment. And then of course, making sure that the waste product is being disposed in the right way, you are also being good stewards of environment. -P7

This GAM member and youth organizer listed several ways one can be a steward in caring for *creation*. In contrast, while most participants discussed the actions needed for care, another contributor (P4) shared his view on allowing the Earth to rest. He explained, to be steward, one should:

> …let the environment rest; when you let it be, it will regenerate. It will come back to what it is, and to what it's meant to be -P4

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[8] The subheading 'Care for *creation*' is the same name as the message that the Anglican Communion Environmental Network, and many other churches, preach. The 'Season of Creation' is celebrated by Christian churches around the world who advocate for stewardship. Initially, I called this section, 'Care for the Earth', but later realized *creation* is the preferred term by my participants and better encompasses both the natural world and humanity, from their worldview.

Part of 'rest' for the environment might involve not over tilling the land and promoting cyclical and sustainable agriculture. This idea of living more simply, "to go back [to] where we were" (P10), was also considered among other participants. A Reverend from Choreber shared:

> We need the environment and also the environment needs us. Because when we preserve, I think it is going to be good… when we cut all the trees or we destroy the environment by dumping toxins to the rivers, dumping toxins to the forests, we also create conflicts because when there is no water, people fight for water. And if there is something that could trigger a fight or war it is water. Yes, and especially clean water; you find that when the forest has been cut, even water also goes. I don't know why [it is] directly connected, yes. -P13

This Reverend speaks about the reciprocal relationship between the natural environment and humanity. He explains, in caring for the Earth, we can avoid environmental conflicts, such as wars over water and other natural resources. Ultimately, the participants expressed that stewardship is about caring for both the Earth and people; it is about caring for creation.

Care, as a component of environmental citizenship, can be conceptualized as a means of support, empathy, and concern for the environment. Aligning with Mingol's (2013) notion of care, the participants shared their interest in caring for *creation* as a community and described how being a part of GAM has further inspired their civic participation. Moreover, from both an African and Christian perspective, since people are seen as part of *creation*, they are oriented to ecological concern.

An 'ethic of caring and sharing' is an important element of most African communities and the very existence and well-being of a community depends on this ethic (Richardson, 2009, p. 136). Sharing life with both the living and the dead and caring for one another is everyone's responsibility. Care is an integral part of *Ubuntu*, the "source or basis of feelings of compassion responsible for making life more humane for others" (Munyaka & Molthabi, 2009, p. 75). Additionally, *Ubuntu* encourages care for all of humanity and the world, supporting the African sense of community that extends beyond family or tribe (ibid., p. 68). In this sense, caring for *creation*, through a relational approach, aligns with *Ubuntu*.

Care for ourselves

Another element of care is the support and concern we give ourselves. In this case, I am referring to the benefits people can receive from practicing environmental stewardship. Participants spoke about health and wellbeing, economic return, increasing happiness, enjoyment, and passion. One GAM steering committee member and FBO employee (P4) shared his view of caring for both the Earth and ourselves:

> Being a steward of the earth is to tread on this earth with the least impact possible, and being very conscious about it. But at the same time (…) I also think we need to enjoy. We need to enjoy this *creation* and use it well. -P4

By spending time outside, in the forest, enjoying *creation*, this participant went on to reveal how happy he feels. This also displays the mutual relationship between people and the Earth. When people care for the Earth, they ultimately care for themselves, if they are gaining satisfaction by being in an environment that is clean and flourishing. As one participant noted, stewardship is about "being conscious that the environment is critical for human existence" (P9). People cannot survive without clean air and water. This same participant (P4) who spoke of enjoying nature, shared his belief in "the connection to yourself, the connection to the people, connection to God and connection to the environment" calling them connections of *care, support, and love*. Acknowledging these connections as elements of care, stewardship is, in this context, a faith-based practice performed with yourself and other people.

