

**NGO INVOLVEMENT IN NATURE CONSERVATION
IN AUSTRALIA AND JAPAN: A PRELIMINARY STUDY
OF THE DIFFERENCES**

By

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DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any higher degree or graduate diploma in any tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

.....松下早苗.....
Sanae Matsushita

ABSTRACT

In the past few decades, environmental awareness has significantly increased in many parts of the world. In Australia, nature conservation interest groups have been central in raising this awareness, particularly non-governmental organisations (NGOs). NGOs have performed an important role throughout the history of the Australian nature conservation movement. They have attained considerable social status and political influence. On the other hand, Japanese conservation awareness appears to be generally lower than in Australia. Although many NGOs are enthusiastically working on conservation issues, their status is not as high as their Australian counterparts.

This thesis examines the features and importance of NGOs working in the conservation of the natural environment in Australia and Japan. It is a preliminary study, in the sense that it aims to establish whether there are differences between NGOs in the two countries, and to indicate some of the characteristics of such differences. Since Australia and Japan are different historically, culturally, and socially, a broad perspective is needed to gain a comprehensive understanding of nature conservation and NGOs involved in each country. From the relevant literature, the thesis provides a historical perspective as well as investigating some important socio-cultural aspects.

In addition, interviews with representatives from selected NGOs at different scales (international, Federal/National, State/Prefectural, and local) in each country were undertaken to examine their current involvement with nature conservation and their relationships with the rest of the community. The interviews are used to define some of the differences, and also to review and supplement the literature findings. The sample of NGOs was small and the information sought was mostly qualitative. Thus, the results cannot claim to represent NGOs in general, but are useful explanations of NGO characters and operations which can suggest further areas of research.

The thesis points to several significant differences between Australian and Japanese conservation NGOs. For example, Australian NGOs are far more involved in Federal and State politics, in contrast to the distancing of Japanese NGOs from national political structures. Generally, public support for NGOs appeared to be the key factor generating the observed

differences. Chronological, historical, and social factors are suggested as possible influences fashioning public attitudes to both nature conservation and conservation NGOs.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 ORIGIN OF THE STUDY

In recent years, the term 'environment' has attained world-wide significance. National and regional meanings and emphases vary greatly, however, as does the intensity of overall environmental concern. As a visitor to Australia, the author found Australian environmental consciousness, especially of nature conservation, notably high. It was something of a shock to the author to realise that nature conservation could be an important agenda item in national politics. The remarkable activism and high socio-political status of various Australian non-governmental organisations (NGOs: the main focus of this thesis), is worthy of analysis.

During the post-Second World War reconstruction, the Japanese natural environment rapidly deteriorated. In spite of recent affluence, development pressure continues to degrade Japan's already damaged natural environments. Nevertheless, it appears that for Japan as a whole, awareness of the importance of nature conservation is quite low. Although some concerned people have been striving for the conservation of natural environments, most activities are small and regional, if not local. Nature conservation issues rarely gain national attention. There are very few influential national organisations which might even conceivably coordinate such fragmented activities.

In contrast, Australia regards nature conservation as one of the most important current political and economic issues. Many environmental groups, including nation-wide organisations such as the Australian Conservation Foundation and The Wilderness Society, are active in campaigning, lobbying, and otherwise working to protect the natural environment. They have apparently established a certain social status and level of political power and have played an important role in improving the Australian natural environment.

In addition, in recent years, there has been increasing contact, involving politicians and conservation activists, between Australia and Japan on environmental issues of mutual interest. For example, one issue has been the effects on Australian forests associated with woodchip exports to

Japan. Thus, it is important for the two countries to understand more about each others' circumstances and environmental concerns, including the involvement of citizens in conservation causes.

With such observations in mind, the thesis author aims to investigate some aspects of the features and importance of NGOs working for the conservation of natural environments in Australia and Japan, and analyse the differences.

Two key terms used in the thesis are defined as follows.

- NGO:

Although the definition of 'NGO' by the United Nations refers to 'international activities' (Shizenhogo Nenkan Kankokai 1992), in this thesis, broader levels of non-governmental organisation, including local community groups, are herein categorised as NGO.

- Nature conservation:

In An Australian Dictionary of Environment and Planning, Gilpin (1990) referred to the term 'nature conservation' as 'something positive, embracing preservation, maintenance, sustainable utilisation, restoration, and enhancement of the natural environment.'

1.2 STUDY OBJECTIVES

The primary aim of this thesis is to compare the characteristics of environmental NGOs in nature conservation in Australia and Japan.

The following objectives were set as steps towards achieving this aim. The first two provide a comparative understanding of the relevant socio-cultural settings and historical experience, and the third addresses the views of NGOs currently active in both countries:

- (1) to outline a general history of nature conservation in Japan and Australia;
- (2) to outline a general history of NGO involvement in nature conservation in Japan and Australia; this also necessitates a

general investigation of the history of recent social movements in the two countries; and

- (3) to systematically interview selected NGOs operating at different scales in Australia and Japan, in order to identify some of their main characteristics, and to draw cross-country comparisons.

1.3 THESIS METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

This thesis is in five chapters, including Chapter 1, which, in addition to explaining the origin of the study and its objectives, gives its methodology, structure, and limitations. In addition, to provide a basic introduction to the environment in Australia and Japan, land use patterns in each country and some geographical aspects are outlined.

In Chapter 2, general histories of nature conservation in Australia and Japan are discussed based on the literature. The chapter covers changes in human-nature relations, and in the state of the natural environments, as well as the development of conservation concepts and associated conservation measures. The chapter concludes with a comparison between the two countries.

Chapter 3 covers the general histories of nature conservation NGOs in Australia and Japan, also based on a literature search. Although more emphasis was placed on the post-1960s period, some of the focus was on the earlier history, in particular, from the late nineteenth century. As an influential factor in the emergence and development of modern environmental movements in the 1960s and 70s, social backgrounds were investigated in relation to certain social movements. Several important conservation issues and corresponding NGO involvement were used to explain the roles and characteristics of NGOs in each country. In conclusion, the different development patterns in Australian and Japanese NGOs are discussed.

In Chapter 4, information about the current circumstances of nature conservation and the NGOs is provided by means of the interviews. The interviews cover broad aspects, including organisational profiles of NGOs, their relationships with others, and NGO perceptions of nature conservation. The interview results are discussed, focussing on the

differences between the two countries. Literature findings were also used in analysing the results.

Chapter 5 summarises the research findings from all earlier chapters and provides conclusions. Significant differences between Australian and Japanese conservation NGOs emerge from both the literature search and interview results. Finally, specific topics and directions are recommended for possible further study.

1.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The major limitations of this thesis relate to the general level of much of its information and discussion. Since the study tried to cover fairly broad aspects and a wide time span in two countries, the depth of analysis was necessarily limited. Due to limitations of time, resources, and access, the literature search in Japan was more restricted than in Australia. Further, as far as the author could establish, very few academic works have been published on the Japanese nature conservation movement and the relevant NGOs. Most of the Japanese literature reviewed in this thesis comprised newspaper articles and other writings by journalists, NGO publications, and government reports. This limitation, however, is thought by the author to be indicative of the lower public profile of nature conservation issues within Japan.

The constraints of time and resources also restricted field research, including the interviews. The selection of a small number of organisations from many possible NGOs in two countries signals special caution, as explained in the methodology section in Chapter 4 (4.2.3). Due to these constraints, organisations based in a limited number of centres were chosen.

1.5 AN OUTLINE OF GEOGRAPHY AND LAND USE PATTERNS IN AUSTRALIA AND JAPAN

Japan is an island nation with a total land area of 370,000km², comprising four main islands (covering approximately 97% of the total land area) and some 3900 smaller islands. Nearly 70% of the total land area is forested, steep mountains. The climate in Japan ranges from subtropical to subarctic. Generally there is abundant rainfall throughout the year. Largely due to its steep topography, approximately 60% of the population

of 120 million is concentrated in only 2.8% of the total land area (Nature Conservation Bureau 1985, Hashimoto 1993).

Changes in land use patterns from 1972 to 1982, which were minor, are shown in Table 1.1. During this decade, the urban areas, including roads, expanded slightly, involving conversion of agricultural lands. The author could not find more recent published data despite a search. However, in its coverage of national land planning in 1985, the National Land Agency predicted only slight changes in overall land use patterns in the decade up to 1995 (National Land Agency 1993), and the thesis author's judgement is that this has probably been true. Although the intensity of development on land may have changed greatly, the areas devoted to the different categories of use in the table have probably been relatively stable.

Forested areas on flat or hilly land close to human settlement are mainly plantations and regrowth secondary forests which have replaced woods harvested for fuel (Environment Agency, Government of Japan 1993). Plantation areas occupy more than 40% of the forests and are gradually increasing. In 1992, nearly 90% of these plantations comprised trees under 50 years old (Forestry Agency 1993). With reference to nature conservation, approximately 14% of the total land area is designated as Natural Parks (which include National Parks, Quasi-National Parks, and Prefectural Natural Parks) and other conservation areas where some human activities are restricted.

By contrast, Australia is a continent with an area of about 7,680,000km². It is situated in tropical to temperate regions with arid expanses in the interior. Despite its vast land area, the population is only approximately 18 million and is concentrated on the coastline (mainly in the east, south east, and far south west) in urban areas, which occupy only 0.1% of the total land area. A relatively recent trend, however, has been for the population to extend along these coasts - so-called 'ribbon development'. Around 60% of the land is used for agricultural purposes, mainly grazing (Castles 1994). Grazing is a dominant feature of the Australian landscape, and is now deemed a cause of environmental degradation. Data for land use in Australia are shown in Table 1.2 (Cocks 1992). Unfortunately, the data are from 1976, but, despite changes (for example, the expansion of urban areas), the relative percentages devoted to these major land use patterns are very likely still indicative. The land areas designated for

various categories of nature conservation purposes, such as National Parks and Nature Reserves, have been steadily increasing. In 1988, approximately 5.3% of the total land surface was designated for such purposes (Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service 1989).

The Australian natural environment has been greatly altered since European settlement. In 1788, forests and woodlands covered an area of approximately 245 million hectares (32% of the total land area), but now only about 6% of Australia is tree-covered (Mercer 1991). Most of the forests in Australia are native forests, but plantations occupied 1.1million hectares in 1992 and are expanding at approximately 30,000 hectares per year (Castles 1994).

Another important land use activity is mining. Although mining industries occupy a small land area compared with agriculture and other land uses, they can cause serious environmental impact.

TABLE 1.1: Land Use in Japan (%) Between 1972 and 1982

Year	1972	1982
Agricultural area	15.9	14.8
Cultivated land	15.2	14.4
Pasture	0.7	0.4
Forestry	66.9	66.9
Waste land	1.5	0.8
Watersurfaces, Rivers and Watercourses	2.9	3.1
Roads	2.4	2.8
Building Sites	2.9	3.8
Residential areas	2.3	2.9
Factories	0.3	0.4
Others	0.3	0.5
Others	7.5	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Nature Conservation Bureau Japan, 1985, Nature Conservation Administration in Japan, Nature Conservation Bureau, Environment Agency Government of Japan, Tokyo, p.2.

TABLE 1.2 Land Use in Australia in 1976

Land use pattern	Percentage of country
Arid and semi-arid grazing	43.7
Unused land	26.0
Non-arid grazing	17.4
Extensive cropping	5.8
Nature conservation reserves	3.5
Forestry	2.0
Transport corridors	1.2
Intensive cropping	0.3
Urban land	0.1

Source: Cocks, D., 1992, Use with Care: Managing Australia's Natural Resources in the Twenty-First Century, New South Wales University Press, Kensington, p. 72.

CHAPTER 2 HISTORY OF NATURE CONSERVATION IN AUSTRALIA AND JAPAN

2.1 AUSTRALIA'S EXPERIENCE

2.1.1 Introduction

It is widely recognised that in Australia the modern conservation movement was born in the 1960s. Since this period, significant changes have been achieved in the conservation of the natural environment. Various conservation legislation has been implemented and people's concern for conservation issues has been heightened. The issues have become more important on the political agenda.

The perception of nature and attitudes towards the natural environment have been changing throughout the history of the Australian environmental movement, influenced by the changing social and cultural background. Today's conservation movement is not only a reflection of contemporary environmental problems, but also a consequence of this history. Therefore, to understand contemporary issues, it is useful for this thesis to review the history of nature conservation in Australia. This review is both general and simplified, the intention being to extract the main trends covered in the literature.

2.1.2 Aboriginal Australia

Although the environmental impact of Aboriginal practice is a contentious subject in Australia, there is a considerable weight of opinion that Aborigines' management of the natural environment had created an ecologically stable relationship with the environment (for example, see Gammage 1994, Dovers 1994, Papadakis 1993). They constantly set fire to the bush to facilitate hunting, and to promote the renewal of vegetation which would attract animals (Papadakis 1993). Fire also contributed to the control of insects. Another environmental effect of Aboriginal practice was the control of grazing animals by hunting and the introduction of dingos. Aboriginal people generally aimed to foster open, well-grassed areas with scattered healthy trees (Gammage 1994).

It is apparent that Aboriginal people had exploited and changed their natural environment to meet their needs. However, they had a profound respect for their natural surroundings, which they imbued with symbolic meaning (Papadakis 1993). Gammage's description well expresses Aboriginal practice: 'they were cautious environmental managers, relying on long experience, detailed knowledge, careful training, and strict rules' (Gammage 1994: 265).

2.1.3 British Settlement

Since the British settlement of Australia in 1788, the natural environment has been considerably changed. Early settlers had no knowledge base for managing the new environment which had been gradually formed under the long influence of Aboriginal practice. For the newcomers, there were abundant natural resources which could be exploited without any restraint. They sought to improve their lives by attempts to convert some of the bushlands and open forests into the familiar British pastoral landscape. People thought that they had a right and duty to transform nature for greater productivity (Bolton 1981).

One of the greatest impacts on the Australian natural environment resulted from the introduction of hooved animals. According to Bolton (1981), by 1860 there were 20 million sheep and nearly four million cattle in Australia where no hoof had ever been imprinted before European settlement. The constant padding of hooves on the soil caused soil erosion and the creation of dust. The quality of native pasture diminished rapidly after initial stocking. Native animals were also affected by the rapid change of their habitat and by extensive hunting, not only for food, but also for sport and the export of skins.

In the early days of settlement, people's attitude toward nature has been described as predominantly utilitarian. Almost no environmental consideration was added to the pioneering of the new environment. Hall (1992: 79) noted a policy of 'use every acre', which marked the pattern of early land acquisition in Australia, as a clear indication of such an attitude.

However, there were a few early local attempts at resource management, such as a decree in 1803 which imposed heavy fines on those who illegally destroyed trees on Crown Land along the Hawkesbury River in

New South Wales. This decree was aimed at the conservation of trees to supply timber to the Navy and to prevent the flooding and destruction of land and property (Papadakis 1993).

2.1.4 The Wise Use Concept and the Romantic Vision of Nature

The long economic boom after the gold rushes in the 1850s boosted timber industries. Not only for domestic use, but also for overseas demand, large amounts of Australian hardwoods were exported to supply the expansion of the British Empire, especially railway building (Dargavel 1994). Williams (1988, as cited in Mercer 1991: 69) estimated that 172,000 hectares of some of the country's finest hardwood species were cleared for railway construction. Ringbarking by pastoralists to clear land had also become a great threat to Australia's limited tree cover.

In the 1860s, the utilitarian and exploitative attitude toward nature was still dominant, but this was also the time during which some people turned their attention to 'wise use' concepts. The need for forest conservation and the consequences of environmental deterioration were often discussed in this period. The climatic influence of tree cover, the relationship between forests and water supply, and the need for regular supplies of timber for use in the mining industry were the concerns of these arguments. The publication of Man and Nature by Marsh in 1864, which had a great impact on the conservation movement in North America, was also accepted positively in Australia. The book's scientific authority strengthened the demands for economic conservation measures, especially regarding the degrading of forest lands (Hall 1992).

However, more than ten years passed before colonial governments set up boards for forest management. In 1882, a government department of woods and forests was set up in South Australia where timber resources were much smaller than those of the other colonies. Still, even in those colonies with a forestry policy, it was not possible to provide the trained personnel or the resources to conduct any adequate program of reafforestation (Bolton 1981).

Apart from the utilitarian attitude, there were some other motivations for the conservation of nature evident, such as scientific, aesthetic, and Romantic. Romantic influences, which valued nature for its own sake and for its aesthetic and spiritual qualities, profoundly affected views of

nature. Papadakis (1993) argued that even the introduction of exotic species for aesthetic reasons and the conservation of animals for shooting and hunting were expressions of a sentimentality or romanticism which were part of a growing awareness of the need for environmental protection. Hall (1992) claimed that the importance of the Romantic movement was that it sparked a new appreciation of the aesthetics of wild and primitive nature in Australia. This appreciation of Australia's unique wilderness later led to the emergence of the bushwalking movement, which contributed to the preservation of primitive or wilderness areas.

2.1.5 Reserves and National Parks

In 1879, the first National Park in Australia, The National Park (later Royal National Park), was declared 23km south of Sydney. The motivation for the creation of this park and other early national parks was not the conservation of nature per se, but more related to urban issues. According to Papadakis (1993), poor city conditions made many people begin to petition for the provision of public spaces for rest and recreation. Parks were seen as compensation for the effects of industrial and urban development.

An important factor in the establishment of these parks was that the land was regarded as worthless, with no value for exploitation (Hall 1988, as cited in Sutton 1994: 11). This 'worthless land' concept was later contested by the new conservation movement, beginning in the 1960s, which gradually turned to a more ecocentric (nature-centred) value of nature.

In Tasmania, the reasons for park creation were slightly different. Although Tasmania was the last State to set up a national park, a variety of reserves had been established for their scenic value under the Tasmanian Waste Land Act 1863 (Hall 1992, Griffiths 1991). In 1915, the Tasmanian Scenery Preservation Board, the first central authority for parks and reserves in Australia, under the Scenery Preservation Act 1915, was set up. The next year, Tasmania's first national parks, Mt. Field and Freycinet, were established (Sutton 1994).

This predominantly aesthetic concern for park creation became more popular in the early twentieth century. The bushwalking movement, which was an early contributor to the preservation of Australian

wilderness, was greatly assisted by Myles Dunphy who has been described as the 'father of conservation in New South Wales' (Hall 1992: 104). The Mountain Trails Club, which was established in 1914 by Dunphy, aimed 'to reach and enjoy the canyons, ranges and tops of the wildest parts of this country to establish a definite regard for the welfare and preservation of the wildlife and natural beauties' (Prineas and Gold 1983, as cited in Hall 1992: 104). Dunphy and his supporters played an important role in the establishment of the National Parks and Primitive Areas Council in New South Wales, which worked on many national parks and other schemes between 1932 and 1962 (Papadakis 1993).

Although these conservation movements, inspired by aesthetic or Romantic values of wilderness obtained some results, the mainstream conservation ideology still remained utilitarian. The 'wise use' notion of conservation, extending to actions such as catchment protection and soil conservation, was more appealing to government officials (Hall 1992).

2.1.6 Outside the Parks

Besides the efforts to designate preserved areas, some conservation measures were adopted as the problems of land degradation and native fauna and flora extinction became prominent. Australian native animals suffered greatly from changes in their habitat, competition with introduced species, and extensive hunting. For example, in South Australia, over 70 percent of native land mammals are now extinct, extremely rare, or uncommon and endangered (Lines 1991).

Early conservation concern regarding native animals was seen in Tasmania in the 1860s and 1870s, reflected in legislation to protect native birds and kangaroos by setting closed seasons against hunting. In the mainland colonies, however, similar attempts were made to set up legislation to establish closed seasons, but anti-conservation feeling lessened the strength of measures established (Bolton 1981).

In the 1920s, soil conservation came into sharp focus, spurred by vast rabbit and mouse plagues, overgrazing, and erosion. The great expansion of farming between 1896 and 1930, especially wheat production (encouraged by new wheat varieties and improved technology) led to soil erosion and exhaustion of soils in drier areas of naturally lower yield (Lines 1991). In arid grazing areas, soil erosion spread extensively during

the inter-war drought. The Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research facility, which later became the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), was instituted to attend to these problems (Lines 1991).

The expansion of farming in this period also led to the extermination of native plants. Between the 1920s and 1930s, the Commonwealth and most of the States passed legislation for the protection of native plants. According to Bolton (1981), this was mainly due to a desire to preserve wildflowers as a tourist attraction, and naturalists' interests in Australian plant life.

2.1.7 The Modern Conservation Movement

Many scholars recognise the 1960s as the time of the origins of modern environmentalism (see, for example, Frawley 1994, Hall 1992, Warhurst 1994). Although there is no doubt that nature conservation was an issue in Australian society before this period, the concept of conservation was usually rather utilitarian, and was a concern at local or State levels rather than achieving national prominence.

After the Second World War, the Australian economy grew rapidly, boosted by immigration and national development policies (Frawley 1994). Demand for natural resources rapidly increased as a consequence. For example, demand for timber from Australian forests more than doubled by the end of the 1960s compared with the pre-war level (Dargavel 1994). Dam construction for hydroelectric schemes in parts of southern Australia, and more widespread mineral exploitation also became intensive. Developments in science and technology accelerated such developments (Frawley 1994).

