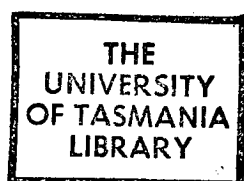


IDEOLOGY AND REPRESENTATION
IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Political Views of Conservation Activists

by

Julian Hinton BA



A thesis submitted in part fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Environmental Studies

Centre for Environmental Studies
University of Tasmania
Hobart,
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A B S T R A C T

This study of the environmental movement in Tasmania employed a questionnaire and interview survey and analysis of some published texts to outline the political positions, ideologies and social theoretical assumptions of environmental activists at a time of political conflict (during the Franklin River campaign). A positional and reputational method was used to identify 31 leading activists who were asked questions on class backgrounds and careers, present and past organizational memberships. Political self-identification and views on social problems and futures, political institutions and change, economic growth and environmental strategies were sought. Generally, political views, class backgrounds and careers showed a broad mixture -- not readily characterizable as either new-class or petit-bourgeois. Tertiary educations and previous involvement in non-conservative politics, were common. Ideologically, this leadership group was an assortment of New Left radicals and social democrats, with few espousing typical liberal or populist views. The heterogenous nature of environmental leadership shows characterizations such as "single-issue" and "middle-class" to be misleading.

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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INTRODUCTION

The whole nature of expanded reproduction that European civilization has brought about in its capitalist era..... is beginning to exhibit a runaway character. The success that we had with our means of dominating nature is threatening to destroy both ourselves and all other peoples, whom it relentlessly draws into its wake.... We are feeding off what other peoples and future generations need for their own life.... The so-called scientific and technical revolution, which is presently being pursued predominantly in this dangerous perspective, must be reprogrammed by a new social revolution. The idea of progress in general must be interpreted in a radically different way from that to which we are accustomed. [Bharo, 1978:262-263 (original emphases)]

Political protest over various forms of pollution, natural resource use and destruction of features of the natural and built environments, appears to be a popular, spontaneous movement of considerable scope and power, arising quite transparently as a response to a real and deteriorating situation. The quote above gives a taste of the ideas of one of the influential political theorists and activists of West Germany's "Greens". Its tone and scope is not unfamiliar but its application here and now, it could be argued, represents something significantly new in the history of political thought. But there are opposing views of environmentalism which see it as irresponsible meddling with "good government", yet another manifestation of existing social power structures or an ideological movement (or ploy) whose ultimate end is the protection of the political and economic status quo, drawing attention away from more pressing social issues. Can the environmental movement be

characterized as a new conservatism or a new radicalism?

The answer to this must be that it is both, because it includes many forms of political motivation and activism. The political ideas and styles encompassed by people who are seen as environmentalists may cover too many differences to be considered as a coherent social movement. There is a need for some characterization that will express the essence of environmentalism, if such exists. This study attempts to analyse one example of the environmental movement which may arguably embody its essential features: the nature conservation or wilderness movement. To look further into this, the study surveys what is taken to be the leadership of the conservation movement in the Australian region of Tasmania. A profile of activists is built up using information on their educational and occupational backgrounds and on their expressed views on political and economic issues. Particular attention is paid to the derivation from or relationship to, the established political ideologies such as liberalism, socialism and conservatism, which an ideology of environmentalism may display, if it in fact exists.

The solutions to environmental problems are as much a matter of politics as they are of science. Environmental Studies is the field which attempts to combine study of these aspects (amongst others) and is usually undertaken in two forms. It requires on the one hand, an understanding of physical systems, ecological balances and energy flows (and the effects of human activity on these), and on the other hand, the societal and cultural processes that cause environmental impacts or which may retard them. This thesis is concerned with the

second of these areas. Using concepts and methods from the social sciences it throws some light on recent attempts by people to arrest environmental destruction through political action. It is a survey of environmental activists in Tasmania which presents a fairly detailed study of a small group in terms of their political philosophies, ideologies and backgrounds. A basic assumption behind this research is that the environmental movement cannot be dismissed as irrational, ineffective, bourgeois or reactionary nor can it be uncritically embraced as triumphant, representative or indomitable. It needs to be understood as a complex social phenomenon, having parallels and precedents as well as unfamiliar features and most readily grasped by some direct involvement of the researcher as well as using insights from the disciplines of philosophy, sociology and political science.