Another participant, an FBO coordinator in northern Kenya (P10) shared:

> At the moment, people are getting back to wanting to enjoy nature. And now that's why they are taking care of the few areas that are still considered better (…) they want to enjoy nature, they want to be in touch with nature and all that, but there's still that challenge of now, how do we start that conservation? -P10

While the responsibilities of both citizens and stewards are typically assessed in literature, enjoyment and the ability to live a happy life is a right, particularly for marginalized communities, that many scholars overlook. I would argue this is also an integral part of stewardship and citizenship.

An additional element of care is the economic benefit of stewardship. Participants spoke of sustainable farming, saving money through clean cooking, and tourism in Kenya. One GAM volunteer shared:

> You don't want to see people destroying the biodiversity. The animals that we like to see. Some people pay a lot of money to travel from their country to come and see those things. They give us income. We coexist because of them (…) I think taking care of them, planting trees, growing trees, fighting when you see people who are illegally doing these things, you stand up for what is true and you fight them. -P6

In Kenya, where the state and people profit largely from tourism, environmental and animal conservation is vital. Fighting illegal activities of deforestation, hunting, and pollution can help protect Kenya's biodiversity and the income of many people.

Finally, some participants spoke about their passion for the movement and the environment as a personal benefit. One Reverend Cpt[9] in Nairobi (P5) said she has

[9] Cpt: Captain is a degree in evangelism that some reverends take; they are formally ordained by the Archbishop

developed a passion by sharing GAM with her community. Another Reverend (P1) spoke about the dedication of youth volunteers who are spearheading the movement:

> And the youth are still at the front line running with it because it changes their lives, because if they get passion and a reason to live (…) society is appreciating you, you get a sense of living. You feel like you are somebody as you wait for formal employment. -P1

Attaining a 'sense of purpose' and passion for the movement can be an act of care. As feminist scholars (Plumwood, 1995; Sevenhuijsen, 1998; Lister , 2003) note, care is an essential part of environmental citizenship and ecological flourishing, both for people and the natural environment. From the perspective of *Ukama* and *Ubuntu*, "human well-being in general cannot be fully realized outside relatedness with the natural environment" (Murove, 2009a, p. 330). Moreover, individuals derive personality and character through the social, spiritual, economic, and ecological spheres of *Ukama* (ibid., p. 329). Acknowledging those interrelationships and togetherness, as my participants have done, can also be an act of selfcare.

6 CONCLUSION

This research explored environmental citizenship through the practices of stewards within the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya. First, by describing the faith-based environmental movement from the perspective of GAM members, a greater understanding and context was established. This is essential in decolonial and participatory research; through the first chapter, I hoped to tell the story of what GAM is. Next, environmental stewardship was conceptualized from the participants' point of view. By examining their stewardship, I began to learn how members may also be employing their environmental citizenship. Inspired by African ethics and citizenship theory, this research shows that environmental citizenship for members of GAM is a relational practice that participants do, often in community, through efforts of care. In the following, I return to the three research questions this study set out to answer and reflect on each in turn.

RQ1: How do participants perceive the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya?

The first research question, regarding the participants' understanding of the movement, was answered through Chapter 5.1 by describing the symbols used to represent GAM, the successes, challenge, and their vision for the movement. These issues were highlighted to give context and share valuable information with the GAM Steering Committee. Members expressed that GAM is a faith-based movement or a 'church matter' rather than an environmental matter, demonstrating their strong ties to the church and their faith. Photos of tree planting and tree growing were the most common images used to describe the movement; while photos of Karura Forest, trash cleanups, green energy (the Green Anglican Cookstoves), and community events were also shared as representations of GAM.

GAM Kenya, following in the footsteps of Wangari Mathai's Green Belt Movement, is using trees as an entryway for stewardship. As participants noted, tree

planting is a simple task that almost anyone can accomplish. Leaders are beginning to incorporate trees into different rituals and events at the church, including communions, birthdays, and national holidays; from both the participants view and my own perspective, using trees to engage communities has been a productive way to spread the Green Anglican message in Kenya.