However, people began to question science and technology, not least nuclear technology and chemical pollution. The publication of Rachel Carson's Silent Spring in 1962 strongly raised international public awareness of environmental issues and had considerable influence in Australia (Frawley 1994, Bowen 1994).

People started to oppose the exploitation of nature in a more organised fashion and on a greater scale. According to Frawley (1988), people's perception of nature shifted from the utilitarian to one less human-

centred and more biocentric. Frawley (1992) also argued that change in Australia meant society was generally becoming more diverse, more affluent, better educated, less tied directly to natural-resource-based occupations and more open to the international flow of ideas. Such factors helped in laying the fundamentals for the modern environmental movement.

Corresponding with the increasing public awareness of environmental issues, both Federal and State Governments began to pay serious attention to environmental problems. Grinlinton (1991) identified a great surge in environmental legislative activity from the early 1970s. He also considered that conservation legislation became less motivated by economic factors. It was focused increasingly on protection of non-economic resources, and flora and fauna. The Tasmanian Government, for example, passed the National Parks and Wildlife Act in 1970. Under this law, some areas were set aside for 'conservation purposes' including the establishment of national parks. All States and the Commonwealth have implemented similar legislation. In general, development in such reserved areas is restricted, although not totally banned (Bates 1992). As regards more comprehensive environmental planning systems, the Federal Government enacted the Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act in 1974. This law introduced the concept of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). At present, all States have procedures for assessing the environmental impact of development with some statutory basis (Bates 1995).

In Australia, one arena of major environmental conflict since the 1960s has been wilderness conservation. For example, the two major conservation debates over the south-west wilderness of Tasmania, Lake Pedder and the Franklin River, are well known. These conflicts, between hydro-electric development and wilderness preservation, gained a wide range of public attention not only in Tasmania, but also nation-wide. Eventually, the Commonwealth Government intervened (Hall 1992). In the conflict over Lake Pedder, one of the world's first 'Green' parties, the United Tasmania Group, was formed in an attempt to save the lake.

Recent international concern about the global environment and natural resource management added another dimension to Australian environmental policy. The Australian Government identified sustainable development as the goal for future use of Australian

resources. However, Lines (1991) claims that, for the business sector, sustainable development does not mean the decline or even serious control of economic activity and, therefore, there would be no fundamental change in the 'way miners quarry Australia', for example.

2.1.8 Conclusion

The history of Australian nature conservation can be conceived of as following a fairly clear trajectory since British colonisation in the eighteenth century. Although Aboriginal influence altered the Australian environment in many ways, the impact of alien European agricultural traditions impacted savagely on Australian dry thin soils. Natural resource exploitation without careful management caused severe environmental degradation. Corresponding with the expansion of these problems, people gradually began to place importance on nature conservation. External ideological influences also affected attitudes and environmental policy. But reaction to severe environmental pressure took a long time to cohere into effective management policies. Developmental ideology with scant concern for the environment has taken many forms and is still dominant in many ways.

2.2 NATURE CONSERVATION IN JAPAN

2.2.1 Summary Overview

Before the Meiji Restoration of 1868, agriculture based on rice farming was the basis of Japanese society's subsistence. Because of the nature of rice farming and the topological constraints (being a mountainous country), Japanese farmers were sensitive about the inter-relationship of natural factors in their surroundings. Water and forest management was one of the most important issues in Japanese society. Especially during the isolationist and feudal regime of the Edo period (1600-1867), Japanese forestry developed greatly, and contributed to the conservation of forests and the avoidance of natural disasters such as landslides and floods. It also provided abundant natural resources (Totman 1989). In addition to the secular notion of resource management, religion, including animism and Buddhism, deeply influenced Japanese relationships with nature.

The sudden end of the isolation period, forced by the United States in 1854, together with the following Meiji Restoration, brought dramatic

social and cultural changes to Japan. Supported by the Government policy of *fukoku kyohei* (rich nation and strong army), 'modern' Western culture and technologies were rapidly introduced. There was even an atmosphere of demeaning traditional Japanese heritage (Tomiyama 1974). Major damage to nature began during this period. Japanese expansionism and imperialism continued until defeat in the Second World War in 1945. The devastation of land during the war and the following reconstruction period further stressed the natural environment. Since the 1950s, economic growth, which was based on industrialisation, has been the first priority in government policies. The wisdom of ancient coexistence with nature was almost forgotten before the avalanche of technology and economic growth since the war.

Only in the last few decades have the Japanese noticed the adverse effects of such development. Many lives were lost in various pollution incidents. Natural ecosystems have been disturbed throughout the nation, and habitats for wildlife have been disappearing due to human activities. Today, concern for the environment has begun to increase in Japanese society. However, as implied by the low status of the Environment Agency of Japan, the development of environmental policy including nature conservation is confronted with many difficulties.

2.2.2 Nature and Japanese Society Before the Meiji Restoration

The Japanese archipelago has been inhabited since pre-historic times. Since the spread of agricultural activities, people created communities on scarce flat land. Ancient Japanese preferred to live in basins surrounded by mountains rather than on open plains. Mountains were often regarded as sacred places where gods dwelt (Higuchi 1991). It is estimated that in the eighth century some five million people inhabited the archipelago (Totman 1989).

During the ancient (approximately from the sixth century) and medieval periods, deforestation occurred gradually as a corollary of agricultural land clearing and for the construction of large-scale towns and buildings. The pressure on the natural environment, however, had been relatively small and regional. There were some attempts to preserve timber supplies by the closure of forests by governments and monasteries. In the early ninth century, for example, the government issued orders against woodcutting to protect rivers. People had noticed that the origin of great

rivers was always near thickly vegetated mountains, not bald hills (Totman 1989).

The first major crisis of Japanese forests occurred between the late sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries. In this period, population growth and a nation-wide surge in castle and temple construction and city development led to wholesale forest clearing. The clearing of forests from mountains caused erosion and damaged lowlands. In addition to the increase in natural disasters, the scarcity of forest resources became the source of conflicts. To deal with these problems, rulers imposed various regulations on forest exploitation, and encouraged tree planting. Many farm manuals known as *nosho* were written to provide farmers with a wide range of instruction in rural life, including agricultural practices and forestry. These books, at least in a primitive sense, displayed ecological considerations. For example, in the Nogyo Zensho by Miyazaki Antei written in 1697, Antei discussed the importance of forests and recommended tree planting and proper harvesting. Plantation silviculture became widespread during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Totman (1989) concluded that if regeneration forestry had not emerged in the Edo period, Japan would have been an impoverished, slum-ridden, peasant society subsisting on a barren, eroded moonscape characterised by bald mountains.

There were some social and political constraints on wildlife exploitation. Under the influence of Buddhism, which was introduced in the sixth century, killing of creatures, especially mammals, was seen as taboo. In the Edo period, national governments issued various orders to prohibit the killing and abusing of birds and mammals. The purposes for these policies were varied, such as the preservation of game for rulers, *takagari* (falconry), gun control, and the stabilisation of society (Tsukamoto 1983).

2.2.3 The Concept of Nature in Japanese Culture

From early days, the Japanese have appreciated the beauty of the natural environment and developed a culture which relates deeply with nature, especially with the transience of seasons. Many traditional expressions of culture, such as short poems and flower arrangement, celebrate nature and its seasonal changes. This appreciative attitude toward nature has been a central theme in Japanese life (Watanabe 1974). However, many commentators noted that this appreciation of nature has not necessarily

had beneficial ecological implications. On the contrary, Colligan (1991) claimed that the traditional emphasis on the cultural rather than the biological aspects of natural areas retarded the growth of ecosystem consciousness. Saito (1985) suggested that the characteristic Japanese love of nature was directed exclusively towards those objects and phenomena which are small, changing, and tame. She suggested that this tendency derived from the Japanese appreciation of nature for its identification with themselves. By identifying human life with nature, she continued, Japanese found a way to justify the transience of life, which was one of the most important ideas of Buddhism. 'This identity between man and nature leads to resignation before the facts of life and then to acceptance of life, with all its sorrow and suffering' (Saito 1985: 249).

There are some positive effects of this aesthetic and cultural view of nature for the preservation of nature. For example, some areas have been protected as sacred places. Kondo (1991) reported the example of islands in the Setonaikai (Inland Sea). Despite the availability of land and water, these islands have not been inhabited or cultivated for religious reasons. However, the occurrence of this kind of place is scattered and small in area. When modernisation began with the Meiji Restoration, the natural environment also was forced to change to support human demands. Most people probably accepted such 'transience' resulting from the transformation of nature until they noticed what was feared to be irreversible damage to the environment.

2.2.4 The Meiji Restoration

The end of the isolationist period and the following rapid introduction of Western culture and technologies induced various changes in Japanese society. To compete with foreign countries, the new Government put the first priority on the *fukoku kyohei* (rich nation and strong army) policy. Politicians quickly found a way to achieve acceptance of advanced Western culture in the face of traditional culture and knowledge. Tomiyama (1974) argued that the renunciation of traditions which were firmly connected to beliefs about nature was the primary cause of today's degraded natural environment in Japan. She especially focused on the decline of the idea of traditional water management, which was based on total water systems (from the source in forests to the sea). The implementation of *chisokaisei* (land tax reform carried out by the Government from 1873 to 1881), confirmed the concept of

'landownership' which was rather ambiguous under the Feudal system which prevailed before the Meiji period (Kodansha 1983). Meiji reforms allowed the freehold sale of land, resulting in the devastation of forests. As a result, from around 1880, floods occurred frequently in many areas. The delicate balance between a large population and the environment was quickly upset. To deal with flood problems, the Government adopted a new method of river management, which mainly aimed at the prevention of floods by constructing high river banks. Furthermore, the establishment of the railway system from the early 1890s undermined the once important role of rivers for transportation. Rivers were seen as flood treatment systems. The fact that most of today's lowland Japanese rivers are lined with concrete stems from this perception. The organic relationship between water and forest was ignored, and massive forest exploitation began mainly for railway construction (Tomiyama 1974).

Due to the devastation of forests, flooding was not effectively controlled despite people's efforts to construct higher and stronger river banks. One of the early pollution problems occurred in the 1890s, caused by a copper mine, Ashio Dozan, in Tochigi prefecture. The Watarase River, which runs from the mountain and once possessed clean water and rich ecosystems, spread heavily polluted floodwaters. This caused an entire village to be abandoned by the Government (Ui 1991).

Wildlife began to suffer from massive exploitation. According to Fujiwara (1988), before the Meiji Restoration, hunting was limited by a variety of restraints, both technological and social. Due to the relaxing of rigid class and occupational distinctions, hunting privileges were extended outside the small group of traditional hunters. Furthermore, mass domestic production of rifles started in 1880. Before long, many bird and mammal species were consigned to the edge of extinction. For example, from 1873, 50,000-70,000 of Ezo Shika (*Cervus nippon yesoensis*), a kind of deer, were killed annually. The production of canned venison started in 1879, but after only two years, the plant had to be closed due to the shortage of venison. From 1886 to 1902, on the small, isolated island of Torishima, some five million Short-tailed Albatross (*Diomedea albatrus*) were killed by a feather-gathering company. This massacre was stopped only by a volcanic eruption, which killed all 125 human inhabitants. Wolves were extinct by around 1905, most likely due to hunting (Fujiwara 1988).

It is difficult to find any significant nature conservation measures in this period. Legislation such as the Hunting Law of 1895 and the Forest Law of 1897 were enacted by the national government, but the effectiveness of these laws for nature conservation is doubtful. Spurred by overseas influence, the National Park movement developed in the early 1900s (Nihon Kankyo Kyokai 1981). From the Meiji Restoration of 1868 to the end of the Second World War in 1945, Japan experienced four wars. Under strong nationalism and totalitarianism during the Second World War, natural resources and people's lives were exploited for the sake of the national interest. The first National Park was not proclaimed until 1934, not least because the Japanese State was preoccupied with other concerns.

2.2.5 The Post-War Period

Aiming at immediate recovery from war damage, the Government enacted laws in the early 1950s which set up comprehensive national development plans. These included the increased production of food, the generation of energy and the prevention of flooding through the proper management of mountains and rivers (Hashimoto 1993). During the 1950s and 60s, Japan achieved high economic growth, especially in the latter period when GNP growth was recorded at more than 10% annually (Barrett & Therivel 1989). However, the cost of this growth was enormous. For example, massive use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides caused the deterioration of ecosystems, and chemical industries spread toxic effluent into the environment. Government policy, which had as its first priority economic growth, did not change until many people were killed or suffered from pollution diseases such as Minamata disease (due to methyl mercury poisoning from chemical plants). As in Australia, Carson's Silent Spring had a significant impact on Japanese environmental consciousness. Strong civil protests against pollution spread across the nation in the 1960s. At the same time, people became more concerned with many environmental issues including nature conservation.

The Environment Agency was established in 1971 as a core organisation for the promotion of environmental protection with a view to ensuring a healthy and civilised life for the people of Japan (Environment Agency 1987). In the following year, Japan's basic natural environment legislation, the Nature Conservation Law, was enacted. This law was the

culmination of a series of laws relating to conservation such as the Natural Parks Law of 1957 and the Law Concerning Wildlife Protection and Hunting of 1963. Under these laws, some areas have been designated as various kinds of reserves. Currently, approximately 14% of Japan's total land areas are designated as National Parks, Quasi-National Parks, and Prefectural Natural Parks under the Natural Parks Law. However, it must be noted that Japanese Natural Parks are created to 'conserve scenic areas to promote their utilization' (Nature Conservation Bureau 1985). Yamamura (1994) judged this law to be utilisation-oriented. Consequently, it has the potential to degrade ecosystems and landscapes as the construction of facilities is not illegal. Besides the Natural Parks, more conservation-oriented Nature Conservation Areas have been set aside. As of 1994, these areas occupied about 0.3% of the total land area (Environment Agency 1994). With some exceptions like game animals (for example certain ducks and pigs), the hunting and capture of birds and mammals is generally prohibited.

Although there has been a degree of progress in environmental policy in Japan, the decline of the natural environment is still proceeding. Extinction and massive decreases in wild fauna and flora are serious problems. According to the Environment Agency, among Japanese species, for example, 8% of freshwater fish and 4% of birds are categorised as 'Endangered species' (Environment Agency 1993). In the 1950s and 60s, the use of bioaccumulative or highly toxic pesticides such as DDT, BHC, and organic mercury, and severe air and water pollution dramatically decreased wildlife numbers. Furthermore, the expansion of residential and industrial areas, and the construction of dams and transportation facilities have sharply reduced wildlife habitats.

Successive governments, long dominated by the Liberal Democratic Party until 1993, strongly supported economic growth through the export of secondary industrial products and major public works projects. This attitude severely affected rural communities. Traditionally, rural areas based on agriculture and forestry had played the most important role in the management of forests and water courses. However, in exchange for industrialisation, rural communities have been losing such functions. Manufacturing industries reduced rural labour, and the increase in agricultural and forestry imports suppressed the economic competitiveness of domestic industries. As a result, depopulation became a serious problem in many rural villages. Honda (1983) reported the

suffering of such communities and the related environmental destruction. He claimed that in many cases, depopulated villages were forced to accept destructive development projects to sustain themselves. From the 1980s, the boom in golf course construction became an additional social issue. In 1960, the number of golf courses was 195. In 1990, this increased to about 2000, and an additional 1000 were at various stages of planning (Yamada 1990). Many forested areas have, as a result, been turned into 'green carpets'. Due to fear of degradation of the natural environment and water pollution by chemicals used for the lawns, local residents organised protest campaigns in many areas.

There are no comprehensive and effective regulations preventing such development projects. Environment Impact Assessment (EIA) has been applied only to some large scale projects, and its effectiveness has often been questioned by environmentalists. As a result of protests by industrial interests, a draft EIA bill proposed by the Environmental Agency in 1976 was not approved. An EIA system was finally adopted in 1984, but it took the form of non-mandatory guidelines, and lacked procedures for public consultation (Barrett and Therivel 1989).

In addition to domestic environmental problems, international influences on people's environmental awareness have grown apace. Increasing global concern about environment issues has brought Japan's exploitative overseas activities into sharp relief. Responding to these situations, many concerned individuals have been tackling various conservation problems enthusiastically. Today, there are more than one thousand nature conservation groups throughout Japan, but they are predominantly small and localised. Nonetheless, it is difficult to say whether Japanese environmental consciousness at a national level is strongly developed. In a survey conducted by the United Nations Environment Program in 1989 regarding the environmental attitudes of policymakers and the public, Japan had the lowest concern and awareness of environmental issues among the 14 countries involved. The survey also revealed a somewhat hostile Japanese attitude toward environmental groups (Holliman 1990).

Under an administrative system in which the Environmental Agency does not have the same status as other ministries, such as the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, the development of environmental policies is inhibited. Without strong

appeals from the general public for the protection of nature, this situation seems likely to continue. Given the somewhat passive and ineffectual nature of popular political pressure in the Japanese system, such a drive for change does not appear imminent. On the other hand, there is no widespread denial of a deteriorating environmental situation. If the general public does not become more positive toward conservation issues, it is almost inevitable that Japan's natural environment will continue to decline.

2.2.6 Conclusion

Over the past century, Japan shifted rapidly from a rural society based on agriculture to a densely populated industrial nation. Before modernisation, people's lives had been closely linked to nature. Caring for the natural environment was an essential task. At the same time, a Japanese culture which reflected appreciation of nature developed. This love of nature, however, was unable to prevent major disturbances to the natural environment through the processes of modernisation. A strong developmental ethos prevailed over heritage and changed the importance that people placed on the relationships between forests and rivers and, furthermore, changed the relations between humans and nature. Thanks to plantation programs, mountains are still covered with thick forests, but they are not as carefully managed as those of the past. Modern economic realities have gradually emaciated Japan's forestry. Rivers were artificially reinforced with concrete, causing them to become ditches carrying polluted water. Although improvement in environmental policy has occurred since the early 1970s, the recuperation of damaged ecosystems is difficult. Furthermore, despite increasing concern, environmentalism has not really taken root in Japan. It appears that people are, as yet, unwilling to act on their concerns.

2.3 COMPARING THE HISTORY IN THE TWO COUNTRIES

2.3.1 Background

The history of nature conservation clearly reflects the pattern of changes in human-nature relationships. In any period, human societies have been influenced strongly by the natural environment and vice versa. Patterns of interaction have significantly differed in Australia and Japan for several reasons. These can be initially categorised as natural and

sociocultural factors. Firstly, the major variations in the natural environment, such as geographic and climatic differences, are probably the primary cause of different behavioural patterns. For example, vast, flat Australia with its dry climate facilitates large-scale vegetation modification and, in some areas, clearance. By contrast, the mountainous topography and abundant rainfall of Japan, which have often been associated with natural disasters, demanded more caution in altering the natural environment for human interests.

Sociocultural factors are partly controlled by the natural environment. This is exemplified by Japanese traditional culture which shows appreciation of nature. However, as the history of both countries indicates, major changes were caused by external factors, such as the British settlement of Australia and the Meiji Restoration in Japan. These caused fundamental changes in the relationships between humans and nature in both countries. Further, the rapid development of science and technology and desires for economic growth, especially after the Second World War, affected the natural environment severely in many countries, not least in Australia and Japan.

2.3.2 The Development of Conservation Concepts

Concepts and policies of nature conservation have, in most cases, arisen following visible adverse effects caused by human activities. As long as people are dependent on natural resources, certain impacts on the environment are unavoidable. In this sense, one can assume that the history of Australian Aboriginals as 'cautious environmental managers' (Gammage 1994: 265), likewise derived from their historical experiences. Similar indications are seen in Japanese early records. Prevention of natural disasters and the need to conserve natural resources were basic reasons for the emergence of conservation ideas. With great pressure on resources and a potentially dangerous natural environment, the Japanese needed to develop conservation notions early in their history.

In addition to empirical knowledge of nature, religious influences, such as from Buddhism which advocates harmonious relationships with other creatures, prevented the reckless exploitation of nature. These influences can be traced up to the Meiji Restoration. Soon after, the Japanese natural environment began to be severely affected because of the hasty introduction of Western culture and the renunciation of traditions.

On the other hand, major recent alterations of the Australian natural environment commenced with settlement from Britain after 1788. There seemed to be abundant forests to be exploited. It took approximately 100 years for the settlers to perceive the necessity of some conservation measures. This attitude change from 'exploitative' to 'wise use' was partly generated by the publication of the book Man and Nature in the USA, in the late nineteenth century (Hall 1992). At the same time, around this period, Australians began to pay attention to the unique Australian natural environment. This nationalistic view of nature, combined with Romanticism and the influence of science, contributed to the parks and reserves movement, and the implementation of some conservation legislation protecting native wildlife.

In both countries, rapid economic growth after the Second World War accelerated the destruction of the natural environment. However, science and technology were increasingly questioned, inducing a new environmental consciousness internationally. Many civil protests were organised, generated by environmental concerns. In Australia, wilderness conservation was the main focus. In Japan, although there were certain movements in relation to nature conservation, national attention was predominantly directed to pollution problems. Corresponding with these movements, the establishment of responsible government authorities and legislative systems occurred in both countries.