Chapter 1 is a discussion of some of the relevant theories that attempt to explain environmentalism. How do the established social theories attempt to explain or criticise political protest around major new issues such as wilderness preservation? It also specifies the main questions to which the study tries to provide some answers. Notably, can the environmental movement be characterized as the political expression of a particular social class? Is there an ideology of environmentalism that reveals the interests and social power base of a particular class position, such as the "middle-class" or "new-class"?

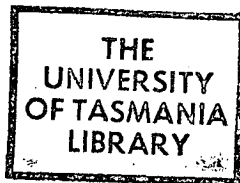
Chapter 2 provides a brief history of environmental issues in Tasmania, and discusses several books published by conservation activists which contain the best and most influential attempts at a

coherent social or political theory.

Chapter 3 describes the method used in the questionnaire and interview survey carried out for this study and Chapter 4 details the main findings of this survey into demographic, class and educational aspects of respondents' backgrounds and organizational memberships.

Chapter 5 describes responses to interview questions on some political and social issues which may indicate respondents' ideological or class positions and how these seem to relate to environmental politics.

Chapter 6 concludes with a summation of the evidence for a characterization of environmentalism in terms of class and political positions.



CHAPTER 1: THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

Environmentalism, as a social movement with a popular base in modern, Western societies, has existed only since the late 1960s. As shown in this study it includes in its ambit concern for many traditional social problems as well as genuinely novel issues that have resulted from the expansion of technologically dependent, highly populated societies and their impact on cultural and ecological systems. The potential for mass environmental concern and the global nature of many ecological issues are what make environmentalism politically interesting. It is an indication of the political significance of the movement as highlighted in Tasmania that a state government has fallen, largely over an environmental controversy; the same issue has been a major factor in an Australian federal election, possibly accounting for six seats of the Australian Labor Party's 23 seat majority in 1983 [Carr, 1983]. This controversy over the Franklin River has also created a world record informal referendum vote made as a public protest and an environmental lobby organization claims that it has a greater membership than that of the two major political parties combined, in the state of Tasmania. In Britain it has been suggested that nearly 10% of the population belong to an environmental group of some sort (more than any political party) and further, that "the radical 'Green' vote must be around 5%, if Germany is anything to go by." [Culshaw, 1983:7] The Federal High Court decision of July 1983 was of world significance in that it went a long way towards making an

international treaty on wilderness enforceable, and in the face of considerable local opposition and pressure to preserve the status quo in Australian intergovernmental relations. However it is doubtful that the penetration of environmental issues into the fabric of Australian political culture is as deep as many other traditional concerns. In the aftermath of the Franklin River campaign despite changes in government at both the state and federal levels, the same basic economic and environmental policies remain intact in Tasmania.*

All of these real and attempted changes in political and economic life and other more disparate, intangible effects can be referred to as an environmental "movement". A first approximation of the environmental movement may define it more generally as a large scale process of change in values, attitudes and understanding in relation to the non-human world. This empirically oriented, exploratory study concentrates on environmentalism through the more specific subject of nature conservation which has existed in Tasmania in an active form for nearly two decades.

The environmental movement has been analytically divided into three parts by Buttel and Larson [1980]:

(1) public environmentalism, or the broad range of concern that is felt or expressed by people who are not directly committed to an organization;

(2) voluntary environmentalism, or those groups that usually rely entirely on unpaid work and private donations, or limited public

* There has since been a hasty commitment to begin two new dams, providing less power and costing more than the Franklin below Gordon dam and with no concession to the disputed issues of capital intensity of such public projects or the future demand for their power.

funding, and which are formed around a wide variety of issues from opposition to the proliferation of the nuclear industry, to local urban building or landscape conservation and;

(3) institutional environmentalism, which involves people employed directly to monitor, administer or research pollution, national parks, and industry impacts on natural and urban environments. Occupations in this category occur mainly in government and university departments but also to some extent in private, public and statutory corporations. There is an area of overlap here with older, established fields such as public health, town planning, forestry and economic and energy policy development departments in government and academia. However there are clear instances of new functions and departments being created as a result of the rise in public interest in environmental issues over the past two decades (for example federal and state government departments of National Parks and Wildlife, and various portfolios for the Environment) which can be seen as a result of a social movement, finding expression through specific legislation. Similarly, changes in academic disciplines and departments also reflect this. The public and voluntary parts of the movement will also overlap with other popular concerns and causes, themselves the results or origins of other social movements.