Trees also serve as both a symbol and practical act in responding to threats of climate change. In their study on urban environmental stewardship, Fisher et al. (2016, p. 17) explain how trees can be a manifestation of the wish to influence and support the sustainability of one's community. Moreover, the researchers claim that tree planting was a form of civic engagement that can lead to better practices of citizenship (ibid.). As members of GAM plant and campaign for the growing of trees within civic spaces, they too are expressing environmental citizenship. Particularly as tree growing for members is often seen as a collaborate effort, done together with family and friends, to support the entire community, it observes the principle that environmental citizenship is about the relationship among individuals and the collective and the commitment to the common good (Dobson, 2007, p. 280). Furthermore, this aligns with African communitarian philosophy that describes personhood through relationships with community and the interdependence among people (Munyaka & Molthabi, 2009, p. 65-71). While planting trees together, GAM members can also be expressing their *Ubuntu* through community.

Participants described the biggest successes of GAM as the activities initiated, overall structure, support from the clergy, enthusiasm, efforts related to education, and creating a sense of community. The biggest challenges were shifting behaviors and mindsets, mobilizing resources, awareness, convincing the clergy, organization, activities, and external issues, such as poverty and corruption. Envisioning the future, participants shared that they hope to expand the network, focus more on policy, enjoy liturgy in the forest, and advocate for a stronger sense of social and environmental justice.

Justice, as a virtue of environmental citizenship, is an important consideration. Because low-income communities rely so heavily on burning wood for fuel, constructive and affordable solutions must be offered. Without addressing systemic issues, such as poverty and the impacts of climate change (e.g., the ongoing draught in Turkana), GAM cannot succeed in its mission. This aligns with both environmental justice theories and a virtue-centered approach to green citizenship that considers, agency, motive, and capacity (Connelly, 2006, p. 67). According to feminist scholar MacGregor (2006, p. 101), sustainability is not possible without justice. And justice is not possible without poverty alleviation. Tackling larger socio-economic issues can grant people more power; and with that power and capacity, they can go on to develop virtues for the greater good (Connelly, 2006).

While cultural barriers around shifting mindsets and behaviors are an obstacle, particularly regarding clean cooking, I observed that many people were still interested in the Green Anglican Cookstoves due to efficiency, monetary benefits, and ties to the church. The high cost for people in rural communities and a few specific features (e.g., the lack of heat retention with the cookstoves in comparison to a traditional three-stone fireplace) prevented them from purchasing the cookstoves. To solve this problem, Mwangaza Light is working to produce 'fireless baskets' that can retain heat safely, keeping the food warm for several hours.

The successes and challenges cited by participants also demonstrate the impact of the church as an embedded structure. Drawing from the work of Alava (2016), the Anglican Church and ADS can both support and constrain societal change, in this case, towards a more sustainable future. Moreover, by analyzing this structure, notions of both stewardship and citizenship emerged through our understanding of GAM.

RQ2: How is environmental stewardship understood by members of the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya?

The second research question centered environmental stewardship described by members of GAM. Participants defined stewardship as a practice that involves cooperation, participation, responsibility, faith, caretaking/managing, and benefiting. They explained that an environmental steward does not need to be perfect, nor do they need expertise, but they should use the skills they have. By taking action and participating, one can be a steward and good member of GAM. Through my analysis, two overarching themes of stewardship were determined: relationality and care.

The first element of relationality was cooperation, analyzed in terms of working and 'living' together as a community, organization, and part of *creation*. Connections displaying the relationality between participants, the environment, and God, align with the 'social, spiritual and ecological togetherness' of *Ukame* (Murove, 2009a, p. 317). Within *creation*, or an 'interdependent web' (Tempels, 1959), everyone and everything on Earth is connected; collaboration leads to harmony. Along with relationality, cooperation, and mutual dependence, harmony is a significant value within Ssebunya et al.'s (2019, p.175) eco-collective responsibility theory, specific to the African communitarian society. Harmony can also be considered an eco-virtue of environmental citizenship.