In recent years, the concept of sustainable development and the protection of biodiversity have become major international concerns. Australia and Japan espouse these ideas in their environmental policies. The actualisation of these concepts is an ongoing task in both countries. However, since the economy is the prime national interest for both Australia and Japan, the development of effective measures will not be easy.

2.3.3 Nature Conservation Systems

In both countries, legislative and administrative systems for nature conservation have developed greatly since the early 1970s. Generally speaking, both in Australia and Japan, the main focus has been placed on traditional reserve creation, exemplified by National Parks. The Parks

systems, however, differ significantly between the two countries. For example, Japanese Natural Parks are basically created for scenic and recreational purposes. Australian National Parks, in contrast, are generally more conservation-oriented in recent history, though there are continuing pressures for development such as tourism resorts within the parks. Further, in Japan, large areas of private land are in the Natural Parks. The balance between nature conservation and land utilisation is a serious problem in these parks.

To further more comprehensive environmental planning, Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) was made government policy in both countries. Although there are variations amongst States, the EIA system in Australia is at least backed by legislation. In Japan, however, the national EIA system still lacks a proper statutory basis. Given the strong development pressures, precautionary measures like the EIA system are indispensable for nature conservation. Delayed implementation of EIA in Japan, with its intense economic pressures for development and dense population, are continuing to cause problems for nature conservation.

2.3.4 Conclusion

Before the Meiji Restoration, it can be said that Japan and Australia had significantly different views of the natural environment. After 150 years of 'Westernisation' in Japan, however, the differences are slight. Both countries experienced a period highly exploitative of the natural world and suffered considerable damage as a result. This experience generated some nature conservation measures. Technically speaking, with respect to basic legislation and administration, nature conservation structures are very similar in Australia and Japan. This may reflect the international influences on the government policies in both countries. As exemplified by the recent emergence of sustainable development and biodiversity concepts, international agreements on conservation issues are clearly becoming significantly influential in both countries. Nevertheless, the development and effectiveness of policies are by no means similar. One possible reason is chronological: that is, Australia experienced major damage to its natural environment from the early nineteenth century and gradually developed conservation concepts, while Japan's increased confrontation with the natural world started nearly a century later. One could suggest that before the emergence of the modern environment

movement in the 1960s, Australia had accumulated more conservation consciousness than Japan. Social factors such as cultural, economic, and political attitudes are also relevant. These are discussed in later chapters.

CHAPTER 3 NGOS AND CONSERVATION IN THE TWO COUNTRIES

3.1 THE CASE OF AUSTRALIA

3.1.1 Introduction

In Australian conservation history, the patterns of people's behaviour in achieving their goals have taken various forms. Before the emergence of modern environmental movements, most of the issues were initiated and led by highly concerned individuals and were restricted to local events. However, social changes during and after the Second World War engendered an era of broader social movements. In this atmosphere, conservation movements also became significant and many groups emerged to deal with, at first, local, separate issues. Some of these groups developed into more organised and larger forms. Their strategies became more diverse and sometimes gained national and international attention.

In this account, the history of the development and activities of conservation groups is examined in the context of social change. This provides a background to understanding and analysing contemporary conservation groups.

3.1.2 Organisational Activities in the Pre-modern Conservation Movement

One of the few early organisations which dealt with the natural environment, the Acclimatisation Society, was established in Victoria in 1861. It aimed at the improvement of the Australian natural environment through the introduction of exotic animals and plants (Lines 1991). Although the outcome of its activities was sometimes ecological disaster, the Society can be seen as an expression of peoples' growing interest in the natural environment.

Scientific concern was an influential force in conservation issues from the end of the nineteenth century. The Field Naturalist's Club of Victoria was formed in 1880 to promote the popular study of wildlife. Nature study became a common activity among Victorian gentlemen and ladies, and by the early 1890s the trend spread through other colonies. Members encouraged governments to declare nature reserves. As a result, reserves

were established in some small areas, safeguarding objects of scientific curiosity (Lines 1991). In Tasmania, an ornithological society was formed in 1888 and inspired a movement which led to the formation of the Royal Australian Ornithologists Union in 1901 (Bolton 1981). Also in Tasmania, the Tasmanian Tourist Association was established in 1893 as the first voluntary association in Tasmania. This association was directly concerned with the recreational and scenic values of nature. Together with other conservation interests, it contributed to the creation of twelve flora and fauna reserves by 1901 (Holloway 1991).

The bushwalking movement which emerged in the 1910s was probably the most important factor in the pre-modern conservation movements. Enthusiastic individuals like Myles Dunphy in New South Wales, created major outdoor recreational groups. In Tasmania, such people formed the Hobart Walking Club (1929), and campaigned for the formation of national parks (Holloway 1991). The significance of the bushwalking movement is not only that it promoted peoples' appreciation of Australian bushland, but also that it later became a main source for the membership of newly emerged conservation groups in the modern environmental movement.

Holloway (1991: 84) defined the characteristics of conservation activities in this period as follows: 'they originated within established institutions, and their tactics were mainly centred on direct lobbying of State Government ministers rather than publicity campaigns'. Another feature was pointed out by Bolton (1981), who states that the focus was on the undeveloped bush, not on the urban or suburban environment where most Australians lived, nor was it on the cultivated rural areas. This tendency, Bolton suggested, was generated by the growing interest in the 'unique' Australian landscape in its presettlement condition. This nationalistic view of the Australian landscape which marked the early conservation movement was also discussed by Birrell (1987). He claimed that the literary and artistic nationalist movement of the 1890s focused on the distinctive qualities of the Australian bush, and gradually influenced the consciousness of ordinary Australians.

3.1.3 Social Change as a Background to the Emergence of Modern Conservation Movements

After the Second World War, Australia experienced a period of high population growth and economic prosperity. The Federal Government encouraged immigration mainly due to the fear of labour shortages in the context of reconstruction programs and an ageing population. Between 1947 and the early 1970s, immigration contributed an estimated 59 per cent of the national population increase of five million (Powell 1988). Large scale construction projects were planned, such as the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Power Scheme (Frawley 1992). In the late 1960s, a speculative mining boom began, fuelled by transnational corporations. This boom quickly collapsed, but led to a flood of foreign currency into Australia for speculative purposes (Lines 1991). Large amounts of money were poured into property development in major cities, and many highrise office buildings were constructed, leading to an oversupply (Burgmann 1993). Consumer spending in Australia increased greatly. According to Horne (1980), both personal consumption expenditure and disposable household income doubled during the period (probably between about the mid-1960s and the early-1970s), while prices rose by only a third. He claimed that Australia had become an affluent society.

The affluent society, in common with that in many Western countries, possessed some important factors which generated a variety of new social movements, such as anti-war, student, feminist, and environmental movements. Horne (1980) argued that the expansion of middle class specialists and administrators was the fundamental cause of most of the new movements. In middle class culture, he claimed, there was a feeling of responsibility and involvement, so that it can be seen as the basis for the 'concerned public' of the late 1960s and early 1970s. This argument might be true to some extent, but a different basis is also plausible: when fundamental materialistic demands are fulfilled, people are more free to pursue non-materialistic values and express their opinions. If outside pressure is strong enough, such possibilities can increase.

Apparently, there were enough stimulants in this period. Not least, the significance of the Vietnam War has been recognised by many writers (Warhurst 1994, Horne 1980, Burgmann 1993). During the anti-war campaign from 1964 to 1972, various forms of protest such as

demonstrations, vigils, strikes, folk concerts, and sit-ins were conducted. Among these, the 1969 sit-ins in Sydney and Melbourne attracted peaceful crowds of 20,000 to 25,000 and 80,000 to 100,000 respectively (Horne 1980). The anti-war movement was mainly supported by young people, university students in particular (Burgmann 1993).

The speculative construction boom in Sydney was highlighted by a unique workers' movement, resulting in the 'green-bans'. In 1971, the New South Wales branch of the Builders Labourers' Federation decided to ban the construction of office buildings which were resulting in demolition of inner city housing stock. The campaign claimed that all work performed should be of a socially useful and of an ecologically benign nature. The first green-ban was imposed in 1971 as a response to a request from a group of middle class women who wanted to save Kelly's Bush (the last remaining open space in that area). The first green-ban was successful. By 1974, 42 green-bans had been imposed. Many buildings which were classified by the National Trust were saved (Burgmann 1993).

The significance of the green-ban campaign can be found in the cooperation of two different social classes, both of which were motivated by non-economic values. This is evidence that there was a social atmosphere in which people sought a better quality of life and means of self-expression.

The development of mass communication facilitated access to many sorts of information. International influences, especially from the United States, constantly stimulated Australian society (Horne 1980). The mass media, sometimes selectively, amplified social events. Pakulski (1991: 42) mentioned the relationship between movements and the mass media, suggesting that:

movement events are natural media events. Innovative repertoires combined with eccentric sometimes scandalising forms of expression are in high demand among event-hungry journalists and reporters. Publicity provided by the coverage is in turn a most valuable means of affecting public sentiments and attitude.

From a similar perspective, Holloway (1991) explained that wilderness issues had been central in the Australian environmental movement. He claimed that wilderness issues are appealing to the general public,

particularly when expressed in attractive publications and television programs.

Like many other movements which emerged in this period, nature conservation issues were quality of life issues. Many people sought a better quality of life in the human-natural environment relationship. Visible destruction of nature and the fear of pollution forced some people to revolt to save their environment. The mass media acted not only as a source of information, but also as a promoter of the movement. One of the features of the conservation movement is its issue orientation. Hundreds of groups have been formed since this period to deal with separate conservation issues. In 1978 some 1158 voluntary organisations were listed in the Australian Conservation Foundation's Greenbook (Davis 1981). In the next two sections, the emergence and development of some of these organisations, and their activities in prominent conservation issues are analysed.

3.1.4 The Emergence and Development of Conservation Organisations

According to Holloway (1991), most of the 'wilderness movement groups' emerged after 1960. Before 1960, only thirteen organisations were founded, but during the 1960s at least twenty-four appeared, and during the 70s, twenty-seven. Although a number of conservation groups have been established since this period, the history of few can be traced in the existing literature. From this limited information, it is difficult to generalise about a pattern of emergence of these groups. However, to facilitate later analysis, four types of conservation interest groups are classified in this thesis. These are:

- (1) institutionalised organisations which were founded in the context of political or administrative interests;
- (2) special issue groups formed to save particular places;
- (3) organisations which derived from type (2), but which have broader scope; and
- (4) international organisations.

Davis (1981) classified Australia's conservation organisations into five categories, mainly defined by their aims and activities: national umbrella organisations, state co-ordinating bodies, specific issue bodies, environment centres, and international organisations. One reason the emergence pattern classification is used here is the importance of the Tasmanian Wilderness Society (which later changed its name to The Wilderness Society) in the Australian conservation movement. In Davis' analysis in 1981, the Society was seen as one of the special issue organisations which sought the preservation of a particular area. However, later the Society became one of the most powerful conservation organisations in Australia. By following the development of the Society, key points of the Australian conservation movement can be defined. Another aspect of this classification is the distance from government authorities. This is an important point when making comparisons with major Japanese conservation bodies which are under relatively strong governmental supervision.

The first category, institutionalised organisations, is represented by the Australian Conservation Foundation. The formation and organisational development of the Foundation was analysed by Warhurst (1994). The Australian Conservation Foundation was formed in 1966 as a semi-scientific body. Prince Phillip's suggestion to establish a branch of the Wildlife Fund guided some scientists from the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), the universities, and elsewhere towards the creation of the Foundation. Its first president was Sir Garfield Barwick (1967-1971), the Chief Justice of the High Court, followed by Prince Phillip himself (1971-1975). Its first director was later transferred to head the Department of Conservation and Environment in the new Federal Labor Government in 1972. The involvement of high-profile people and intimate relationships with the Government spurred a dramatic increase in membership and abundant financial support. By 1971, its membership reached around 6,000. Although during the early stages of its development the Foundation was seen as a conservative organisation, later it became more active and sometimes radical. It also became concerned with broader aspects of green issues such as nuclear power and Aboriginal issues (Holloway 1991). As one of the most experienced and responsible conservation bodies, the Australian Conservation Foundation has kept its position of influence in governmental policy making. Its involvement in Landcare programs and the ecologically sustainable development industry working group process

are examples of this status (Burgmann 1993). In 1995, its membership was 17,618 (data from thesis interviews in Chapter 4).

Environment centres, such as the still-active Tasmanian Environment Centre, were originally associated with the Whitlam Government's programs of community education (Davis, 1981).

The second category, special issue groups, is probably the most numerically dominant among Australian conservation groups. For example, many 'action groups' and 'action committees' fall into this category. These groups are predominantly local and have small memberships. However, as seen in the next section, many important conservation conflicts were triggered by these small groups. They mobilised established organisations and the general public, and sometimes led to the emergence of more powerful organisations.

The Wilderness Society was formed in 1976 as the Tasmanian Wilderness Society. Its direct aim was to preserve the south-west Tasmania as wilderness. The roots and organisational development of the Society were fully analysed by Holloway (1986). According to Holloway, the Tasmanian Wilderness Society's origins can be traced to the preservation dispute over the Lake Pedder in the early 1970s (see the next section). During this campaign, two key groups were established, the Lake Pedder Action Committee and the United Tasmania Group. Although they did not succeed in saving the lake, the leading members of these groups formed the South-West Tasmania Action Committee, which was the direct precursor of the Society, to stop the further destruction of south-west Tasmania. Lessons learned from the loss of the lake encouraged the Action Committee to operate as a more radical and professional group than the former conservation groups.

The lack of financial resources, and the question of the legitimacy and necessity of a new organisation, which retained both an up-market face and radical policies, led to the foundation of the Tasmanian Wilderness Society. The concepts of 'wilderness' and the 'biocentric ethic' encapsulated the central values of the Society, which campaigned to spread these values within the general public (Easthope and Holloway 1989). Through many campaigns, which culminated in the Franklin dispute in the early 1980s (see the next section), the Society mobilised great numbers of people. 'The very word "wilderness" had an emotive

baggage that mobilised people into action' (Easthope and Holloway 1989: 194). The Wilderness Society's organisational success was clearly shown in the remarkable expansion of membership and staffing. The membership increased from 1,000 in 1980 to 10,700 by the late 1980s. The number of staff grew from one to 34 (Holloway 1991). The 1995 membership, however, declined to 9,300, according to the Wilderness Society representative interviewed in the thesis research (reported in Chapter 4).

The last group, international organisations, such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace, were originally formed in other countries, and later introduced to Australia. Friends of the Earth was formed in USA in 1969 and Greenpeace in Canada in 1971. These have been involved in conservation campaigns in cooperation with other conservation groups.

3.1.5 The Involvement of NGOs in Conservation Controversies

3.1.5.1 The Little Desert Dispute

As one of the earliest conservation disputes marking the emergence of the modern conservation movement, the significance of the Little Desert campaign has been outlined by Powell and other commentators (Powell 1988, Lines 1991, Hall 1992). The Little Desert was mostly undeveloped arid scrub land in Victoria. From the early stages of land development for agricultural purposes, which began in 1957 with the opening of 11 farms, a few local individuals and groups showed interest in the preservation of the area for protection of native wildlife and the maintenance of soil and water resources.

The first major public opposition occurred when the further massive development of the area as a new farming region was proposed by an insurance company, the Australian Mutual Provident Society (AMP), in 1963. Several public protest meetings were held. AMP's proposal was eventually withdrawn in 1967 at the State Government's instigation. The Government pointed out to the company that the AMP should have taken responsibility for establishing reserves in the area. Powell (1988) noted that, at this stage, opposition to the scheme was being conveyed only through the channels institutionalised by government.

The opposition campaign became stronger when the new Victorian Minister of Lands, Sir William McDonald, who was strongly committed

to land development, pushed for the agricultural development of the Little Desert. This time, the media greatly helped the conservationists to gain public attention. The Age, in particular, directly criticised both the project and the Minister of Lands. The Save Our Bushlands Action Committee was formed in August 1969 to coordinate and lead the piecemeal protests. A public meeting held by the Action Committee in the same month was well-attended. In response to this groundswell, a Select Committee was established in the Victorian Legislative Council to investigate these issues. In 1970, the Select Committee recommended the complete abandonment of the scheme and the declaration of the whole area as a protected reserve until a total ecological and recreational survey of the region had been conducted and considered by Parliament (Powell 1988).

In summary, as one of the earliest conservation disputes in Australia, both the strategies and environmental consciousness developed in the course of this issue formed a model which influenced the course of subsequent events.

3.1.5.2 South-West Tasmania

Two conservation disputes which were associated with hydroelectric schemes in south-west Tasmania were widely recognised as landmarks in Australia's conservation history. The first controversy, the Lake Pedder issue, began in 1967 when the Hydro Electric Commission (HEC) disclosed its plan to flood Lake Pedder with a huge impoundment. Lake Pedder was a central part of a scenic reserve named the Lake Pedder National Park. The National Park was created in 1955 following submissions by bushwalkers from the Hobart Walking club (Kiernan 1990). Because of its extraordinary beauty and unique character the small lake had been attracting many bushwalkers.

In the early stages, the campaign was conducted by the established bodies, the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Tasmanian Conservation Trust. Their arguments were focused on the inadequacies of bureaucratic planning procedures and the necessity of a scientific approach in the management and protection of ecosystems (Easthope and Holloway 1989). Because of their conservativeness and 'political acceptableness', according to Green (1981), their tactics were not effective in overcoming the Hydro Electric Commission, which, through its

construction of major power schemes, had driven much of Tasmania's economic and industrial policy since the early 1900s.

When the flooding of the Lake was imminent in 1971, the Lake Pedder Action Committee was formed. Although the group was small, their dedication eventually led to Lake Pedder being a national issue. They campaigned enthusiastically, trying to arouse support with information through public meetings and media. They also approached the Hydro Electric Commission and the Tasmanian Parliamentary Upper House, the Legislative Council, to get information, and asked scientists to undertake more zoological and botanical investigations. They wrote to international scientific organisations asking for their statements (Green 1981). In 1972, another dimension was added with the emergence of a political group, the United Tasmania Group (UTG). The UTG was a coalition of interests, ranging from Liberal Party housewives to former Labor Party functionaries, primarily bound by their commitment to Lake Pedder (Kiernan 1990). None of the UTG candidates won a seat in the State election in 1972. However, the fact, that two of its candidates were only narrowly defeated suggested that public awareness of conservation issues was becoming a major political force.

In 1973, a Lake Pedder Committee of Enquiry was appointed by the Federal Government. The Committee produced an Interim Report which recommended that the Federal Government provide finance to support a moratorium on further flooding of the lake and to undertake further investigation. This recommendation was adopted by the Federal Government, but the Tasmanian Government refused to cooperate, and the flooding went ahead (The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia 1975).

Conservationists lost Lake Pedder. However, as mentioned previously (3.1.4), this failure and the continuing pressure of development on the south-west led to the formation of the South-West Tasmania Action Committee and eventually the Tasmanian Wilderness Society which was the leading organisation in the Franklin campaign.

The Wilderness Society published a booklet, The Franklin: Tasmania's Last Wild River in 1978. The following year, the Hydro Electric Commission released a report which recommended the construction of a dam and power station on the Gordon River one kilometre below its

confluence with the Franklin. This plan proposed flooding the middle reaches of the Franklin. The Society conducted a campaign of opposition through conventional means such as public meetings, lobbying politicians, opinion polls, and publication of booklets (Kendell & Buivids 1987). In November 1980, the Tasmanian House of Assembly passed a Bill to proceed with a Gordon-above-Olga dam, which would at least temporarily save the Franklin River, instead of the Gordon-below-Franklin. However, this compromise plan was rejected by both the conservationists and pro-development interests. As a result, a State referendum was held in December 1981. The referendum, however, only offered two alternatives, 'above-Olga' and 'below-Franklin'. It lacked a 'no dams' option, which was rigorously proposed by the conservation groups.

Before the referendum, the conservationists led by the the Wilderness Society conducted an extensive campaign of advertising, lobbying and doorknocking. They tried to persuade the voters to write 'no dams' on their ballot papers. The results were 47 per cent for 'below-Franklin', 8 per cent for 'above-Olga', and 45 percent informal votes, which included a 32 per cent 'no dams' count (McQueen 1990). Thus, a third of the Tasmanian electorate had chosen to show their opposition by writing 'no dams' on their ballot papers. Ignoring this informal vote, the Hydro Electric Commission and the Tasmanian Government adopted the 'below-Franklin' scheme, and construction work began in July 1982.

The nomination of the south-west for World Heritage listing was confirmed by the Federal Government in January 1982. Relying on this, the Wilderness Society directed its political campaign towards the national and international arena. In July 1982, the Federal Labor Government announced its intention to oppose the Hydro Electric Commission power scheme.

Combined with the political campaign, the Society directed well planned and peaceful direct action to inhibit the construction work. More than 2,500 protesters from all over the country gathered during the sustained blockade in the summer of 1982-83. Protesters who strung their small rubber boats across the river in the path of barges bringing bulldozers and other equipment to the construction site gained the attention of the media. Police arrested 1272 people including several public figures, such as a Tasmanian politician, Norm Sanders, the Director of the Wilderness

Society, Bob Brown, and British botanist David Bellamy, for trespass (Bonyhady 1993). Although the blockade simply inconvenienced the construction work, it greatly appealed to the general public through the media, especially television.

A political change in Canberra gave the conservationists a new opportunity. The Australian Labor Party (ALP) needed their help to win the Federal election, which was called for March 1983. Bob Hawke, the leader of the ALP, announced that if the ALP achieved victory in the election, the dam would not be built. The Wilderness Society and the Australian Conservation Foundation proclaimed their support for the ALP in the Lower House, and for the Australian Democrats in the Upper House (McQueen 1983, Green 1981). The ALP won the election, and the Hawke Government legislated to stop the dam immediately. According to Bonyhady (1993), the conservationists contributed some two per cent of the vote and won the ALP six marginal seats, thereby exerting influence on the outcome.

The significance of these south-west Tasmanian controversies was the increased public concern over the issues. The emergence of a Green political group, the holding of a referendum, and the relevance of the issue to the Federal election, all manifested the intense public interest. Conservation NGOs played an important role through this series of events. They succeeded in raising public awareness of nature conservation, especially wilderness issues, and at the same time succeeded in impressing themselves on the public as influential forces in Australian nature conservation.

3.1.5.3 Fraser Island

Fraser Island, which is situated off south-east Queensland, is the world's largest sand island with extraordinary geomorphological features and unique natural vegetation. A conservation dispute over the island started in 1971, and continued until its nomination for World Heritage listing in 1992.

The key conservation group, the Fraser Island Defence Organisation, was formed in 1971 by the members of three existing local conservation groups to counteract the pressure for sandmining on the island. John Sinclair, the first president of the Organisation, and other members issued press releases, wrote letters to key State politicians, and sent a regular

newsletter to environmental groups throughout Australia and to State and Federal politicians. They also tried to block the granting of mining leases in the local mining warden's court (Bonyhady 1993). Although the Organisation was not successful in the warden's court, their campaign raised public awareness about the sandmining issue, especially by linking it to the campaign for the Great Barrier Reef on the question of mineral exploration and mining and their relationship to the management and use of Queensland coastal resources. In 1975, the Whitlam Federal Labor Government announced an inquiry into land-use on the island, specifically targeting the potential environmental impacts of an export industry (Hall 1992). Following the final report of the Commission of Inquiry in 1976, the Commonwealth decided to restrict the exports of sand from Fraser Island to minerals mined from very limited areas.

Conservationists achieved some success at this stage. However, the further pressure on the island from logging and extensive tourism forced them to campaign for World Heritage status for the island. In 1975, the Australian Conservation Foundation had identified the island as being suitable for World Heritage listing, and the Fraser Island Defence Organisation began to campaign in 1976.

Chances improved when Labor won the State election in 1989. Unlike the former National Party Government, which was committed to logging and further tourist development on the island, and opposed the nomination of any part of Queensland for World Heritage listing, the new Government showed a somewhat positive stance to conservation issues. In the same year, an inquiry was initiated by the State Government to investigate the environmental and economic consequences of logging. All major local, State, and national conservation groups appeared, except for the Rainforest Action Group which boycotted the inquiry on the grounds that participation would compromise conservation interests.

The Fraser Island Defence Organisation organised the Joint Conservation Groups to participate in the inquiry. When the Joint Conservation Groups reached a compromise agreement with the Forestry Service, the Rainforest Action Group and the Wilderness Society (which withdrew from the inquiry before the agreement) turned to direct action, blockading the logging operations. The Joint Conservation Groups publicly endorsed the action. Friends of the Earth partially supported this

campaign by giving the protesters some financial help. This campaign continued until the Commission of Inquiry produced a final report in mid-1991. The State Government adopted the recommendations of the Commission, and asked the Commonwealth to nominate the island for World Heritage listing. It also announced a ban on logging of several tree species. The Commonwealth agreed to give Queensland \$16.5 million to help the timber industry in the region (Bonyhady 1993).

As with the south-west Tasmanian cases, the linkage of the issue to State and Federal politics was also a significant feature of this dispute. As exemplified by the State Government inquiry in 1989, the social status of NGOs had seemingly improved since the time of the Franklin issue. Most of the concerned groups were invited to make submissions. Notably, many conservation NGOs formed a coalition of interests on this matter. These observations suggest that Australian conservation NGOs had become more mature and established.

3.1.6 Conclusion

Social change came to Australia after the Second World War, heightening people's concern towards their environment. The increased opportunities for public participation in various social processes, including the political decision-making process, and the development of mass media, catalysed the emergence of the modern environmental movement. Objecting to the mounting pressure of development on the natural environment, many conservation groups were formed. The emergence of these groups resulted from increased public awareness about nature. However, at the same time, they also heightened and deepened people's concerns through diverse conservation campaigns.

The major differences between previous conservation campaigns and those in the modern conservation movement relate to scale and diversity. When the traditional tactics, such as lobbying local politicians, were not effective in achieving their goal, conservation groups resorted to direct action to gain public support. In Australia, conservationists have been predominantly committed to non-violent action. Through the media, they succeeded in gaining public sympathy nationwide. Having greater public support, the conservation interests became an influential political force. Major conservation groups were at times directly involved in election campaigns. For instance, in the 1990 Federal

election, the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society again played an important role in the Federal election, as they had in the 1983 election. They published their own policy positions and advised voters to support those parties which would be most beneficial to environmental interests (Papadakis 1991).

There is no doubt that conservation interests in Australia have established a key position socially and politically. They have secured outlets to articulate their opinion. However, the overall balance of power vis-a-vis other interest sectors, especially resource development, has not been in favour of conservationists. For the conservationists who seek to protect wilderness areas from development, World Heritage listing is probably the most promising goal at this stage. As Bonyhady (1993) argued, however, the success of conservationists simply displaced the threat of development to other places. For example, in the case of the Franklin, because three-quarters of the compensation money from the Commonwealth to the Tasmanian Government went to the Hydro Electric Commission, the Commission could promptly begin damming other rivers in Tasmania. Further, even those places listed as World Heritage could be adversely affected by development. The continuing Wilderness Society campaign for the preservation of south-west Tasmania in the face of Forestry Commission (now Forestry Tasmania) logging of native forests right up to sensitive World Heritage Area borders is one example.

3.2 JAPAN

3.2.1 Introduction

It is often said that Japan's environmental movement emerged strongly in the 1960s in response to serious pollution problems and over-development (see, for example, Barrett 1991, McKean 1981, Hase 1981). Since Japan is a densely populated country, adverse affects on the natural environment often caused direct or indirect damage to people's daily lives. In this sense, pollution and nature conservation are intimately associated with each other. The end of the Second World War brought drastic social changes to Japan. In particular, the new idea of 'democracy' imposed by the United States gradually changed people's attitudes toward the social environment. People came to recognise their right and ability to participate in policy making. Among other social issues, local groups

arose to deal with environmental problems. Once the worst situations, in terms of pollution, were overcome, the public's concerns broadened to include nature itself. Gradually, such environmental activism became more sophisticated.

Although most of the Japanese conservation NGOs are small and local, there are a few national organisations with relatively long histories. The character and the role of these national organisations differs from their Australian counterparts. Analysis of national peak organisations demonstrates interesting features of the Japanese conservation movement. However, the vital role of innumerable small local groups cannot be ignored.

3.2.2 Organisational Activities Before the 1960s

In relevant historical texts, the Ashio Copper Mine pollution dispute at the turn of the century is often advanced as the very first sign of action for an environmental cause in Japan (see, for example, Hashimoto 1993, Ui 1971, 1991). As noted in the previous chapter, this mine caused severe damage to the natural environment and the local community. A member of the Diet, Shozo Tanaka, was the key activist. Supported by the local farmers, he enthusiastically campaigned for the closure of the mine. They conducted research into the impact of pollution on their village, and demonstrated the seriousness of the issue to the national Government. Despite their efforts, the Government failed to impose any effective measures to improve the situation. Desperate farmers marched to Tokyo to petition the Government several times between 1897 and 1900. The clash between these farmers and police in 1900 resulted in the arrest of 68 farmers. This incident led to the decline of the movement. In 1901, Shozo tried to make a direct appeal to the Emperor, but failed. Even though the movement lost its momentum, Shozo continued to be active on the issue. In 1911, he organised a society to analyse the fundamental consequences of the Ashio Copper Mine problem including the ecological impact around the affected area (Ui 1971, 1991). The significance of this movement and Shozo Tanaka himself was rediscovered by the modern environmental movement, and many environmental activists learned from Tanaka's experience.

One of today's major national conservation NGOs, The Wild Bird Society of Japan was established in Tokyo in 1934 by a Buddhist priest and poet,

Godo Nakanishi, and aimed to promote 'the interchange of the Science of birds and art' (Shinada & Sonobe 1994: 4). Many highly-educated people such as scholars and writers were amongst its founders. The main activities at that time centred on the publication of their journal Yacho ('Wild Birds') and bird watching. In order to promote their activities, local branches were opened around the nation. The Society became involved in conservation activities after amalgamating with the Nihon Chorui Hogo Renmei (The Japan Association for Preservation of Birds) which was established in 1947 as a result of a request by a US occupation army GHQ officer. They operated campaigns in the 1950s for the protection of wild birds which included protesting against *kasumiami ryo* (hunting using mist nets) and hunting with air guns. Although the membership did not increase greatly, by the mid 1960s the Wild Bird Society had nearly 2000 members with about 30 branches nationwide. It became a *zaidan hojin* (non-profit incorporated foundation) in 1970, aiming at growth from a mere bird watching society into a socially responsible conservation organisation (Shinada & Sonobe 1994).

Another national NGO, The Nature Conservation Society of Japan, was organised in 1951 and was based on a group formed in 1949. A brief history of the Society was reported by Suzuki (1995). The group called 'Oze Hozen Kisei Domei (The Oze Protection League)' was formed to protest against government plans for a hydroelectric dam which would inundate a beautiful highland moor, Oze Moor (designated as part of Nikko National Park, in central Honshu, in 1937). One of the founders of the Nature Conservation Society, a plant taxonomist, Dr. Takeda Hisayoshi, contributed to the designation of Oze as a national park. Becoming concerned with not only Oze but also other important natural areas threatened by development plans, such as plans to mine in Akan National Park in Hokkaido, the group established the Society to deal in a coordinated way with these problems. In 1960, it became the first nature conservation group to be recognised as a *zaidan hojin*. Along with the campaigns to save significant natural areas, it worked for the promotion of environmental education. In 1956, the Society petitioned the Ministry of Education to include conservation education in the school curriculum (Suzuki 1995, Numata 1994).

Before the emergence of active environmental groups in the 1960s, these two major conservation organisations were well established and contributed to the improvement of nature conservation in Japan.

Presumably, small local conservation groups did exist, but there are few records to confirm such activities. Furthermore, through the era of economic growth and the confusion during and after the war, the general public paid little attention to conservation issues. In any case, most people were unaware of effective ways to express their opinion in public and were reluctant to act even if they recognised problems.

3.2.3 Democracy, Pollution, and the Citizens' Movement

The end of the Second World War brought to Japan major social changes. Under the new Constitution, much greater freedom was given to the people, such as freedom of speech, of the press, and political organisation (Hase 1981). As McKean (1981) mentions, however, most Japanese had not yet internalised the pattern of democracy through personal experience. People lacked a sense that they had the right to initiate, influence or demand things, and the traditional tendency to obey authority still remained.

There were several important kinds of incidents which had great impacts on the Japanese mind. One concerned a variety of pollution problems generated inevitably by rapid industrialisation, pushed by policies devoid of proper pollution controls. Minamata disease was officially recognised in 1956. It killed several hundred people and affected thousands more. The Minamata victims and those from three other major pollution incidents went to court in the late 1960s. Decisions were eventually made in their favour in the early 1970s (Hashimoto 1993, Harada & Miyamoto 1983). These cases gained very wide publicity, fuelling the incipient environment movement.

In the 1960s, Japan's GNP grew at over 10% a year. The nature of development caused widespread pollution and associated problems. According to McKean (1981), by the early 1970s about half of the sample in a newspaper opinion poll stated that they were suffering from pollution effects. Eighty per cent were concerned about becoming victims of pollution in the future. Nevertheless, a pro-development atmosphere was still prevalent in Japanese society. Although the majority of Japanese believed that such development was necessary for economic prosperity, concerned people in directly affected areas questioned the opportunistic concepts underlying specific plans and projects. They were galvanised not only by the fear of pollution which would damage their health and

livelihood, but also by the possibility of natural disasters, such as landslides and floods caused by the construction of roads and dams. Numerous local protest groups were formed around the nation. They were predominantly issue-focussed and localised. There was no national lobbying campaign as such. However, indirect pressure from the widespread atmosphere of crisis created by the local movements and pollution lawsuits moved the national Government towards the implementation of responsible environmental legislation and the establishment of the Environment Agency of Japan (McKean 1981).

Another characteristic social phenomenon of this period was the mass protests against state power. The ratification of the Treaty of Mutual Security and Cooperation with the United States in 1960 triggered a massive protest movement. The treaty, amongst other things, allowed for a continuing US military presence in various bases. Feelings were anti-US, anti-war, and the movement marched under the slogan of protecting democracy, in response to the dictatorial tactics of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. In June, 5,600,000 people participated in a nationwide protest (Shiobara & Katagiri 1986). At the same time, newly emerged left-wing groups known loosely as the New Left became involved in social events. According to Fukashiro (1970), there were three streams in the New Left, one opposing the Japan Communist Party (JCP), the anti-war citizens' movement centred around the Citizen's League for Peace in Vietnam (Beheiren), and the Anti-war Youth Committee. The student movement in Japan was penetrated by these new left factions, and the anti-JCP movement in particular became overwhelmingly dominated by students. Their radicalism often caused violent clashes with riot police and with other factions, resulting in some deaths and many injuries. Not that the entire student movement was pro-violence, but the increased radicalism from the late 1960s by some militant factions rather besmirched the public image of student radicalism. By the early 1970s, the New Left was seeking new platforms for their activism in certain environmental disputes.

Although some violent incidents were counterproductive in the Japanese context, there is no doubt that many ordinary citizens were encouraged to organise and express themselves by the example of student radicalism. In 1972, it was reported that three thousand citizens' groups existed nationwide. Sixty per cent of these were associated with pollution and environmental protection (Shiobara & Katagiri 1986). Their predominant

tendency of polarisation and fragmentation was often pointed out by many commentators (see, for example, Griffith 1990, McKean 1981, Hase 1992). In many cases they acted independently in the local scene to achieve specific goals.

In the 1973 columns of Japan Quarterly (an English journal issued by the news organisation, Asahi Shimbun), an interesting analysis of the mounting power of citizens' movements was reported. The development and the nature of the movement were characterised as follows: the tendency to increase in size, to become diverse in aims, and to become involved in political activities. The tactics used by citizens' groups developed from a 'humble request' to an 'appeal-pattern', exemplified by signature gathering, then to an 'action-pattern' like sit-ins and demonstrations, and finally to the use of 'intellectual-tactics' (to use the Quarterly's term) like lawsuits and the dismissal of mayors. In various elections, mostly at the local level, citizens' groups nominated their representatives as candidates. Further, the recall of municipal assemblies and/or mayors became an effective tactic. As a result, considerable numbers of reformist local governments emerged (Japan Quarterly 1973). The relationships between citizens' movements and politics were well analysed by McKean (1981). One significant tendency identified in McKean's research was that citizens' movement activists showed extreme hostility toward the political right, and rather favourable attitudes toward the left. Half of the members, who were originally conservative, changed their allegiance after their involvement in citizens' movements.

After the establishment of the Environment Agency in 1971, some progress was made in environmental policy. The implementation of a series of strict pollution laws greatly contributed to the improvement of the environment in heavily polluted areas. However, the speed of development, and the degradation of the environment, did not slow. At the same time, the economic standard of living greatly improved. By the mid 1970s, the idea of 'amenity' became established in Japanese society (Nihon Kankyo Kyokai 1993). Correspondingly, a new trend in conservation movements emerged. Before this period, protests for cancellation or amendment of projects and demand for compensation money by the citizens' movements were common place. People began to act themselves to conserve the natural environment by directly participating in various activities, such as cleaning of local rivers, and

becoming involved with the National Trust movement. In a sense, the image of 'nature conservation' softened from its former image of radicalism.

The modern Japanese environmental movement emerged and developed through many pollution disputes. Today, much greater attention is being paid to nature conservation issues. In a directory of environmental NGOs published in 1995, 4506 were listed. Among these groups, 73% indicated that the conservation of the natural environment was one of their aims (Nihon Kankyo Kyokai 1995). Despite the fact that the general public has become more positive toward nature conservation and numerous conservation organisations have been enthusiastically working on their concerns, the priority of conservation issues in Japanese politics is still low. The 20 year delay in the ratification of the World Heritage Treaty is one example. Japan designated its first World Heritage sites in 1993. The nature conservation budget in 1994 was one eighth of that allocated to pollution control (Environment Agency 1995). More importantly, major past and on-going conservation disputes have arisen over so-called public projects, such as the construction of dams, roads, and airports which were planned by the various levels of government.

3.2.4 The Characteristics of Japanese Conservation NGOs

In section 3.1.4, four categories were suggested to classify Australian NGOs. This classification, however, cannot fit precisely the Japanese situation. Firstly, the National Trust movement has played an important role in the promotion of conservation in Japan. Unlike the original National Trust in Britain, and also in Australia, independent local organisations are the key players in this movement. Some of them have intimate links with local authorities and even a local authority can launch a campaign. The national government has also formally approved of the movement. In 1985, a resolution to promote the National Trust movement was adopted by the Upper House (Kihara 1986). As each organisation campaigns to conserve particular areas, they may be categorised amongst the 'special issue groups formed to save particular places'. Further, the purchase of land for conservation purposes, as used by the National Trust movement from time to time, is sometimes used as a tactic by other established conservation groups. Nevertheless, parallel with the increasing currency of the term 'National Trust', this movement has been creating one of the new streams of

conservation consciousness in Japan. Groups involved with the National Trust movement have to be distinguished from other special issue groups. There are also groups which have had a wider range of environmental concerns from the inception. They were organised with the aim of creating an environmentally conscious society in general. Nature conservation is just one of their concerns. The history of this type of organisation is relatively new. One could speculate that the rising awareness of global environmental problems from the late 1980s stimulated the emergence of these groups.

The Japanese conservation NGOs can be classified into six categories. These are:

- (1) institutionalised organisations which were founded in the context of political or administrative interests;
- (2) special issue groups formed to save particular places or wildlife;
- (3) organisations which derived from type (2), but which have broader scope;
- (4) organisations which derived from type (2), and promote a National Trust movement, in particular;
- (5) organisations which were founded with broad environmental concerns; and
- (6) international organisations.

The first category, the institutionalised organisations, includes the Japan Environment Association (Nihon Kankyo Kyokai). It has strong ties with the government authorities. Activities centre on research and education. The Association was established in 1977 and authorised by the Prime Minister to be a research and educational institute for general environmental issues.

Similar to Australia, special issue groups are the most numerically dominant among the Japanese conservation groups. Along with anti-development groups, many local voluntary groups were formed which were especially concerned with the aquatic environment, especially rivers

and lakes. Further, a large number of groups in local communities throughout Japan emerged in order to conserve particular creatures, such as, fireflies and butterflies.

The Wild Bird Society and Nature Conservation Society are in the third category. The history of these organisations has been mentioned previously (3.2.2). Since their establishment, their memberships have been increasing steadily. In 1995, the Wild Bird Society and Nature Conservation Society have nearly 50,000 and 20,000 members respectively. However, it could be said that this figure is not great compared with other countries like Britain and the United States where some major organisations have more than a million members.

The fourth category, the National Trust type, is rather vague. This group overlaps with other categories. In the next section, the history of the National Trust movement and related organisations is presented.

The fifth type of organisation, broad environmental organisations like the Kankyo Shimin, the Citizens Environmental Foundation, aims at the creation of a green society through changing people's attitudes.

The last group, international organisations, includes several organisations also based in Australia, such as the Friends of the Earth, the World Wide Fund For Nature, and Greenpeace. In addition, there are groups organised in Japan to deal with international environmental problems. The Japan Tropical Forest Action Network (JATAN, formed in 1987) is one example.

3.2.5 The Involvement of NGOs in Conservation Controversies

3.2.5.1 The National Trust Movement

The history and development of the National Trust movement in Japan was well summarised and analysed by Kihara (1986, 1992). In Japan, the first conservation campaign of a kind later identified as a National Trust-type initiative (because it drew inspiration from the activities of the National Trust in Britain) started in 1964. The campaign was launched by local citizens in the medieval capital city of Kamakura to protest against plans for the residential development of the hills adjacent to Tsurugaoka Hachimangu (a famous shrine). As the development project was legally planned, there were no alternatives available to the protesters for halting

the project except for purchasing the land involved. They established a *zaidan hojin*, called the Kamakura Fuchi Hozonkai (Kamakura Landscape Preservation Society), and began a fund-raising campaign. One of the founders, a well-known novelist, Jiro Osaragi, played an important role in publicising the campaign and the National Trust movement generally. In his serialised essay published in the daily newspaper Asahi Shimbun, Osaragi warned of the destruction of cultural and natural landscapes in ancient capitals, and asserted the necessity for competent preservation measures. In this essay, he also described the British National Trust in detail. By 1968, nearly 32 million yen in donations were received by the movement for purchasing the land. The development project was stopped in 1965 when part of the planned site was purchased by the Society (Kihara 1986, 1992).