The second aspect of relationality was participation. GAM members participate by interacting with one another, attending rituals and events, educating the public, and continuously learning. Within *Ubuntu*, the essence of being is participation (Shutte, 2009, p. 91), while good citizenship also relies on civic participation. Choi et al.'s (2009) conceptualization of environmental citizenship declares both empowered participation and cooperation essential. Members shared diverging statements about

how to participate. Some advocated for leadership, while others spoke of following and 'complying'. Likewise, a few members discussed the idea of living simply, while others talked about the need to innovate. The responses, however, shared a common idea: participating with(in) their community. Active participation suggested working together with their collaborators.

Responsibility was the third element of relationality. GAM participants discussed their responsibility in terms of concernment, sustainability, accountability, selflessness and 'working hard'. Many spoke of an obligation to God, while others talked about being responsible for future generations. This also aligns with the Kenyan concept of *Harambee*, the self-help movement bringing people together in projects for the common good, which encourages responsibility for the public. As a bottom-up development initiative, *Harambee* projects are planned and implemented in communities, often with the support of the local church. Like most models of environmental citizenship, *Harambee* highlights individual responsibility; participation is guided by the assumption that is for the collective good and not individual gain (Mbithi & Rasmusson, 1977, p. 14). GAM members expressed their responsibility largely towards the church, God, and their [future] children.

The final component of relationality for GAM members was faith. Participants shared how their relationship to God and the church encourages their stewardship. The 'farming God's way' methodology was a relational approach between stewards and their higher power. Ultimately, working in 'service to God' was a key point of stewardship; their faith, as an eco-virtue, guides them, either positively or through notions of guilt or blame.

In addition to relationality, care was the second overarching theme describing stewardship for members of GAM. Within the theme of care, two primary topics were discussed among participants: caretaking, or care for *creation*, and benefiting, the ways in which people can benefit from stewardship. Care for *creation* was described as good management, lessening one' impact, minimizing use of resources, forest protection, clean cooking, political action, and many more ecological actions. Moreover, letting the environment rest was one way to show care. Benefiting, or the care we give ourselves, was spoken in terms of health and wellbeing, economic return, increasing happiness, enjoyment, and passion.

RQ3: In what ways does environmental citizenship show through the participants' stewardship in the Green Anglicans Movement of Kenya?

The third research question prompted me to explore the ways in which environmental citizenship shows through the participants' stewardship. This question was also answered in Chapter 5.2. In conceptualizing the participants' stewardship, I am as well offering an illustration of their environmental citizenship. For GAM members,

environmental citizenship is a relational practice that members do by caring for *creation* and each other. Diverging from the liberal tradition of individual citizenship and consumer-based policies for ecological protection, environmental citizenship in this context considers relationality and care as two key components for supporting the common good. While this partially aligns with communitarian citizenship theory, I believe we can expand our conceptualization and learn from the concepts of *Ubuntu* and *Ukama* to demonstrate citizenship as a relational system.

Members of GAM are not stewards or environmental citizens simply because of their membership, but also because of their practices. To be an environmental steward, according to the participants, one must be a good caretaker and manager of the environment. Moreover, specific practices were shared, including using cleaner sources of energy, preventing and mitigating pollution, 'farming God's way', and planting and growing trees. These practices are often done in community, through cooperation and participation, motivated by responsibility and faith. These factors emphasize the relational nature of their stewardship, aligning with the relatedness of *Ukama* and *Ubuntu*, the essence of being human, in terms of self and 'shared humanity' (Moyo, 2021, p. 1). Scholars of environmental citizenship also underscore cooperation and participation, and African scholars such as Ssebunya et al. (2019, p.184) feature relationality in their models for environmental justice.

Care within environmental citizenship can be conceptualized as a means of support, empathy, and concern for the environment (Mingol, 2013). Feminist scholars (Lister, 2003, Sevenhuijsen, 1998) assert care as an integral part of citizenship that must be considered both in the private the public sphere. Aligning with *Ubuntu*, care for all of humanity and the world also supports the African sense of community that extends beyond family or tribe (Munyaka & Molthabi, 2009, p. 68). I argue, while caring for *creation* and themselves, participants of GAM are practicing stewardship as part of a wider notion of environmental citizenship.