In the mid 1970s, two well-known fund-raising campaigns began in Hokkaido and Wakayama prefecture. Both were (and are) highly successful, but have contrasting features in some respects. The one in Hokkaido, Shiretoko 100m² Campaign (Shiretoko 100m² Undo), was launched by the local municipality of Shari-cho in 1977. This campaign aimed at the purchase and the regeneration of abandoned farmland in the Shiretoko National Park (designated in 1964). The area was once covered by virgin forests before the Second World War. Although the area was part of the National Park, Japan's national park system is based on zoning, and allowed certain development of the area. In fact, 73% of 450 hectares of the original farmland had been already purchased by developers. Having no help from the national and prefectural governments, the town had to seek financial resources independently for the acquisition of the land. Fujitani (1993), the mayor of the town at that time, said that the start of the campaign was inspired by a news column 'Tensei Jingo' in Asahi Shimbun, about the National Trust movement in Britain. Since the place 'Shiretoko' was well known through a popular song, the campaign's catch phrase 'Buy a dream in Shiretoko' attracted many people nationwide. More importantly, the mass media, including the national press, paid great attention to the campaign. According to Kihara (1992), 39,269 people contributed approximately 400 million yen by 1992 and the 383 hectares of land was purchased.

In 1974, in response to the resort development plan of Tenjinzaki (Cape Tenjin), Tenjinzaki no Shizen o Taisetsunisuru Kai (Society to Cherish Cape Tenjin), was formed at the little known city of Tanabe in Wakayama

Prefecture. Tenjinzaki was part of a Prefectural Natural Park. Its proximity to the city centre and diverse natural features made the Cape very familiar to the citizens. At first, the Society petitioned the city not to permit such development. They gathered 16,000 signatures from around the city. However, the land was already owned by the developers, and there were no legal problems with constructing resort villas on their land. It became apparent that the only way to stop the project was the purchase of the land. According to Saiki (1992), Hachiro Toyama, one of the founders of the Society, told her that at first, the majority of the people thought it would be impossible to raise enough money to buy the land. Nevertheless, their special feeling toward Tenjinzaki enabled the members to face the difficulties, and examples of the people's self-sacrificing efforts are listed by Kihara (1986, 1992).

This local campaign gradually gained national attention. The Nature Conservation Society became involved in this movement from 1975. The scientific back-ups from the Society strengthened the Society to Cherish Cape Tenjin's activities. In 1979, the Nature Conservation Society set up the Tenjinzaki Special Committee within their own organisation, and assisted the nationwide fund-raising campaign. As the Society to Cherish Cape Tenjin was a private organisation (becoming a *zaidan hojin* in 1987), the donations were not tax deductible. Therefore, fund raising through an incorporated foundation was an important factor to promote the campaign. Further, along with the similar movement in Shiretoko, the mass media treated this issue comprehensively, referring to it as an unique conservation movement led by ordinary citizens. By 1992, 46,000 people participated and 470 million yen in donations were collected. Because of the high land price, the area of land purchased with this fund was 4.7 hectares. To purchase another 8.3 hectares, people are steadily continuing their efforts (Kihara 1992).

As shown in these examples, the National Trust movement has been taking root in Japanese society. By the early 1980s, nearly 40 conservation campaigns, which were known generally as the work of National Trust-type movements, had started around the nation. The Wild Bird Society of Japan also launched campaigns to create sanctuaries for birds. In 1983, the Association of National Trust Movements in Japan (Nashonaru Torasuto o Susumeru Zenkoku no Kai) was established in Tokyo as the liaison organisation for these individual groups. It aimed at further promotion, including the establishment of legislation for the National

Trust movement. In 1992, the Association became an incorporated organisation, and changed its name to the Association of National Trusts in Japan (Nihon Nashonaru Torasuto Kyokai).

Compared with the National Trust in Britain, Japan's National Trust movement has only a short history. There are a number of problems to be overcome. For example, legal backing for the movement is still weak, and the number of participants is still inadequate for effective operation. Further, high prices in Japan make it difficult to purchase certain areas of land.

3.2.5.2 Ishigaki Airport Dispute

A conservation dispute over the construction of a new airport in the semi-tropical Island of Ishigaki is known as one of the first nature conservation issues which captured not only national but also international attention. The plan, which aimed to build an airport near the coral reefs of Shiraho by reclaiming the sea, became public in 1979. The beautiful coral reefs were an extraordinarily diverse ecosystem and supported people's livelihoods by providing abundant marine products.

According to Ui (1987), local fishermen and environmentalists strongly protested against the plan mainly because of the inadequate Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). Ui commented that the EIAs, which had been performed by consultant firms, did not include adequate evaluation of the effects because they lacked consultation with the local public. Many protest groups were organised not only locally, but also in other places, such as Osaka, Kyoto, and Tokyo, by people who had visited and knew the value of the coral reefs. They engaged in various activities, such as the distribution of booklets, mass meetings, and the collection of signatures to petition the government (Hase 1992). Along with these protest movements, the Nature Conservation Society and the World Wide Fund For Nature Japan Committee conducted ecological research into the coral reefs and predicted the apparent adverse impact of the project on the reefs. In 1988, a delegation from the protest groups attended the general assembly of the International Conservation Union (now the World Conservation Union) to appeal for the protection of the coral reefs.

These mounting domestic and national pressures moved the Prefectural Government to cancel the Shiraho plan. In 1989, the Government

announced that the construction site would be changed from Shiraho to another site. However, the alternative site was expected to impose a similar kind of environmental damage on the reefs. The protest campaigns continued. As of November 1995, this issue is still under debate, due to the difficulty in selection of an alternative site.

It is said that the coral reefs have values which merit their listing as a World Heritage Area. However, despite its unique natural environment and the prolonged conservation conflict, Ishigaki Island has not been designated as any kind of Natural Park or reserve. This island remains vulnerable to development pressures. Its beautiful coral reefs have been attracting many tourists, and resort development is threatening the natural environment. The Ishigaki issue still exhibits various problems which express the deficiencies of Japanese nature conservation.

3.2.5.3 The Nagara River Dam Dispute

The Nagara River was one of the few major Japanese rivers which had not been dammed. Although the river runs through densely populated areas in central Japan, the water was clear and abundant creatures inhabited it. The construction of a dam at the estuary of the Nagara River was planned in 1960 by the Ministry of Construction. The original purpose was irrigation for future industrial needs. Since the river runs above the level of the surrounding land, the residents have been worried about the increasing possibility of flood. In 1966, the plan was modified to include the construction of a tidal barrier which would have a lower water level than a conventional dam, with the added benefit of flood control. The construction project, however, did not begin until 1988 because of strong protests from local fishermen (Hashimoto 1995, Momose 1994).

In February 1988, the last protesting fishermen's cooperative consented to the project and the construction of the barrier began in July. In response to the start of the project, new protest groups were organised and the protest movement spread to the national level. Among those, the Society to Protest the Construction of the Nagara River Estuary Dam (Nagaragawa Kakozeiki Kensetsu ni Hantaisuru Kai) greatly contributed to the national promotion of the issue. Reiko Amano, an outdoor writer and the leader of the Society, was not a local resident. However, her love of nature and the sense of crisis associated with degrading the precious river made her enthusiastic about the issue. Along with other local

groups, Amano and her supporters strongly protested. They argued that the dam was not necessary because future water demand calculated 30 years ago by the government turned out to be excessive; the dam could increase the risk of flood in some areas by blocking the natural flow of water; and adverse effects on the water quality and the ecosystems would be inevitable (Amano & Kitagawa 1994). Their activities, which included lobbying politicians, writing open letters, and organising mass meetings near the construction site, heightened public awareness on the issue.

In 1989, concerned Diet members organised a non partisan group to assess the Nagaragawa problem. Later, this group produced a report which suggested the temporary suspension and reconsideration of the project in 1993. Major conservation organisations, including the Nature Conservation Society of Japan and Wild Bird Society of Japan, expressed their opposition against the project. The Nature Conservation Society undertook a series of scientific projects investigating the impact of the dam on the river and published a report which criticised the improper environmental assessment conducted by the Government. Meanwhile, the mass media provided opinion polls which indicated that the majority of the local residents expressed their opposition to the project.

Despite these developments, construction work had been proceeding. In 1994, the estuary barrier with movable gate was near completion. Protesters, including Amano, turned to direct action to stop the test running of the barrier by organising a shipboard demonstration under the gate. This action moved the Construction Minister, Igarashi, to hold direct discussions with the protesters. As a result of the meeting, Igarashi promised further assessment of the project, this time using democratic procedures (Amano 1994, in Amano & Kitagawa 1994).

Several negotiation opportunities were provided for all interest sectors. However, in May 1995, despite the protesters' voices, the normal operation of the barrier commenced. There is no doubt that the estuary barrier would harm the ecosystem of the river. In fact, local fishermen claimed a great decrease in their harvest after the running of the gate (Asahi Shimbun, August 31, 1995). Protesters organised a coalition of 59 protest groups, to be called the Citizens Council to Stop the Construction of the Nagara River Estuary Barrier. They have been continuing with both the monitoring of the river and protest campaigns.

Many people speculated as to the reasons why this project could not be stopped despite its apparent defects. Illegal collusion between contractors in 1972 was reported in Asahi Shimbun. Close relationships between politics and the construction business are not new phenomena, sometimes involving corruption. Further, as a long battling protester pointed out, administrators create unnecessary work for themselves in order to retain power (Nashima 1994). Not only the Nagaragawa issue, but also many other questionable development projects have been carried out with similar methods arousing these suspicions. In such circumstances, the role of NGOs as watch-dogs and whistle-blowers is important. Even though their power is not strong enough to change the whole political and administrative structure and process, there is no doubt their dedication to various conservation problems has been slowly changing Japanese society.

3.2.6 Conclusion

From the 1960s to the early 1970s, environmental concerns which were especially associated with pollution problems created a mainstream of new social movements in Japan. The costs of rapid economic growth were enormous. Serious pollution incidents and the frequent occurrence of natural disasters intensified by poorly planned development projects were often the primary causes of people's protests. Many local protest groups were organised by ordinary citizens to protect their lives. At the same time, in this period, other types of social movement, such as the anti-Vietnam and student movement were stimulating Japanese society. Due to some violent incidents, the general public tended to have an image of the environmental movement as radical and eccentric. As noted in earlier chapters, Japanese traditional obedience to authority further strengthened this tendency. Nevertheless, activism undoubtedly enhanced people's awareness of the possibility of participating in the creation of a democratic society.

With the improvement of pollution problems and the standard of living, people came to express wider interests in environmental issues. In terms of nature conservation, in addition to the protest campaigns once dominated by conflict, new kinds of conservation activities like the National Trust movement emerged. Cooperation between conservation NGOs and the local authorities is becoming common in this area. The mass media positively treated these newly emerged conservation groups.

Further, given an international increase in environmental concerns, a phobia about nature conservation groups in Japan has been gradually disappearing.

Today, innumerable conservation NGOs are active throughout Japan. Although most of them are small local groups, they are quite effective in dealing with individual local issues. Many natural areas have been protected by their efforts. In addition, national organisations with relatively large memberships have been steadily growing. With their long history and scientific knowledge, they are recognised as socially responsible conservation organisations. In particular, scientific research by the Nature Conservation Society of Japan often had great influence in determining the direction of conservation issues. In numerous past conservation controversies, there was frequent cooperation between national and local NGOs. Without this cooperation there would have been far more environmental degradation. However, as in the Nagaragawa issue, the Japanese political and administrative systems have fundamental problems which result in the evasion of the public's justifiable demands. Democracy is still immature in Japan. Given a strong developmental imperative without real democratic social structures, the creation of comprehensive nature conservation systems is difficult. Japanese conservation NGOs therefore have to combine both the preservation or conservation of nature with the establishment of a democratic society to achieve their aims.

3.3 COMPARING THE EXPERIENCE IN THE TWO COUNTRIES

3.3.1 Background

Social changes after the Second World War were key factors which induced strong environmental movements both in Australia and Japan. The common fundamental causes were rapid economic, technological, and scientific developments. However, the character of economic development and people's reaction to such social changes differed significantly between the two countries. In Japan, defeat in the War brought devastation and the implementation of democratic forms. Reconstruction generated enormous economic effort. There was a desperate effort to escape from poverty. Such a national atmosphere permitted tolerance of severe pollution, although resistance to such degradation was also evident. In contrast, Australia was enjoying

affluence during this period. Although fear of pollution did exist in Australia, as exemplified by the influence of books such as Silent Spring, pollution was less severe than in Japan.

In the 1960s and 70s, social movements, especially student and anti-war movements, were influential in both countries, as elsewhere. One important difference between the two countries was that some Japanese movements were more radical and militant than in Australia. In Australia most of the demonstrations and rallies were conducted peacefully, contrasting sharply with the record of violence in Japan. Although the causes of this difference are not the subject of this thesis, one could suggest that the eagerness to protect an immature democracy and the strong anti-war sentiment, together with a suspicion of state power drove some people to such violent activities. In any case, there is no doubt that these violent incidents affected the general public's image of social movements including environmental movements, especially with respect to direct action.

3.3.2 The Development of Conservation NGOs

Although the emergence of the major conservation movements in both countries occurred after the 1960s, some conservation activities were shared before this period. In Australia, scientific and bushwalking interests had been shaping a conservation movement which focused on the preservation of bushland and wilderness areas. The main participants in such activities were predominantly well-educated middle class people. In Japan, today's two major national organisations, the Nature Conservation Society of Japan and the Wild Bird Society of Japan, were established before 1960. Originally, the former aimed to preserve significant natural environments in National Parks, and the latter was mainly concerned with birds themselves as objects of interest. The wider public was not involved in either country, as these were generally specialist interests. In the 1960s, environmental awareness spread among the general public in both countries. In Australia, more people became to show their concern about the environment, especially the natural environment. On the other hand, in Japan, anti-pollution and development movements were predominant. Because of the direct threat to human lives, these protest movements were sometimes radical. Because of the association (whether true or not) with militant incidents

in social movements in general, the public tended to keep its distance from the environmental movement.

After the 1970s, as mentioned previously, significant improvements in environmental policies were made in both countries, partly due to the sense of crisis and pressure from the public. The emergence of various concerned activist groups, not only major organisations but also numerous small local groups, contributed to such policy developments. Since then, conservation NGOs have been growing both in number and scale in both countries. In Australia, through some highly controversial national conservation disputes like the Franklin dam, NGOs gained wider public support and acquired a certain social status, though by no means uncontroversial or uncontested. The role of the mass media in drawing attention to conflict over environmental issues was significant. In Japan, although there were several national disputes over nature conservation, the level of public concern was generally lower. In contrast with Australia, no intensive national media coverage was seen on such conservation controversies. However, coverage of international environmental issues was very good, especially of major events like the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. It may be that a major reason for the increase in membership of Japanese NGOs was not the result of specific conservation conflicts, but the growing general awareness of broader environmental problems.

3.3.3 The Characteristics of Conservation NGOs

There are several major differences between Australian and Japanese conservation NGOs. Firstly, Japanese groups are more fragmented than in Australia. Although local and special issue groups are prominent in both countries, Australian groups have often organised coalitions with others to deal with common issues from an early date. Examples include the Save Our Bushlands Action Committee in the Little Desert Dispute and the Fraser Island Defence Organisation. In Japan, on the other hand, it has been a dominant feature that many small groups acted independently. One example was seen in the Nagara River case in which 59 groups were involved. A coalition was formed only after a major defeat.

Secondly, Australian NGOs have shown a strong interest in politics. Many conservation disputes played a role in state and national politics.

In contrast, Japanese conservation NGOs rarely had connections with national politics. Only at the local government level did individual groups tackle the political system. Even though some issues gained national attention, conservation disputes never became contentious at the national political level. No national elections were influenced by conservation disputes.

Finally, compared with their contemporary Japanese counterparts, Australian NGOs tend to be more radical and confrontational. This tendency is especially marked in the major national organisations. In Australia, even the Australian Conservation Foundation, which originally had close links with the Federal Government and still cooperates with government authorities, can openly attack governments and opposition sectors when necessary. Non-violent direct action, such as blockades, are generally approved by many NGOs. By contrast in Japan, major national organisations prefer to avoid confrontation. This tendency apparently reflects the Japanese sentiment against radical activism. The public preference for non-confrontational behaviour is exemplified by the highly positive treatment of the National Trust movement by the mass media and governments. The Australian National Trust, on the other hand, has been operating as a quasi-establishment organisation, following the original British style. Generally, it is seen as conservative, and interest in the Trust's activities in the mass media has been far less than in other confrontational conservation campaigns.

3.3.4 Conclusion

Reviewing the history of conservation NGOs in Australia and Japan, major differences emerge. The major factors are cooperation with other conservation NGOs, distance from politics, and attitudes toward confrontational activities. One explanation may be the shorter history of Japanese NGOs in general, originating as they do only in the post-war period. Although the Wild Bird Society was created in 1934, its involvement in conservation activities started in earnest only after 1945. Further, severe social and economic circumstances before the mid-1970s caused desperate local resistance to the localised effects of polluting industrial development. National priorities were set by the major companies and the national bureaucracy acting in concert. Radical local reaction to specific crises probably reinforced the political failure of

conservation movements at the national level in the eyes of the media and public opinion. Learning from this, later Japanese conservation groups tried a less confrontational approach. General prosperity also meant that people could reassess environmental priorities in a new light.

The Australian situation is different. There is a much longer history of organised environmental concern than in Japan. In Australia, some conservation organisations dated from the late 1890s. Further, affluence emerged rapidly after postwar reconstruction, promoted by the Korean War boom. In fact, the long economic boom lasted two decades from the early 50s to the mid-seventies. Australian conservation NGOs steadily grew through the period of the rise of new global environmental movements. Their commitment to non-violence contributed greatly to their retention of public support. Non-violent direct action was successful in many important conservation controversies. The political system, while nominally similar to that of Japan, was and is far more responsive to pressure from below. In many respects, Macarthur's 'democratisation' of Japan was a cosmetic application of foreign institutional forms on the same bureaucratic-big business-political structure that existed pre-war. The Australian movement effectively connected some campaigns with state and national elections, something almost unknown in Japan. Today, direct political representation of 'Greens' is almost taken for granted in Australian politics, while the strength of the activist Green minority is sufficient for all parties to modify their policies to attract votes. Consequently, Australian conservation NGOs have achieved quasi-institutional status within the Australian political and bureaucratic system.

CHAPTER 4 INTERVIEWS WITH SELECTED NGOS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters focused on literature search and analysis. This chapter presents data from interviews that sought current direct information from selected NGOs, involving fieldwork in both Australia and Japan by the thesis author.

4.2 METHODOLOGY

4.2.1 Purposes of Interviews

The interviews aimed to further develop the comparisons between the two countries:

- (1) by gaining an insight into selected NGOs' operations;
- (2) by seeking insight into the reasons why NGOs in the two countries operate in the way they do;
- (3) by investigating the problems which obstruct their operations; and
- (4) by seeking NGO perceptions of nature and nature conservation.

4.2.2 Interview Schedule

The interview form is presented in Appendix 2 (p. 118). For Japanese organisations, a Japanese translation of the English form was prepared, as the questions were first developed in English. The interviews used mainly open-ended questions. Because of time constraints and limited resources, it was not feasible to perform quantitative analysis in association with a large number of interviews or questionnaires to establish patterns amongst NGOs in general. Because conservation NGOs tend to be run by relatively small numbers of overworked individuals, it was also feared the response rate from more impersonal approaches would be very low. In addition, in a study attempting to make comparisons, it was judged important to seek causal explanations for NGO characteristics, a strength of qualitative, intensive methods as

opposed to quantitative, extensive methods (Sayer & Morgan 1985). Thus, a more qualitative method based on in-depth interviews with representatives from small numbers of selected NGOs was regarded as most appropriate.

The interview was designed to take between 60 to 90 minutes and most fell within this period.

A wide range of questions was included in the interview to cover the topics relevant to the aims noted above. They were categorised in three sections to facilitate the flow of the interview. These categories were: (i) questions about the organisation and its current activities; (ii) the organisation's relationships with others; and (iii) the organisation's views on nature conservation. This sequence was intended to move the interviews through more practical and straightforward questions to more abstract and complex ones.

Prompts were used on occasions (see Appendix 2, p. 118). The use of prompts was dependent on the situation and time constraints. A main concern was to use them as sparingly as possible and only as a means of further explaining the intent of the question, if the interviewee did not understand. This was an attempt to lessen the chances of the interviewer influencing responses.

4.2.3 Sampling

Four levels of NGOs (international, federal/national, state/prefectural, and local) were selected for interviewing in each country in an effort to reduce variables and make comparisons between the two countries as comprehensible as possible. In the sampling procedure, geographical accessibility was the main constraint. In the case of state (or prefectural) and local levels, NGOs in Tasmania and in Kyoto were selected. As both these areas are highly active centres of NGO conservation effort, Tasmania/Kyoto can be regarded as forming the basis for useful comparisons. National level NGOs were chosen from those apparently most active in nature conservation issues in the respective countries. Friends of the Earth was selected as an international NGO which operated in both countries. Unfortunately, however, the planned interview with Friends of the Earth in Melbourne, Australia was not undertaken due to the lack of response from the organisation for interview requests. A

follow-up letter three months after the first still produced no result. Instead, data from the World Wide Fund For Nature Australia (WWF) was obtained. Its headquarters are in Sydney, which the author could not visit, and so the responses obtained are those the Chief Executive Officer of the organisation wrote on an interview form sent by mail.

The lists of organisations interviewed in Australia and Japan are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 respectively.

TABLE 4.1: Australian NGOs Interviewed

Organisational Type	Name of NGO - Place of Interview
International	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• World Wide Fund For Nature Australia (WWF)*
National	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) - Melbourne• The Wilderness Society (TWS) - Hobart
State	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tasmanian Conservation Trust (TCT) - Hobart• Tasmanian Environment Centre (TEC) - Hobart
Local	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Waterworks Valley Landcare Group (WVLG) - Hobart

* Questionnaire sent to the WWF in Sydney in lieu of interview.

TABLE 4.2: Japanese NGOs Interviewed

Organisational Type	Name of NGO - Place of Interview
International	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Friends of the Earth Japan (FoE, Chikyu no Tomo) - Tokyo
National	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Nature Conservation Society of Japan (NACS-J, Nihon Shizen Hogo Kyokai) - Tokyo• Wild Bird Society of Japan (WBSJ, Nihon Yacho no Kai) - Tokyo• The Association of National Trusts in Japan (ANTJ, Nihon Nashonaru Torasuto Kyokai) - Tokyo
Prefectural	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network (KWGC, Kyoto Mizu to Midori o Mamoru Renrakukai) - Kyoto• Citizens Environmental Foundation (CEF, Kankyo Shimin) -Kyoto
Local	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama (CGNCK, Kitayama no Shizen to Bunka o Mamorukai) -Kyoto

4.2.4 Interviewing

Introductory letters/faxes were sent to the selected organisations well in advance of the interview time and appointments were confirmed several days before the scheduled interview. To obtain reliable and comparable information, office-bearers of the organisations were asked to serve as interviewees. In the majority of cases, one person per organisation participated in the interview. Two persons from the Wild Bird Society of Japan and three from the Australian Conservation Foundation were interviewed. In the case of the World Wide Fund For Nature Australia, an introductory letter was sent with the interview form (with prompts included).

The interview form (without prompts) was sent in advance to those interviewees who responded to the invitation to preview it. These were all organisations except for the Tasmanian Conservation Trust, the Kyoto

Water & Greenery Conservation Network, and the Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama.

The interviews with Japanese organisations were undertaken on a visit by the author to Japan between 4 and 27 September 1995. Australian organisations were interviewed between 4 October and 1 November 1995. The World Wide Fund For Nature interview form was filled out on 8 January 1996. Most of the interviews took place at the offices of the organisations. In the cases of the Waterworks Valley Landcare Group, the Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network, and the Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama, which have no offices, the interviewee's home or public places were used.

Interviews with all organisations were tape-recorded, with the interviewee's permission. The intention was to allow the researcher to later pick up points she was uncertain of from the written record. The one exception was the Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network. A further tape (Citizens Environmental Foundation, Japan) went missing.

In general, Japanese was used in interviewing with Japanese organisations. One exception was the Friends of the Earth Japan representative, a native English speaker (who could also speak Japanese). The author conducted all interviews in Australia in English.

4.3 INTERVIEW RESULTS

4.3.1 Profiles of NGOs

4.3.1.1 Australia

Summary profiles of Australian NGOs interviewed are presented in Table 4.3. These represent answers to Question 1 in the interview form relating to foundation year, current membership, and membership change. All organisations, except the Waterworks Valley Landcare Group, were founded in the 1960s and 70s. The membership total basically represents the number of individuals paying membership fees. In the case of the Landcare Group, which has no member register, the figure represents the number of those attending meetings and/or events. No statistical data regarding gender, age, and occupation of members, as requested in the question, were available from most organisations. The

Australian Conservation Foundation provided data relating to 1992. In that year, women slightly outnumbered men and the age distribution peaked at 30-44 years (35% of the total membership). About 82% of the members were aged above 30. Although no clear figures were provided, most other organisations believed their memberships showed an approximately equal gender balance and relatively older (over 30 years) age distribution. The World Wide Fund For Nature membership was approximately 70% female, with 30-45 years the predominant group. The Tasmanian Conservation Trust and Waterworks Valley Landcare Group listed public servants and academics as predominant amongst their members. The World Wide Fund For Nature answered somewhat generally that those holding 'tertiary qualifications' were predominant in the membership.

TABLE 4.3: Profiles of Australian NGOs

Name of NGO	Foundation Year	Current Membership	Membership Change
WWF	1978	15,000	• Fluctuates with campaign/ issues.
ACF	1966	17,618	• Peaked in 1990/91.
TWS	1976	9,300	• Peaked during the Franklin campaign.
TCT	1968	500	• Fluctuates with campaign/ issues.
TEC	1972	250	• Stable since foundation.
WVLG	1993	25	• Increasing.

4.3.1.2 Japan

The summary of profiles of Japanese NGOs in this interview are presented in Table 4.4. Except for two major national organisations with a longer history, all NGOs examined were established after 1980. Individual membership of the Association of National Trusts in Japan (ANTJ) and Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network (KWGC) were not available because of their characteristics as liaison organisations. Only the Wild Bird Society of Japan (WBSJ) presented data on gender, age

and occupation. This showed a dominance of males (73%). The average age was 48 for male and 47 for female. About 91% of the Wild Bird Society members were aged over 30. No data was provided by the Association of National Trusts and Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network regarding membership details. The other organisations said that they had an approximately equal gender balance or slightly disproportionate male membership. Most of the organisations, with the exception of the Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama (CGNCK), replied that they had a broad range of age distribution centred in the 20s-40s. The Kitayama organisation indicated the dominance of middle aged people (40s-50s). Little information was available on occupational categories. In the Wild Bird Society's data for 1991, 24% of the membership were from the public service and the educational sector, and a further 40% were office workers in the private sector and *dantaishokuin* (statutory authority workers, not known as public servants in Japan). The Nature Conservation Society (NACS-J) suggested that relatively large proportions of public servants, educational professionals, and housewives were registered in its membership.

TABLE 4.4: Profiles of Japanese NGOs

Name of NGO	Foundation Year	Current Membership	Membership Change
FoE	1980	300	Stable since foundation.
NACS-J	1951	20,000	Increasing since foundation.
WBSJ	1934	48,700	Increasing since foundation.
ANTJ	1983	Approximately 40 groups	Stable since foundation.
KWGC	1989	Approximately 22 groups	Increasing since foundation.
CEF	1992	575	Increasing since foundation.
CGNCK	1992	204	Increasing since foundation.

4.3.2 Organisational Goals

The goals of each organisation are essential indicators of the character of these bodies, and are the subject of Question 2. The results are listed in Tables 4.5 and 4.6.

TABLE 4.5: Organisational Goals of Australian NGOs

Name of NGO	Organisational goals
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• To stop, and eventually reverse, the accelerating degradation of the natural environment.• To build a future in which humans live in harmony with nature.
ACF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Protection of biodiversity.• Managing natural resources.
TWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Promotion of the concept and rights of wilderness.• Prevention of wilderness destruction and securing its future.
TCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• To foster and assist in the conservation of flora, fauna, and important natural, archaeological and cultural features of Tasmania.
TEC	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• To promote and encourage education in the community for the appreciation, enhancement, and protection of the environment.
WVLG	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• To develop awareness of the Waterworks Valley.• To develop a management plan to encourage a sense of community and to work towards improving the environment.• To educate the community about natural assets in the local environment.

TABLE 4.6: Organisational Goals of Japanese NGOs

Name of NGO	Organisation's goals
FoE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preservation, restoration and sound use of environment.
NACS-J	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservation of biodiversity.
WBSJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To develop unified co-existence between humans and nature.
ANTJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership, management and accessibility to the public of the important elements of the natural and cultural environment.
KWGC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservation of the natural environment in Kyoto. • Conversion of the administration of Kyoto, seen as pro-development, to a pro-conservation position. • Attitudinal change among the public.
CEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of an ecologically conscious society. • Attitudinal change among the public.
CGNCK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To stop the reckless development of Kitayama.

4.3.3 Current Campaigns and the Types of Activities

4.3.3.1 Australia

A list of present campaigns and the types of activities in which Australian NGOs are involved are in Table 4.7, representing responses to Questions 3(a) and 4(a). The World Wide Fund For Nature listed species issues as most important. There are no specific priorities among the Australian Conservation Foundation's current campaigns. The Wilderness Society and the Tasmanian Conservation Trust placed their highest priorities on the issues of oldgrowth forests and urban planning respectively. Forest issues have been a major concern in Australian conservation movements. Corresponding to this fact, the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Wilderness Society and the Tasmanian Conservation Trust mentioned that campaigns over forest protection had been one of their key activities ever since their organisation's establishment. In response to Question 4(b) on the relative effectiveness of activities, the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society answered this varied for different issues and/or situations. The World

Wide Fund For Nature replied that advocacy and communication were particularly effective. The Tasmanian Conservation Trust specifically stressed the effectiveness of legal action against the Federal Government in some circumstances. The Waterworks Valley Landcare Group considered that all of their activities were effective.

4.3.3.2 Japan

The list of current campaigns and the activities of Japanese NGOs are shown in Table 4.8. There are no specific priorities amongst the Nature Conservation Society (NACS-J) and Association of National Trusts' (ANTJ) current campaigns. The Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network (KWGC) and the Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama (CGNCK) gave higher priority to campaigns relating to a particular forest road and a forest area respectively. Three organisations, the Nature Conservation Society, the Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network, and the Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama said that field survey/research and the publication of the results was most effective. The Association of National Trusts and Friends of the Earth answered that lobbying, especially meeting with decision makers, was important. The Wild Bird Society (WBSJ) did not see any specific activity as particularly effective for their current campaigns. However, in the past, in their campaign against mist net hunting, they were successful by means of a petition to the National Government. The Citizens Environmental Foundation (CEF) said that they spread their energies widely, promoting various activities connected to various environmental issues to appeal to all sorts of people. In particular, the Foundation mentioned the importance of people's direct involvement and action.

**TABLE 4.7: Current Campaigns and Types of Activities of
Australian NGOs**

Name of NGO	Current Campaigns	Types of Activities
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Species protection. • Wetlands conservation. • Marine issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research. • Advocacy. • Communication. • Education.
ACF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest conservation. • Codes of conduct for mining industry. • Genetic engineering. • Community environmental monitoring. • Sustainable use of water and agricultural land. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy research. • Production of educational material. • Lobbying. • Media campaigns. • Workshops. • Networking with other NGOs.
TWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection of old growth forests in wilderness areas from logging. • Prevention of the road through Tarkine Wilderness in North West Tasmania. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public education and information through the press, displays, leaflets. • Political lobbying. • Protest action. • Mobilization of the public with methods, such as media campaigns and rally organisation.
TCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban planning (appropriate planning & development). • Forest conservation. • Marine fish farms. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media campaigns. • Lobbying. • Assist research programs. • Legal action. • Public education.
TEC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No particular campaigns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education.
WVLG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of a management plan for the valley. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with the Hobart City Council to develop a wildlife corridor. • Education. • Working in the environment through group activities (e.g. weeding, planting trees).

TABLE 4.8: Current Campaigns and Types of Activities of Japanese NGOs

Name of NGO	Current Campaigns	Types of Activities
FoE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wetland protection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting decision makers, the media. • Petitions, open letters. • Publications (e.g. newsletters).
NACS-J	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nature protection of Yanbaru area in Okinawa. • Conservation of river ecosystems. • Conservation of wildlife habitat. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scientific research/study, and publication of the results. • Lobbying, based on research. • Education (e.g. publications, seminars).
WBSJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection of wetlands and birds. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education through publications. • Lobbying. • Scientific research. • Purchase of wetlands. • Holding of events (e.g. photo exhibitions and bird watching).
ANTJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of National Trust movement. • Tax exemption measures for National Trust movement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education (e.g. publications) • Lobbying.
KWGC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protests against the Tanba forest road. • Protests against the construction of highways which destroy scenery. • Protests against Mt. Ichijyo development plans. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lobbying. • Petitions. • Media campaign. • Field surveys. • Education (e.g. newsletters, workshops). • Legal action.
CEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No particular campaigns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holding events (e.g. lecture meetings, ecotours). • Support of other NGOs. • Proposal of cooperation with private corporations and/or local government.
CGNCK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservation of the Kitayama Sennen no Mori (thousand-year old forest). • Protection of scenery at Kitayama Pass. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field research/surveys. • Media campaigns through newspapers. • Petitions.

4.3.4 Obstacles

4.3.4.1 Australia

Table 4.9 lists the obstacles to achieving the aims of the Australian NGOs, the subject of Question 5. Every organisation, except the Waterworks Valley Landcare Group, mentioned the lack of resources as an obstacle. The World Wide Fund For Nature, the Australian Conservation Foundation, and the Tasmanian Environment Centre said finance was a major problem. Community and political attitudes were also regarded as one of the significant obstacles by many organisations. Opposition from other sectors, in particular, the forestry industries, was listed by the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society, who were active in forest conservation.

TABLE 4.9: Obstacles Facing Australian NGOs

Name of NGO	Obstacles
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Finance.• Capricious media and politicians.• Public lethargy.
ACF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lack of resources.• Lack of community awareness and understanding of issues.• Opposition from other sectors.• Institutional framework.
TWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Liberal and Labor parties.• Cosy relationship between unions and big business.• Ability of the logging industry to spend large amounts of money on public relations.• Public ignorance (people are not well informed).• Focus on employment in some sectors of the community.• Finance.
TCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ignorance and the lack of awareness among politicians and the media in Tasmania.• Lack of resources.• Conservatism of government bureaucracies.
TEC	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lack of funding.
WVLG	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lack of commitment by the community.

4.3.4.2 Japan

Table 4.10 lists the impediments faced by Japanese NGOs. Every organisation, except the Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network (KWGC), pointed to the lack of resources as a major obstacle. The shortage of staff, which was also listed by most organisations, relates to this financial problem. As noted by the Friends of the Earth, high costs in Japan such as staff wages and offices rental, are apparently exacerbating their financial difficulties. Aspects of the legal system, including the lack of tax concessions, was also one of the major concerns of some organisations. Although the Friends of the Earth did not mention the legal system directly, one of their obstacles, 'low status of citizens groups in Japan', does involve this matter. The Citizens Environmental Foundation (CEF) believed that a lack of community awareness and participation was a crucial issue, given that this is an area of weakness in the Japanese environment movement. The Friends of the Earth and the Wild Bird Society (WBSJ) raised this matter by mentioning the difficulties in gaining members. The lack of members' awareness was specifically mentioned by the Wild Bird Society. The Society also said that its concept of nature conservation had not yet been absorbed by the membership. The Society still has an image of being a bird watching club.

TABLE 4.10: Obstacles Facing Japanese NGOs

Name of NGO	Obstacles
FoE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of resources. • Small membership. • Low status of citizens groups in Japan. • Low media coverage. • High prices in Japan.
NACS-J	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of resources. • Lack of staff.
WBSJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal system (e.g. old laws and the absence of EIA legislation). • Lack of resources. • Poor lobbying techniques (lack of staff in this area). • Insufficient membership. • Lack of awareness among members.
ANTJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty of fund-raising. • Lack of resources. • Lack of community awareness. • Lack of sufficient tax reduction measures.
KWGC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of volunteers. • Relative inactivity of the organisation.
CEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low sense of participation of citizens (immature Japanese democracy). • Lack of resources. • Lack of preferential legislation for NGOs.
CGNCK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of manpower. • Lack of resources.

4.3.5 NGOs' Views on General Community Attitudes Toward Nature Conservation and the Organisation

4.3.5.1 Australia

In response to Question 6, all organisations replied that the general community was very concerned with nature conservation and in favour of conserving nature. The Australian Conservation Foundation, the Wilderness Society, and the Tasmanian Environment Centre mentioned that there has been a great improvement in people's awareness.

However, the Environment Centre believed that concern over conservation issues was not as predominant as it was in the 1980s. The Australian Conservation Foundation replied that it peaked in 1989-90 and was then slowed by the economic recession. In addition, although all organisations recognised awareness was high, the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Tasmanian Conservation Trust thought that people were reluctant to act when it cost them something. The Tasmanian Environment Centre said that the majority in the community was concerned about nature conservation, but felt powerless to do much about it. Regarding possible age group differences in the intensity of awareness, the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Tasmanian Conservation Trust, and the Tasmanian Environment Centre replied that younger people were most concerned. Elderly people were also listed as highly concerned by the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Tasmanian Conservation Trust. The World Wide Fund For Nature, however, pointed to the conservative tendencies of people over 30 years of age, and the fact that women expressed more environmental concerns than men.

As regards the general public's attitudes toward the organisation itself, all answered that people were positive and supportive. However, most of them, except the Wilderness Society and the World Wide Fund For Nature, said they were not well known in the mainstream community. The Australian Conservation Foundation was concerned in spite of their high media profile. Many people, they say, see the Foundation as a government department. The Wilderness Society, on the other hand, believed it was very well known and had high credibility with in the community. The World Wide Fund For Nature thought that it was seen as a conservative and science based organisation that was mainly active outside Australia.

4.3.5.2 Japan

All organisations answered that people are increasingly concerned with nature conservation and supported it in general. Nevertheless, they expressed frustration regarding people's ignorance or reluctance to act. Most interviewees expressed this kind of view. The Friends of the Earth specifically commented that apparent environmental concern was not translated into political power, public donations, and conservation activities. On the age-groups question, the Wild Bird Society (WBSJ), the Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network (KWGC), and the

Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama (CGNCK) pointed to a lack of commitment by the younger generation. Other organisations did not have particular comments on this question.

As with the Australians, most Japanese organisations admitted that they were not well known by the general public, but that when they were aware, people were positive about them. The Wild Bird Society, on the other hand, is relatively well known, but had other problems. They repeated that the Society was often seen as a hobby club, namely, a bird watching society. In Japan, bird watchers were sometimes seen as obsessive and negative, though this is changing. The interviewee suspected this might be a reason for poor recruitment among the young.

4.3.6 NGOs' Views About the Mass Media

4.3.6.1 Australia

Table 4.11 lists each organisation's views on the mass media's treatment of nature conservation issues in general and of the organisation itself, representing answers to Question 7. Many organisations said the treatment of nature conservation was superficial and sensational. The electronic media was generally evaluated more highly than the print media.

4.3.6.2 Japan

Table 4.12 shows Japanese NGOs' views on the treatment of nature conservation and themselves in the mass media. In contrast to Australia, sensationalism was not mentioned. Rather, the Friends of the Earth and the Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network said that the Japanese mass media tended to avoid controversies. Many organisations said the current coverage of conservation issues was lower compared with the past.

TABLE 4.11: NGOs' Views About the Mass Media in Australia

Name of NGO	Treatment of Nature Conservation	Treatment of the Organisation
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally very good, but tendency to trivialise some issues. • Concentration on high profile and volatile issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In most cases, very good.
ACF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Superficial. • Issue based (likes conflicts) • Almost daily coverage. • Radio is the best. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fairly good, but needs more depth.
TWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very superficial. • Partly covers the politics of the issues, not the issues themselves. • The electronic media is better than the print media (especially in Tasmania). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reasonably fair.
TCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Superficial. • Low frequency. • The Tasmanian print media is antagonistic to environmental groups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good on the national level, but not so good in Tasmania.
TEC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fair coverage. • Quite accurate most of the time. • Tend to be sensational. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not given coverage by the media.
WVLG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sensational. • Local issues are not highlighted (more on the big issues like Greenhouse). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not given coverage by the media.

**TABLE 4.12: NGOs' Views on the Mass Media Treatment of Their Interests
in Japan**

Name of NGO	Treatment of Nature Conservation	Treatment of the Organisation
FoE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tend to avoid controversy. • Fluctuates (high in 1992). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good, compared to other groups, but the name is often not mentioned.
NACS-J	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong coverage around the Earth Summit in 1992, but declined afterwards. • Good coverage at local levels where particular campaigns exist. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperative.
WBSJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good in general. • Less coverage than global issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good in general.
ANTJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Smaller coverage than in the 1960s and 70s. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very supportive.
KWGC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Superficial. • Hesitates to criticize government and big businesses. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fair
CEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No message to the general public to act. • Superficial. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good.
CGNCK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tend to highlight beautiful or unusual things. • Issue based. • TV is superficial; newspapers vary depending on the writers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pretty good.