While 'identity' was not an explicit theme or outcome in my analysis, it is an important part of citizenship that deserves consideration. Participants labeled themselves as Christians, Kenyans, Africans, community members, environmentalists or 'eco-conscious' people, leaders, followers, and of course, Green Anglicans. These identities shape who they are, how they act, why they act (their motivations), and where. As Green Anglicans, in particular, they may have a moral justification to act as environmental citizens. This aligns with scholars (Thomashow, 1996; Curtin, 2003) who describe the need for a moral, ecological identity as part of environmental citizenship.

Environmental citizenship is not exclusive people's relationship with the state; it can be fostered in private and public domains through various groups, including religious institutions. Faith, as a virtue of environmental citizenship, is a key component of stewardship for members of GAM and can inspire them to care for *creation*. Because

faith is conceivably a driving motivator, I would argue that GAM is inspiring a virtue-based approach to environmental citizenship among its members. Aligning with Barry (2002) and Connelly's (2006) virtue-centered green citizenship, the mission of the Green Anglicans Movement to resource, inspire, equip, and challenge individuals, Churches, and Dioceses considers both agency and motive, two requisites for Connelly. With knowledge, power, and capacity, people can therefore better develop virtues for the greater good; however, poverty remains the biggest obstacle (Connelly, 2006, p. 67). For GAM participants, poverty, along with shifting behaviors and mindsets, mobilizing resources, awareness, convincing the clergy, and organization, was also noted as a major challenge.

Finally, environmental citizenship as defined by the European Network for Environmental Citizenship (ENEC) and popularly understood is still limited in its scope. More focus can be put on justice over sustainability and cooperative action over individual acts of service. While the concept of environmental citizenship can be empowering, it also often shifts responsibility from the state to individual consumers. There is a need for both: empowered stewards who confront over-consumerism and other harmful practices to the environment, and state accountability, particularly in creating policies that shift liability to corporations who are damaging the environment. The work of the collective towards policy and structural change is essential.

Additionally, using an Indigenous perspective of the cosmos or biblical perspective of *creation* can be a more holistic way of approaching ecological management. Seeing people as part of the environment or *creation*, rather than distinct entities, can orient people towards ecological concern. In contrast to a conventional, secular form of citizenship, a virtue-based environmental citizenship that recognizes alternative perspectives may be more inclusive and engaging. The obstacle with a value- or virtue -centered environmental citizenship, however, lies with urgency. It takes time to develop new principles or an 'ecological identity' (Thomashow, 1996; Curtin, 2003).

In their study on 'eco-theo-citizenship', Kidwell et al. (2018) present a slower, more conservative approach to climate change mobilization focused on values and concern. They conceptualized 'eco-theo-citizenship' as the eco-action, theological beliefs, and citizenship formulated in a reinforcing spiral (ibid.). Though momentum has been high, GAM members also described their frustrations over the slow pace of mobilization and shifting mindsets and behaviors. While Kidwell et al. (2018) illustrate the slow, incremental change of their eco-congregation, they also argue that it can feed into longer-term efforts. Moreover, they highlight community participation and outreach as essential elements in contrast to individualistic focused behavioral change models. Here, I concur; the efforts of the collective as a faith-based, values-based movement can offer valuable, long-term impacts. GAM members, through their participation and cooperation, are also practicing environmental citizenship, challenging

the sole use of economic incentives for ecological advancement and conventional forms of citizenship that support individual responsibility. However, because the negative impacts of climate change are inflicting devastation today, urgent solutions are needed. Both intrinsic (e.g., values-based) and extrinsic (e.g., fiscal) motivations, along with short-term and long-term solutions will help mitigate the climate crisis. This is something GAM is also implementing with its partner Mwangaza Light in their marketing of the Green Anglican Cookstoves.