4.3.7 NGOs' Views on Government Attitudes Toward Nature Conservation

4.3.7.1 Australia

A summary of Australian NGOs' opinions of government attitudes is shown in Table 4.13. These are responses to Question 8. Comments on State and local levels by the Tasmanian Conservation Trust, the Tasmanian Environment Centre, and the Waterworks Valley Landcare Group were specific to the Tasmanian situation. The Federal

Government was often rated as more responsible than other levels. The World Wide Fund For Nature, however, regarded the Commonwealth Department of Primary Industry and Energy and the Department of Natural Resources as abysmal. Views about other levels seemed varied. The Wilderness Society, the Tasmanian Conservation Trust, and the Waterworks Valley Landcare Group strongly criticised the attitudes of the Tasmanian government as highly pro-industry at the cost of conservation.

TABLE 4.13: NGO's Views on Government Attitudes Toward Nature Conservation in Australia

Name of NGO	Federal Government	State Government	Local Government
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Varies among the departments (very good to abysmal). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Varies from state to state (average to hostile). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intended. Focused on local issues.
ACF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internal conflicts. Depends on the Environment Minister of the day. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Varies from State to State. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generally lower amongst priorities.
TWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Better than other levels. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exploitative attitude for short term gain. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Diverse.
TCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lots of talk, but not much action. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Antagonistic towards the environment and environmental groups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Diverse.
TEC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Making an effort, to some extent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Making an effort, to some extent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Same as the State level.
WVLG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More responsible than the State level. Susceptible to a strong industry voice. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No sense of responsibilities. Controlled by industries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Controlled by local businesses.

4.3.7.2 Japan

A summary of Japanese NGOs' opinions of government attitudes is in Table 4.14. At the national level, most organisations first listed the powerlessness of the Environment Agency, as discussed in earlier chapters. Comments on the prefectural and local levels by the Kyoto

Water & Greenery Conservation Network (KWGC), the Citizens Environmental Foundation (CEF), and the Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama (CGNCK) related specifically to the situation in Kyoto. Attitudes at the local Government level were often rated highly.

TABLE 4.14: NGO's Views on Government Attitudes Toward Nature Conservation in Japan

Name of NGO	National Government	Prefectural Government	Local Government
FoE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All talk no action. • Avoids policies which have economic impacts. • Tends to respond only after international pressure. 	No comment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best.
NACS-J	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Environment Agency is weak. • Need to hear voices from various sectors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diverse. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diverse.
WBSJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Environment Agency is weak. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diverse. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Showing greatest potential.
ANTJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better than in the 1960s. 	No comment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important because it supports grass roots activities.
KWGC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Environment Agency is weak. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disregards public opinion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deficient - no division specifically for conservation.
CEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Environment Agency is weak. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not responsible. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Becoming concerned.
CGNCK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Environment Agency is weak. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pro-industry. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pro-industry

4.3.8 Financial and Other Support from Governments

4.3.8.1 Australia

Table 4.15 gives a summary of government support to the Australian NGOs (Question 9). Every organisation receives most governmental financial support from the Federal Government. Under a Federal Government scheme called Grants to Voluntary Conservation Organisations, most organisations are granted financial assistance for administrative and overhead expenses. The Waterworks Valley Landcare Group received a small seeding grant under the National Landcare Program.

TABLE 4.15: Governmental Support for Australian NGOs

Name of NGO	Federal Government	State Government	Local Government
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Administrative grants (2% of the total budget)• Project grants	No	No
ACF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Administrative grants (5-10% of revenue)• Project grants	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Project grants	No
TWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Administrative grants (\$ 50-60,000/year)• Job start scheme (subsidy for employment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Project grants (occasional)	No
TCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Administrative grants (\$ 35,000: 50% of revenue)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Project grants	No
TEC	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Administrative grants	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Project grants	No
WVLG	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Seeding grant (\$ 200)	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Providing materials (e.g. plant seedlings, tools.).

4.3.8.2 Japan

Table 4.16 summarises government support to Japanese NGOs. Only the national government provides some financial support, and only for specific projects. These grants are distributed through the Japan Fund for

Global Environment, established in 1993. Grants from the Fund cannot be considered solely as government grants, because half the endowment comes from the private sector. However, since interest earnings from the endowment are small and the capital cannot be spent, the grant program in reality is run by the Government.

TABLE 4.16: Governmental Support for Japanese NGOs

Name of NGO	National Government	Prefectural Government	Local Government
FoE	• Project grants	No	No
NACS-J	• Project grants	No	No
WBSJ	• Project grants	No	No
ANTJ	• Project grants	No	No
KWGC	No	No	No
CEF	• Project grants	No	No
CGNCK	No	No	No

4.3.9 Cooperation with Others

4.3.9.1 Australia

All organisations except the Waterworks Valley Landcare Group mentioned that they closely cooperated with other conservation and/or community groups in various ways (Question 10). For example, the Australian Conservation Foundation listed alliances with other NGOs, such as the Wilderness Society, for the 1996 Federal election. The World Wide Fund For Nature noted that it had formal linkages with the Trade Records Analysis of Flora and Fauna in Commerce (TRAFFIC) and the Royal Australian Ornithological Union as well as formal alliances with various NGOs such as the Threatened Species Network.

The Australian Conservation Foundation, the Wilderness Society, and the Tasmanian Conservation Trust replied that they sometimes cooperate in decision-making processes with government. The Tasmanian Environment Centre and the Waterworks Valley Landcare Group relate to the Federal Government via the National Landcare Program. The

World Wide Fund For Nature has formal project contracts with governments.

Besides government and conservation groups, the Australian Conservation Foundation cooperates with other sectors such as trade unions and the National Farmers Federation.

4.3.9.2 Japan

As in the Australian case, all organisations said relationships with other NGOs were close. The Nature Conservation Society (NACS-J) replied that most of its campaigns were joint projects with other groups.

Cooperation with government was not common. The Wild Bird Society (WBSJ) and the Association of National Trusts (ANTJ) replied that they had the opportunity to make contributions to decision-making processes but only in small ways. Some organisations like the Wild Bird Society are contracted to undertake projects with the Environment Agency.

The Nature Conservation Society, the Wild Bird Society, and the Association of National Trusts mentioned occasional cooperation with business.

4.3.10 NGO Views on Nature Conservation

4.3.10.1 Australia

Table 4.17 lists the main points Australian NGOs made when asked, in Questions 11 and 12, to state how they defined nature conservation, and why they thought it was important.

TABLE 4.17: Australian NGOs' Views on Nature Conservation

Name of NGO	Reasons for the Importance of Nature Conservation	Definition of Nature Conservation
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For human survival. • Because it would be pointless and profligate to obliterate eons of evolution. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The maintenance of representative, comprehensive, adequate and viable natural systems.
ACF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecological sustainability is essential to the survival of the planet. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection of biodiversity.
TWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For the full variety of species to live and evolve in a natural way. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No definition, as it is broader than TWS's goals.
TCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For present and future generations. • For the rights of fauna and flora. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure land, water and other resources of the Earth are used with wisdom and foresight.
TEC	No comment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No specific definition (up to the users of TEC).
WVL G	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For our survival as a species. • For our identity as a community in the biosphere. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring for our local environment and natural resources.

4.3.10.2 Japan

Japanese NGOs' views, in response to the same questions, are listed in Table 4.18.

TABLE 4.18: Japanese NGOs' Views on Nature Conservation

Name of NGO	Reasons for the Importance of Nature Conservation	Definition of Nature Conservation
FoE	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• For survival and quality of all forms of life.• For human comfort.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Identification, protection, and management of natural areas.
NACS-J	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• For human survival.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Understanding of, and respect for, nature.• Preservation of vulnerable natural areas and the wise use of other areas when necessary.
WBSJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• For human survival and well-being.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Realisation of the unified co-existence between humanity and the natural world.
ANTJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Nature is the basis of citizens' lives.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Creation of beautiful and diverse landscapes.
KWGC	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• For survival and quality of humans and their culture.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Conservation of the environment to ensure the existence of all forms of life in their natural state.
CEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• For survival and well-being of all forms of life.• For future generations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Creation of a civilisation with no friction with nature.
CGNCK	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• For human survival, diverse nature is essential.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Assisting nature to be self-sustaining.

4.3.11 The Best Ways to Improve Nature Conservation in Each Country

4.3.11.1 Australia

Table 4.19 gives a summary of NGO opinions on the best ways to improve nature conservation in Australia, in response to Question 13. Many organisations replied in terms of legislation. The Wilderness Society and the Waterworks Valley Landcare Group stressed the necessity of better laws, which should be backed by appropriate penalties. The Australian Conservation Foundation, on the other hand, said that laws without community awareness were not good because they would tend to be

ignored. The World Wide Fund For Nature placed the highest priority on greater community recognition.

TABLE 4.19: NGOs' Views on the Best Ways to Improve Nature Conservation in Australia

Name of NGO	The best ways to improve nature conservation in Australia
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• High community recognition.• Sustainable use of natural systems.• Protection of biodiversity.
ACF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Greater community understanding of natural heritage.• Balance between community awareness and structures.• Both grass roots and top down efforts.
TWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• More Federal Government power to deal with conservation issues.• Law reform.
TCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Better laws.• Greater community involvement in decision-making processes.• More resources for conservation groups.• Proper system of conservation reserves.
TEC	No comment
WVLG	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Better laws.• Promotion of Landcare initiatives.

4.3.11.2 Japan

The results from Japan are listed in Table 4.20. Most of the interviewees expressed their views in terms of community awareness/attitudes. The Friends of the Earth answered that the most important thing was to open up the decision-making system to the public.

TABLE 4.20: NGOs' Views on the Best Ways to Improve Nature Conservation in Japan

Name of NGO	The best ways to improve nature conservation in Japan
FoE	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Opening up of the decision-making system to involve the public.• Education of people to place more value on nature.
NACS-J	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Clear understanding of the state of the natural environment.
WBSJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Changes in people's values/attitudes.
ANTJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• More voluntary participation from the public.
KWGC	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Community involvement.• Strict controls over unnecessary developments.• Lifestyle change.• Carefully planned reserve system.
CEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Involvement of more people who are strongly concerned with conservation issues and act for them.• More people who can express their opinions to the society.
CGNCK	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Changes in people's values/attitudes.• Better laws.

4.3.12 Effectiveness of the Organisation and Plans for Future Campaigns

4.3.12.1 Australia

In response to Question 14, 'do you regard your organisation as effective in nature conservation?', most organisations believed they have contributed to Australian nature conservation very effectively. Only the Waterworks Valley Landcare Group replied that, given its short history, the group had not had significant results yet. As regards future campaigns, in Question 15, the continuation of current campaigns was the general trend. The Wilderness Society additionally noted it would establish new campaigns for the proper management of World Heritage Areas and the rehabilitation of wilderness areas. The World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF) stressed forestry, fisheries, and wetlands, in a context of Green accounting and macroeconomics. Geographically the bias is towards the South Pacific.

4.3.12.2 Japan

Generally, Japanese NGOs rated themselves as effective to some degree. However, compared with responses from Australian organisations, most seemed dissatisfied with their achievements. The Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama (CGNCK) was an exception, being pleased with their campaign successes. All organisations answered that they would continue their current campaigns. In addition, the Nature Conservation Society (NACS-J) had campaign plans for the conservation of 'intermediate nature' (which can be categorised as between a wilderness area and familiar nearby natural environment). The Association of National Trusts (ANTJ) advocated the establishment of National Trust legislation.

4.4 ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

4.4.1 Profile

Organisations examined in this study were only a fraction of the total number of relevant bodies in both countries. Nevertheless, some interesting differences emerged which may be more generally true, and which suggest areas for further research.

The membership size is a key factor which indicates the magnitude of public support for the organisation. A large membership strengthens the legitimacy of organisations that claim to speak in the public interest (Dalton 1994). The combined figures of two national organisations, the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society in Australia, and the Nature Conservation Society (NACS-J) and the Wild Bird Society (WBSJ) in Japan, total 27,000 (0.15% of the total population) and 69,000 (0.06% of the total population) respectively. Considering the difference between two countries, Japan having about seven times Australia's population, the relative membership of Japanese organisations appears rather small. This trend is also apparent from the membership figures of international organisations. In addition to the Australian World Wide Fund For Nature's membership noted in this study (15,000), some other data is available from published reports. For example, the Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace recently had 5000 and 89,000 Australian members respectively (Australian Consumers' Association 1994). In contrast, Friends of the Earth Japan has only 300 members. The supporters of the World Wide Fund For Nature Japan, which is the most popular international conservation body in Japan, was

reported as 23,400 (Shizenhogo Nenkan Kankokai 1992). On the other hand, most Japanese organisations report that their memberships are currently increasing. This contrasts with the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society whose membership has fallen somewhat from a peak in the recent past. As far as membership numbers are concerned, the Japanese conservation movement could be said to be immature, but growing.

Regarding gender balance, male dominance was observed in the Wild Bird Society of Japan. Probably this is a reflection of male preference for bird watching in Japan. In Australia, on the other hand, female membership was dominant in the case of the World Wide Fund For Nature. Since no data was available on the Japanese WWF, reasons for this trend cannot be analysed in this study.

4.4.2 Organisational Activities (Including Current Campaigns and Cooperation with Others)

Currently, a variety of conservation campaigns are under way in both countries. In Australia, forest protection has been one of the major conservation issues. Woodchipping from Australian native forests for export to Japanese paper manufacturers, for example, has led to several national disputes. Sustainable use and management of natural resources, particularly by the mining, forestry, and agricultural industries, is a crucial issue for both the Australian economy, with its large dependence on the export of raw materials, and for nature conservation. In Japan, wetland conservation, such as rivers, lakes, and coastal marsh areas, has been a key issue. The term 'wetland' gained national attention through the Ramsar Convention meeting in 1993 held in the northern city of Kushiro. However, long before that, many concerned people had been working for the conservation of local environments. Since human activities have been heavily connected with river and coastal areas, few natural areas survive in Japan. Another set of issues is conservation of forests, with two groups in Kyoto, the Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network and the Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama, protesting over forestry road construction in highly valued areas. For example, Japan's first World Heritage Area, Shirakami Sanchi (Shirakami Mountain Country) was designated as a result of dedicated efforts by local groups who protested against construction of a forestry road which would destroy precious beech forests.

The interviews showed significant differences in activity profiles between the two countries. In Japan, the scientific research/field survey is regarded as an important organisational activity. Interviewees often stressed the effectiveness of providing scientific evidence to promote their campaigns. Some believed that data generated by the government was not reliable. In contrast, Australian organisations in this survey, apart from the World Wide Fund For Nature, rarely conduct scientific research by themselves. They use information from other scientific organisations or government bodies. Such attitudes enable NGOs like the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society to concentrate on a wide range of tactics, including policy research, lobbying, public education, and media campaigns. Japanese organisations do likewise, but the demands of scientific research inevitably reduces the intensity of such activities.

Another marked difference was the reaction to direct action. Although only the Wilderness Society conducts protests by direct action as a primary tactic, Australian organisations in general have positive views about such activities. Beder (1991) analysed the favourable attitudes to non-violent civil disobedience by Australian environmental groups. She claimed that although such protest action was a strategy which generally demonstrates a lack of faith in the society's decision-making structures and/or a lack of access to formal communication channels with decision-makers, it fostered a sense of urgency and crisis creating a demand for change. Among Japanese groups, on the other hand, direct action was seen as rather 'too radical' and 'emotional'. This perception was significant among major national organisations. Only the Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama said that they were ready to engage in direct action if necessary. The Friends of the Earth commented that they used to operate direct protests but not in recent times, because they had found them ineffective in Japan. As far as nature conservation is concerned, radicalism seems not to be favoured in the Japanese context. Other types of direct action such as Landcare-type activities on the kind seen in Australia are more effective or acceptable in raising public awareness. New types of organisation which aim at the creation of an environmentally conscious society with a broader scope, as categorised in section 3.2.4, such as the Citizens Environmental Foundation, have the potential to generate wider public support through the various awareness raising events they stage.

Cooperation with other NGOs is an important factor. Both in Australia and Japan, the organisations examined networked well with other NGOs. One weakness of the Japanese conservation movement, however, is the lack of major national organisations which focus on policies and have strong lobbying skills in national politics. The last few Federal elections in Australia illustrate that the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society are regarded as key players at this level, as noted in Chapter 3 (3.1.6).

4.4.3 Obstacles

The analysis of obstacles facing conservation NGOs helps to highlight particular features of the social situation in which those organisations are operating. As shown in the results, financial difficulties were common internal problems in both countries. However, for several reasons, the current Japanese situation is much more severe than in Australia. Firstly, there is no government support which corresponds to the administrative grants given in Australia. Secondly, the lingering recession has reduced the organisations' income from donations, especially from big businesses, while prices remain high. For example, the Nature Conservation Society's 1995 revenue decreased by more than 15% compared with the previous fiscal year (Kyodo News Service 1995) and received a lower return on its own capital funds due to the extremely low interest rate. Finally, in terms of Japanese tax concessions, there are many limits and qualifications to the status of non-profit organisations. Compared with the \$2 minimum for the tax-deductible donations in Australia, in Japan the minimum for tax deductibility is 10,000 Yen (about \$130 Australian).

As for external constraints, many Australian organisations pointed to opposition from other sectors, such as the forest industries. In contrast, none of the Japanese interviewees mentioned this factor. This might be a reflection of the Japanese situation where public works administered by governments have been the major cause of conservation disputes. However, again, governments or politicians were not mentioned as obstacles. Probably, this suggests the NGOs' unwillingness to confront other sectors, including government.

Public awareness was listed as an obstacle in both countries. In Australia, lack of understanding about the issues was often stressed. Japanese organisations, on the other hand, were more concerned with the lack of supporters/participants. It is impossible to scale public awareness, as appropriate surveys have not been done. Nevertheless, as discussed in section 4.4.4, Australian groups were more satisfied with the degree of public awareness than their Japanese counterparts.

4.4.4 Attitudes Toward Nature Conservation

4.4.4.1 The General Community and the Mass Media

The interview data suggests strongly that Australian NGOs were more confident than Japanese NGOs about high community awareness of nature conservation. In Australia, the word 'very concerned' was almost always the first reply to the question on public awareness. Interviewees in Japan, in contrast, described this awareness as 'increasing' or 'better than the past'. Further, the lack of commitment by the younger generation, as noted by some interviewees, casts doubt on the long term future of the Japanese conservation movement.

The influence of the mass media is a primary factor in promoting public awareness. Without the mass media, it is difficult to gain wider public interest in an issue. Japanese and Australian media are quite different in terms of sensationalism, and this affects the conservation movements in each country. In Australian conservation controversies, the often sensational media coverage has, at the very least, contributed to the public's awareness of the major issues. It could be said that the use of direct action has fitted in well with this media approach. The Japanese mass media's tendency to avoid controversies (mentioned by the informants), has apparently had an influence on the types of tactics used by conservationists. For instance, National Trust movements gathered high media attention partly because of their attitudes of non-confrontation toward developers and the authorities. Even in a potentially highly controversial matter such as the Nagara River question, the tone and frequency of media coverage was rather subdued, especially at the national level.

4.4.4.2 Government

Due to differing national structures, Australian and Japanese NGOs have had different relationships with and expectations of their governments.

In Australia, where State Governments have significant autonomy and powers, such as in land use and resource matters, political conflicts over conservation issues between the Federal and State governments have been commonplace. This political gap has been an influential factor in many conservation controversies. Especially in Tasmania, exemplified by the Franklin River hydroelectric power issue and the current woodchipping dispute, conservation groups have been trying to take advantage of Federal power in their campaigns. The results of the interviews, in which the current Federal Government was rated more favourably than the States, reflects this. Financial support from the Federal Government probably is another reason for its higher credibility.

Compared with the States in Australia, Japanese local authorities (prefectural governments) have less power. Although there are some exceptions, they tend to follow national Government decisions. Some people actually consider prefectural government as local branches of national government. In these interviews, very few comments were made about prefectural government, probably because respondents regarded it as largely irrelevant. At the national level, most interviewees thought the Environment Agency should have more power. In general, they appeared to have lower expectations of national government than their Australian counterparts. Thus far, nature conservation has not been a major agenda item in national politics. There has been no 'green vote' as such in national elections. Only at the local level have conservation issues been able to stir political debates. In Japan, grass roots activities have been the main element in conservation issues. Accordingly, local government was rated highly in the interviews generally.

4.4.5 Philosophies of Nature Conservation

Australian organisations tended more often to place weight on the rights to existence of life forms in general, not humans only. When asked to define nature conservation, they tended to be practical and specific with an emphasis on management. In contrast, the Japanese organisations, except for the Friends of the Earth and the Citizens Environmental Foundation (CEF), stressed the survival of human life, in the context of its dependence on nature. The definitions of nature conservation by Japanese organisations tended to be ideological, stressing respect for and co-existence with nature.

Though these findings are from a small number of NGOs, they suggest a dynamic mixture of traditional attitudes to nature and contemporary conservation beliefs. In Australia, before the emergence of modern conservation movements, the exploitative human vs nature dichotomy and 'wise-use' concept dominated peoples' attitudes toward nature. For modern conservationists, especially when wilderness issues arise, the ecocentric concept of nature is perhaps their key rationale. The right of existence of other species was repeatedly advocated in various campaigns. It could be said that, at least among conservationists, the ecocentric idea of nature conservation has taken root. Nonetheless, simultaneously the traditional dichotomous ideas remain influential, causing nature to be regarded as an object to be wisely managed by human beings in their species' interest.