In conclusion, environmental citizenship, in theory and practice, can be reframed to include the elements of justice, faith, relationality, and care. The impact and potential of faith as a driving motivator, for example, has been left out in conversations regarding environmental citizenship and development. However, faith without agency or capacity makes environmental citizenship a challenging, if not impossible, endeavor. Because the Anglican Church is an established religious institution with authority and capability in Kenya, the Green Anglicans Movement has been able to grow and expand. Members, therefore, within the movement have the capacity to practice their stewardship and employ environmental citizenship through meaningful participation, cooperation, and caretaking.

I would like to conclude this thesis by sharing the words of the Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Kenya. This is an excerpt from my field notes describing a speech made by the Archbishop at the GAM launch in Kirinyaga County in April 2022. Over a thousand people, mainly youth, attended the launch and it was a true celebration with music and prayer. There was a DJ playing popular songs and the bishops and reverends present joined the youth for some dancing before giving their sermons. While this excerpt only captures part of the Archbishop's words, I believe it illustrates the stewardship that the Green Anglicans Movement is advocating for:

> He spoke directly to the young people. He said that they are part of the church's family, they matter, and they are the reason we are here. He then explained that God gave us trees for oxygen. He gave us plants for food and everything else. We have a relationship with nature and there is an interconnectedness. He talked about climate change and the impalance of greenhouse gases, how global warming is negatively impacting us. He said GAM is a spiritual project and 'caring for creation' means living a balanced life where God is glorified. At last, he made a call to restore order. 'It is not for us to destroy. God has invited us to the be stewards. God gives us the ability and will, so we must shine like stars for Christ and give light to other people.'

6.1 Contribution of this study

This study contributes to research on the nexus of religion, environment, and citizenship, and can support the global initiative to mitigate climate change by better understanding the practices of environmental stewards and how environmental citizenship may be fostered through a faith-based movement. While the approach of individual

responsible environmental behavior can be beneficial in mitigating climate change by providing short term solutions, environmental citizenship, requiring a deep appreciation, learning, and shift in ideology concerning the relationship with one's environment (Choi et al., 2009, p.32), has the potential to embrace the participatory development of a sustainable society through value-driven intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.

Moreover, by bringing African ethics and Christian stewardship together to explore environmental citizenship, learning from the Global South, we can widen our understanding of what it means to be an active citizen and member of the community. Critiquing conventional, secular theories of citizenship, this research advocates for a more holistic understanding of environmental citizenship that recognizes stewardship from a faith-based perspective.

Finally, this study shares the stories of the Green Anglicans in Kenya, including their vision for the future. By presenting their ideas, successes, and challenges, perhaps other organizations or communities will be inspired. While this research was limited in its scope, I believe sharing the specific stories in this context is a valuable contribution.

6.2 Recommendations for future research and policy initiatives

While this study highlights the practices of stewards, further research can be done to explore the elements and virtues of environmental citizenship in this context and beyond. A more focused study with added participants would result in a greater variety of shared perspectives. I would also suggest exploring the topics of identity, personal growth, and justice more closely. Drawing from literature on stewardship, research analyzing the intrinsic and extrinsic motivations of GAM members would be valuable. Though I refer to faith as a motivator, this was not the intention of my research, and I cannot undoubtedly make that assertation.

Initially, I also sought out to explore the personal impact GAM members describe due to their involvement in the movement. In this study, participants shared that they are more action-oriented, have an avenue to accomplish their ideas, a greater sense of community, and are inspired by one another. I found it difficult, however, to assess this impact and understand if and how their practices around sustainability have changed. Future scholars might consider a study that explores if and how stewards are shifting their own mindsets and behaviors, particularly around culturally significant practices such as using a traditional indoor fireplace for cooking.

Furthermore, scholars should continue to draw attention to and recognize knowledge systems from the Global South. While I applied the African concepts of *Ubuntu* and *Ukama* in my understanding of citizenship and relationality, a more in-

dept interpretation and application could support a more fruitful analysis. Further studies on stewardship and citizenship in Kenya could also focus on *Harambee* and its impact on society. Moreover, I believe additional research sharing and incorporating these worldviews would lead to a greater global ethic and people working in cooperation to mitigate the impacts of the climate crisis.

From a theological perspective, I would like to learn more about the role of religion in shaping beliefs and how leaders are preaching stewardship. Referring to the historical context of Christianity, particularly around anthropocentrism and colonialism, I asked the question: 'has the Anglican Church redefined its relationship with the environment?' I am not sure I can answer this question based on my study, though I believe many of my participants are revisioning that relationship. I also ask the question: 'how do African conceptions of relationality, care, and identity fit within Christianity?' Does the type of stewardship that GAM members discussed match their doctrine? Numerous questions have emerged based on my research and I look forward to reading and learning from future scholars, particularly emerging from the Global South.

Specific recommendations were shared with the GAM Steering Committee, based on this research, including: offering more tangible and affordable solutions for communities which considers a more justice-oriented framework, improving communication avenues between regions, leaders and volunteers, additional monitoring and evaluation of activities, engaging with youth and allowing them to lead the movement, being more active on social media to expand and reach out to new recruits, and developing further educational tools and resources for Sunday Schools, churches, and communities.

Finally, more exploration is needed on the development and impact of faith-based organizations and movements regarding the environment and climate change. As mentioned in the introduction, though research is emerging, few studies have taken this into account, particularly in the development sector. Policy initiatives must consider faith-based organizations and religious institutions as key stakeholders in advancing climate and environmental justice. Moreover, enhanced interreligious dialogue is needed, both in Kenya and abroad. GAM members expressed their wish to work together with people of different faiths. Both the state and civic organizations can further encourage dialogue and cooperation among diverse religious communities to promote peace, equity, and environmental protection.

While studies point to the shrinking of civic space, communities and organizations around the world are mobilizing people to take action. In this sense, both state actors, through strategic policy initiatives, and local institutions like GAM can foster environmental citizenship for the greater good. Strategies that consider that both environmentally responsible behavior (e.g., through fiscal incentive) and environmental

citizenship education (e.g., through ecological and civics literacy; both formal and informal approaches) are needed. Among these organizations, partnership, participation, and recognition are key.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: HOW CAN ONE BE A STEWARD? ACTIONABLE ITEMS LISTED BY PARTICIPANTS

- Plant and grow trees
- Connect to environment (e.g., through gardening, enjoying nature)
- Conserve energy: use fireless baskets, clean cooking, solar products, produce own biogas from cow dung
- Reduce impact: recycle at home, compost, collect rainwater, collect seeds
- Fight illegal activity (e.g., tree cutting/deforestation)
- Prevent pollution (not throwing toxins/trash; keeping the water clean)
- Protest
- Preservation
- Better land planning
- Less consumption; live simply
- Communicate and share information
- Use technology and social media to promote ideas
- Take initiative
- Prioritize
- Collaborate
- Learn
- Be action-oriented
- Make it trendy
- Be the example, lead the way

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How and when did you first get involved with GAM? What led you to join the movement?
2. How would you define your role with GAM? (e.g., participant, leader, organizer)
3. What do you consider to have been GAM's greatest successes?
4. What does it mean for you to be a member of GAM?
5. What do you think have been the greatest challenges?
6. Are you involved in any other environmental or social justice organizations?

7. Since becoming involved with GAM, has your attitude about the environment changed or stayed the same?
8. Are there certain daily practices you do to protect the environment? When did you begin doing those? How important do you consider those practices to be?
9. How would you define environmental stewardship in your own words? How can a person be a steward of the earth (an environmental activist)?
10. How do you envision the future of GAM?
11. Do you have any final thoughts about GAM or climate change and the environment in general?

Supplementary questions:

1. How can the church align itself with the mission of GAM?
2. How can the church benefit from GAM's work in climate change mitigation?
3. How can GAM be more relevant to the church, community, and yourself?
4. How do you foresee the growth of the movement?