In Japan, on the other hand, the concept of 'humans as part of nature' is a conventional precept. Before modernisation, any natural entity could serve as an object of worship. People were in awe of a nature which could bring disasters, but at the same time felt that they were protected by nature. Further, the Buddhist ideology of mutual interdependence advocated harmonious relationships with nature. These traditional ideologies no longer have a strong influence in Japanese society. However, faced with the degradation of natural environments, concerned people have been attempting to revivify the traditional relationships with nature. The definitions of nature conservation mentioned by many Japanese organisations reflect this. The grounds for the Japanese tendency to invoke utilitarian human interest as the only reason to conserve nature are difficult to understand, but the intense concentration on 'modernisation' since the 1860s, directed from the top in an atmosphere of perceived vulnerability and urgency, may explain this mentality. Japan industrialised late, with few natural resources, in an intensely competitive world. A more subtle reason may be residual animism: nature traditionally protects humanity, so for humans to speak for the rest of the natural world seems arrogant.

4.4.6 Improving Conservation

Conservation NGOs' opinions on the question, 'What would be the best ways to improve nature conservation in your country?', generated useful information relating to nature conservation in each country. In

Australia, the institutional framework (including legislation) was one of the main concerns. As mentioned previously, most organisations recognised that community awareness was fairly high. Probably, therefore, they are able to direct organisational attention more intensely to the institutional framework. One interviewee commented that further community awareness would come by implementing better legislation. On the other hand, Japanese NGOs placed more stress on the priority for attitudinal change. Some interviewees mentioned that although better laws were necessary, without strong public demand such change would not occur. No specific ideas to induce such attitude changes were suggested. The remarkably closed Japanese decision-making process, both in politics and administration, is probably another reason why NGOs have low expectations of institutional change.

The question of which comes first, public awareness or institutional structure, is difficult to answer. Nevertheless, it could be said that the widespread community environmental awareness helps Australian NGOs to aim at changing institutional structures.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE INTERVIEWS

In both countries NGOs have been playing important roles in nature conservation. These interviews covered only some of the relevant organisations, yet posit some distinguishing features in the two countries. Generally speaking, the Australian conservation movement appears to be more mature compared with the Japanese movement. With stronger community support, Australian conservation NGOs have established a definite social status and become one of the influential lobbying powers in society. Japanese NGOs, on the other hand, have not yet gained similar social status and political influence. Australian NGOs expressed more confidence about their effectiveness than their Japanese counterparts.

There is no doubt that one primary factor underlying this difference is the higher degree of nature conservation awareness among the Australian public, and this awareness has been at least partially generated by the various conservation campaigns staged by NGOs. The mass media, which prefers sensationalism, has been another key player in provoking public concern, though this sensationalism has been, at times, an obstacle to full discussion of the issues, as well as coverage of the less

controversial conservation matters. Political gaps between Federal and State Governments have also contributed to the exposure for conservation issues. State issues have often ballooned into national debates. The situation in Japan is very different, as nature conservation still tends to be handled as a local matter. Given the temperament of the Japanese mass media, and probably of the nation in general, it has been difficult to attract a great deal of attention to the issues: controversies tend to be avoided. If they are not directly affected themselves, people show little sincere concern about the issue. An undeveloped sense of democracy generates indifference, or a reluctance to act in their own interests in social questions. Further, because of the characteristically closed Japanese decision-making processes, Japanese NGOs have few opportunities to contribute their opinions at national, or even local, political levels. At the present time, there exist no strong national NGOs with the appropriate skills and comprehensive policies to influence national politics, particularly given the lack of opportunities for participation in Japanese political and administrative processes.

Apparently, the Japanese social situation is not beneficial to nature conservation NGOs. Under these circumstances, they have to seek effective ways of advancing the immature conservation movement. Some interviewees stressed the importance of establishing a 'Japanese style' movement to fit Japanese society. However, just what this style might amount to remains obscure: they seemed unable to elaborate.

CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

Before the Westernisation of Japan, Australia and Japan had significantly different attitudes toward the natural environment. In Australia, marked changes in the natural environment were associated with British colonisation in the late eighteenth century. During the next century and into the twentieth, large areas of forest were cleared for farming, particularly in south eastern, eastern, and far south western Australia. The introduction of exotic animals and plants disturbed native wildlife, and were involved in severe land degradation. Some conservation awareness emerged among a small minority, such as academics and professional foresters, in the late nineteenth century. This new awareness evolved out of the 'wise use' concept of natural resources, but was spurred also by scientific, aesthetic, and Romantic inclinations which increasingly favoured the unique Australian environment. Art, architecture and literature all reflected this new 'Australianness', each feeding off the other. Consequently, some conservation legislation was implemented to create parks and reserves, and to protect native wildlife.

On the other hand, in agrarian Japan, before Western influences began to take hold in the mid-nineteenth century, people lived relatively harmoniously with nature, albeit with considerable awe and even fearful respect. At the same time, plantation forestry had been established to secure natural resources and to prevent natural disasters. Rivers and mountains were carefully managed, based on an understanding of organic relations between them. However, the renunciation of these traditions after the Meiji Restoration soon led to major disturbances of the natural environment. Extinctions of and massive decreases in abundance of several species quickly followed. Rivers and mountains were altered to meet industrial and agricultural needs. The Westernisation of Japan resulted in the Westernisation of human-nature relationships, or perhaps more correctly, the overthrow of Feudalism by industrial Capitalism converted the 'natural' world into an exploitable 'resource' and, in some cases, impediment to be removed.

Today, after about 150 years of Westernisation in Japan, it could be said that the differences between Australia and Japan on views of the natural

environment have considerably narrowed. The basic structures of nature conservation systems are similar in both countries, reflecting the international influences on government policies as well as domestic pressures. Nevertheless, the development and effectiveness of policies appears to be ahead in Australia, compared with the slow development of the Environmental Impact Assessment systems and the more utilisation-oriented National Park system in Japan. More importantly, general awareness of nature conservation appears to be significantly higher in Australia than in Japan. This was supported in the thesis by examining the history of nature conservation and NGO involvement in nature conservation, and from the interviews with selected conservation NGOs in each country. These NGOs cannot speak for the beliefs of the entire community, but their characteristics show the levels of active involvement and reflect nature conservation's public profile.

Generally speaking, NGO conservation activities started in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Australia, and soon after World War II in Japan. In both countries, such activities were mainly supported by well-educated middle class people. Social changes after the War, notably rapid economic growth pushed by the reconstruction booms and developments in science and technology, accelerated environmental damage in both countries. Pollution problems were especially severe in Japan due to hastily imposed industrialisation policies, which paid scant regard to environmental considerations. Consequently, affected people began to resist in order to protect their own interests and many local groups were organised. On the other hand, Australians were enjoying the affluence generated by the economic boom after the War with little cognisance of environmental effects.

The 1960s and early 1970s were the era of new social movements both in Australia and Japan, as elsewhere. The anti-Vietnam War and student movements were highly influential social phenomena in both countries. Because of the strong anti-war sentiment and eagerness to protect the immature democracy imposed after the War, Japanese movements tended to be radical, and even violent in some cases. It was very different in Australia, where protests were conducted in a predominantly non-violent manner. One could suggest that affluence and a lesser sense of danger and crisis breeds peaceful social movements.

Reflecting these divergent backgrounds, environmental concerns were associated with new streams in the social movements in both countries. In Australia, more people showed concern about the natural environment. Traditional interests in the Australian natural environment, such as the bushwalking movements of the twentieth century, contributed to promoting conservation awareness. In Japan, in the 1960s and the 1970s, anti-pollution and anti-development movements were predominant. Because of the direct threat to human lives, these protest movements tended to be radical. Because of the association with violent incidents in the new social movements, public opinion was not always favourable to the environmental movement, especially when overt protests occurred. Although the characteristics of the Australian and Japanese environmental movements diverged somewhat, there is no doubt that mounting public concern about the environment, clearly evidenced by the emergence of innumerable small local groups, pushed the respective governments to implement more responsible environmental policies.

Since then, conservation NGOs have been growing both in number and scale. Especially in Australia, NGOs successfully retained public support through highly controversial conservation disputes involving state and national politics, like the Franklin River issue in Tasmania. Direct action was effective in gaining public attention. The mass media reported such incidents extensively. In contrast, in Japan, there were no conservation disputes which corresponded with the Franklin in Australia. Although there were significant national issues, only highly concerned people showed interest. The Japanese mass media, especially at the national level, rarely gave conservation controversies much coverage. Rather, non-confrontational conservation activities like those of the National Trust movements were preferred by the media.

Reviewing history, some significant differences between Australian and Japanese conservation NGOs can be seen. Firstly, Japanese groups are more fragmented than in Australia. Although local and special issue groups are a feature in both countries, Australian groups formed stronger coalitions with other groups to deal with common issues. Secondly, Australian NGOs have showed a strong interest in formal politics at both state and national levels. By contrast, only at the local government level have individual groups tackled the political system in Japan. Even though some issues gained national attention, no conservation disputes

became an important agenda item at the national political level. Finally, attitudes toward confrontational activities have been considerably more positive in Australian NGOs than in Japan. This tendency is especially significant in the major national organisations. For example, the use of non-violent direct action like blockades of development projects has been approved by NGOs in many situations. In Japan, public opinion has been against radical activism of the kind often seen in the 1960s and 70s, not least because of violent incidents. This apparently has made many organisations cautious about such activities.

Clear differences between Australian and Japanese NGOs were also seen in the results of the interviews reported in this thesis. One of the most significant features of Australian groups found in the interviews was the greater confidence about their performance and effectiveness compared with their Japanese counterparts. In general, Australian NGOs believed that community awareness of nature conservation was high. With this community support, they have established considerable social status and political lobbying influence. On the other hand, Japanese NGOs appeared to be dissatisfied with the general public's awareness. They have not yet gained similar social status. This difference in status was also indicated in relation to financial support from government. Although the lack of resources was listed as one of the most crucial obstacles in both countries, Australian NGOs received far greater government support, especially from the Federal Government.

Confirming the reports in the literature, the differences in attitude to direct action were manifest in the NGO interviews. In Japan, major national NGOs expressed opposition to direct action. Their preference for non-confrontation was reflected in the organisational activities which avoided direct action. They were more focused on scientific research than their Australian counterparts. Australian organisations, in contrast, did not deny the effectiveness of direct action.

In general, confrontational activities are more acceptable in Australian society than in Japan. History suggests that confrontational NGOs' tactics in many conservation disputes have not debased their social status. Rather, such activities have been sometimes highly effective in gaining public attention through the media. Australian journalism is at times seen as an obstacle by conservationists, not least in its sensationalist tendencies, but its controversialism can raise public awareness.

As regards involvement in politics, interview results confirmed the tendencies described in the literature. Australian NGOs expressed great interest in the State and Federal political structures, as exemplified by the coalition between major NGOs for the next Federal elections. A basic assumption of Australian NGOs is that change is feasible through existing institutional structures. Given the significant public support, Australian NGOs could have tended to place an increasing focus on the formal political arena. In addition, the political gap between the States and the Federal Government has provided the NGOs with ample opportunities to bring conservation issues into public prominence. In Japan, on the other hand, expectations of national and prefectural government were far lower. Japanese NGOs tended to seek attitudinal changes in the general public which, they hope, would then lead to better nature conservation policies. Both low community awareness of conservation itself, and an immature sense of democracy in Japan are relevant in this context. Further, the difficulty of access to decision-making processes appeared to be another factor generating low expectations of institutional change. Another major difference found in the literature regarding cooperation with other NGOs, the tendency to fragmentation, was not apparent in the interview results. All Japanese organisations replied that they networked well with other groups. Although the sample was small, this could be an indication of a basic change from fragmentation to cooperation among Japanese conservation groups.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

Although the conservation histories of Australia and Japan are significantly different, the emergence of modern environmental movements in both countries are traceable to similar factors in the recent past. Public concern over environmental issues increased greatly. Innumerable NGOs were organised, reflecting such public awareness. Since then, conservation NGOs have been contributing to the improvement of nature conservation in both countries. However, reviewing the history and current situations of NGOs, significant differences between the two countries emerged. Australian conservation NGOs have established an apparently more stable and influential social status than their Japanese counterparts. They have effectively retained public support and secured a position of influence in political and

administrative structures. Japanese NGOs thus far have not achieved this.

One explanation for this difference lies in the respective histories of large-scale disturbance of the natural world. Australia was never a feudal society, and nineteenth century development had few cultural impediments. Australia had nearly a century of experience of large scale disturbances of nature before Japan was thrust into the 'modernising' world. This early experience could mean that Australia accumulated more conservation consciousness before the emergence of the modern environment movement in the 1960s. The creation of the first conservation NGOs date from the late nineteenth century. In Japan, on the other hand, organised forms of conservation activities only appear after the Second World War. Another explanation is the socio-economic background of the 1960s and 70s. In this period, severe pollution problems developed. As with other social movements, citizens activism in Japan tended to be radical, sometimes marked by violence. This caused a kind of phobia among the general public and the government about environment groups in general. From this experience, mainstream Japanese conservation NGOs preferred non-confrontational organisational activities. Meanwhile, in 'affluent' Australia, people were committed to non-violent protest. Conservation NGOs' occasionally confrontational tactics were supported in some sectors of society. Further, several social aspects, such as the maturity of democracy, and the temperament of the mass media and political culture, all contributed to establishing today's Australian conservation NGOs.

There is no doubt that the importance of NGOs in nature conservation still continues to increase in both countries. Although Japanese NGOs and conservation movements are immature compared with their Australian counterparts, they are apparently growing. If 'changing public attitudes' is the best way to improve nature conservation in Japan, then NGOs are the best placed to do it.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This thesis tried to cover fairly broad aspects of nature conservation and NGO involvement as a preliminary, exploratory investigation to confirm whether there were expected differences in the Australian and Japanese

situations, and to define some of the key differences. In-depth analysis of particular aspects of these movements lies outside the scope of this work.

Due to time and resource constraints, the coverage of NGOs, especially in interviewing, was largely confined to mainstream or relatively well-known organisations. Small local groups are numerous in both countries, but only one group was selected in each country for the interviews. The activities and contribution of such local groups in nature conservation needs more detailed examination if a more comprehensive understanding of nature conservation and NGO characteristics is to be achieved. In the case of Japan, especially, a tendency to fragmentation was suggested in the literature. Conservation issues themselves are localised in Japan. NGO activities and inter-relationships including links with the wider community and governments are likely to be very different from those of mainstream organisations. For example, as regards confrontational activities, the Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama, the local NGO interviewed in Japan, had a different attitude from other Japanese NGOs. The interviewee commented that they were ready to conduct direct action if necessary. Conservation issues and NGOs do not have the quasi-institutional respectability in Japan that they have in Australia, whereas small localised groups are probably a more important force in Japanese nature conservation than in Australia.

Following these arguments, the findings and analysis of this thesis need to be developed further if a more comprehensive understanding is to be reached, with additional research on local level NGOs. Further survey work that covers larger numbers of NGOs could establish whether the characteristics and differences described in the thesis are widely representative.

In spite of the limitations mentioned, the thesis suggests significant differences between Australian and Japanese conservation NGOs. The author believes that these differences are likely to represent mainstream trends in nature conservation and NGOs in both countries. However, further verification is needed, and important questions of explanation of their evolution are areas demanding further research. In this thesis, several factors were listed as possible causes. These can be categorised as chronological, historical, and social factors. Among these, further analysis of social factors, with more detailed research on local groups as well as major organisations, would provide more useful information on

conservation NGOs. The author suggests the following aspects as worthy of further study:

- (1) the relationship between the mass media and nature conservation movements;
- (2) the relationship between politics and nature conservation movements; and
- (3) the assessment of public attitudes in relation to nature conservation.

Research on these subjects is certainly not conspicuous in Japan, though some Australian work is known to the author (for example, Bonyhady 1993, Davis 1981, Papadakis 1991). In any case, two-country comparisons could enable the peculiar features of each to emerge more clearly.

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APPENDIX 1 LIST OF INFORMANTS

Australia

- World Wide Fund For Nature Australia
David Butcher, Chief Executive Officer
- Australian Conservation Foundation
Peter Kinrade, Coordinator, Sustainable Cities & Industries Program

Sandra Haffenden, Assistant Officer, Natural Resource Program

Terry White, Consultant, Community Environment Monitoring Project
- The Wilderness Society
Geoff Law, Tasmanian Campaign Officer
- Tasmanian Conservation Trust
Suzy Manigian, Conservation Coordinator
- Tasmanian Environment Centre
John Huta, Director
- Waterworks Valley Landcare Group
Nel Smit, Convenor

Japan

- Friends of the Earth Japan
Randal Helten, International Affairs
- Nature Conservation Society of Japan
Kotoya Morimoto, General Affairs Section
- Wild Bird Society of Japan
Koichiro Sonobe, Director, Policy Research Division

Takashi Uehara, Chief, Nature Conservation Section

- The Association of National Trusts in Japan
Keikich Kihara, Vice Chairman
- Kyoto Water & Greenery Conservation Network
Yoshitsugu Sasaki, Chief Coordinator
- Citizens Environmental Foundation
Ikuo Sugimoto, Chief Coordinator
- Conservation Group for Nature and Culture in Kitayama
Yoshimich Sakakibara, Chief Coordinator

APPENDIX 2 QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEWS WITH NGOS

Note: The following are the questions from the interview form used. It is a shorter version of the original format. The spaces for writing extended comments from informants are not included.

Interview Form NGOs in nature conservation

(Note: Text in italics and brackets represents prompts for interviewer to use when necessary).

Name of organisation:

Interviewee

Name:

Date/Time:

Position in organisation:

Place:

Questions

A. Questions about the organisation and its current activities

1. Could you please briefly describe your organisation, including its origins and membership?

(a) Foundation year:

(b) Current membership

Total No:

Male No.:

Age groups:

(Interviewer to have list of age groups if needed to clarify: <18, 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, >65)

Predominant occupation types:

Female No.:

Age groups:

Predominant occupation types:

(c) Membership change

Stable since foundation ≠

Growing since foundation ≠

Decreasing since foundation ≠

Fluctuates with campaign/issues ≠

Other ≠

2. What are your organisation's broad goals concerning nature conservation? Please tell me the full range, but also your top three priorities.

First:

Second:

Third:

- 3.(a) What particular issues or campaigns are you focussing on at present? Please tell me the full range, but also your top three priorities.

First:

Second:

Third:

- (b) How long have you been active on these issues? Again the full range, but also for your top three priorities.

First:

Second:

Third:

- 4.(a) What types of activities is the organisation undertaking to deal with these issues? Please list and indicate your priorities. (*e.g. education, lobbying, research, petitions, direct action*).

- (b) Are any of these activities particularly effective in achieving your campaign aims?

If so, why?

5. What do you see as the major obstacles to achieving the aims you are currently focussing on? I would like you to concentrate, firstly on the kinds of obstacles that affect your campaigns in general, but also feel free to tell me about some that might be unique to a particular campaign.

(Possible obstacles

- Legal system ≠
- Political or administrative constraints ≠
- Financial constraints ≠
- Human resources ≠
- Socio-cultural constraints ≠
- Any other factors ≠
- No obstacles ≠)

B. Questions about your organisation's relationship to others.

- 6.(a) What attitudes do you think are prevalent in the general community toward nature conservation? Exclude the mass media

and governments for the present, as I will ask you about their attitudes shortly.

(If answer is very general, ask about possible distinct groups: the young, the old, the middle-aged; the affluent; the well-educated; particular interest groups; other)

- (b) What do you think is the community's attitude toward your organisation?

(If answer is very general, ask about possible distinct groups as above).

(If necessary, ask: Please explain a little about why you think this/these attitude/s are held in the community)

- 7.(a) What do you think about the treatment of nature conservation issues in the mass media?

(If answer is very general, ask interviewee to distinguish media types).

- (b) In particular, what kind of treatment does the mass media give your organisation?

(Ask for distinctions as above if necessary).

8. What do you think about government attitudes toward nature conservation? I will ask you about different levels of government.

- national
- state or prefectural
- local

9. Do governments give you any financial support (or other specific support)? Please indicate the level of support relative to organisation's total income.

Financial national ≠
 state or prefectural ≠
 local ≠

Other support Please specify

- 10.(a) Does your organisation cooperate or have agreements with other organisations?

Please explain.

- (b) Does your organisation cooperate or have agreements with government authorities?

Please explain.

C. Questions about your views on nature conservation and the effectiveness of campaigns.

11. Why does your organisation think nature conservation is important? Please give me the full range of your reasons, but indicate very clearly what are the most important.
12. How does your organisation define nature conservation?
13. What would be the best ways to improve nature conservation in your country? Please tell me as many ways as you think are important, but also indicate your priorities. *(If you wish, mention ways at different levels, such as national state or prefectural, and local).*

(e.g. designation of national parks and reserves, implementation of laws, attitude change).
14. Do you regard your organisation as effective in nature conservation?
15. Do you have plans for future campaigns? Please explain. *(If not, how do you see the future of the organisation?)*