These three parts add up to concise description of the environmental movement but before discussing the specific element of voluntary environmentalism in more detail, we need to consider the broader question of what a social movement is and how it can be thought of in relation to some basic concepts of social theory: power and class.

Some key features of social movements have been identified as:

(1) being a deliberate collective endeavour to promote social change;

(2) having at least a minimum of organizational structure and;

(3) founded upon voluntary participation by members [Wilkinson, 1971:27]. But a more coherent definition by Rush and Denisoff sees social movements as "emergent ideological realities given social significance during periods of a consciousness of [societal] dysfunction, which provide referents for mobilization to bring about desired change within and/or of the social system." [1971:252] While this perhaps underrates the emergent material realities that accompany social movement success in achieving goals (for example, improved living conditions for workers in the labor movement or conservation of wilderness for environmentalism), the role of ideas, ideology and knowledge is obviously crucial and will help to determine future political directions and alliances. Alliances with major politically powerful groups will be important if environmentalism is to grow in strength and depth as a social movement to match the scope of its apparently broad ideological purview [Lipsky, 1968].

The ideas of political activists and the prediction of political movements invariably cause problems for empirical and positivist analyses. For example in an empirical study of world political systems, Dahl makes two points that he says run directly counter to the reductionism that prevails in much of contemporary social sciences:

(a) that for some time to come no explanatory theory is likely to be able to account for the beliefs of political activists and leaders and;

(b) that beliefs and ideas should be treated as " a major indepen-

dent variable" [Dahl, 1971:188].

An overly formal and static view of the "political system" restricts an understanding of politics to the social institutions and specializations of functions extant in a society at a given time in its history. To avoid this sort of problem in understanding the role of ideas in political change, this study approaches environmental politics through the notion of social movement, which implies broad categories of social power. This in turn implies social classes as the bearers of power and ideologies as their ways of "understanding" society. The importance of the idea of social movement is that it locates political power and the sources and mechanisms of change away from a schematic, conservative view towards the more diverse, complex areas of cultural (symbolic) representations and everyday material and ideological life conditions. It avoids reductionism but at the expense of immediate clarity. In this spirit Touraine strongly urges a new sociological perspective which focuses on struggle for control over historicity, or a society's capacity to create its own structure, interaction with its environment and changes in cultural and class relations [Touraine, 1981]. He uses the idea of social action as being the defining characteristic of historicity, where societies act upon themselves to create their future forms. Social movements are the visible aspect of this process. He sees the older workers movements being replaced (in importance) by new social movements in the era of social history which he calls "programmed society". Some general theory of social movements in this sense is obviously important for achieving a long-term and comparative perspective on social change.

The overlaps between the various modern social movements in Australia are evident in the pages of a current affairs magazine such as Chain Reaction. Here there are articles on ecology, feminism, disarmament and political and social theory. As a result there has been some concern to define an "ideology" of environmentalism [Chain Reaction, 1982-83] and to synthesize these diverse concerns [Salleh, 1983]. Critics of environmentalists' agitation also make various claims about environmentalism as ideology. But what is an ideology and what would an ideology of environmentalism look like? It seems that both types of comments on environmentalism refer to something quite different; the first implies a theory and the second a deception.

POLITICAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CLASS

One way to try to explain a social movement or political pressure groups is in terms of social class. Defining and successfully applying definitions of social class have been contentious and confusing issues in social sciences and politics for over a century. The most consistent use of this approach has been made by Marxism and related strands of social theory, where ideas of class and ideology are intimately connected. In discussing Australian history Connell and Irving provide a theoretical setting useful for this survey. For them, the

"subject of class analysis is social power: how it is organized, on the largest possible scale..." and that its aspiration "is to discover those structures of relationships that operate most generally

and most powerfully. It has this aspiration precisely because this is a criterion for practical politics" [1980:2]. At a fundamental, level class is a category of social power over material and cultural needs and benefits. Marxist theory can use the idea of class at a very fundamental level to explain the production of knowledge and ideology in society. The argument runs thus:

Classes are first of all identifiable in terms of relations in which people enter when participating in the material transformation of reality. That is, all those people carrying the same aspects of production relations belong objectively to the same class. Classes thus become the basic units of social life..... Knowledge, or mental transformation, is determined by material transformation in the sense that the latter calls the former into existence...(...even though the former is apparently unconnected with the latter).... If material transformation is socially, class determined, so is mental transformation: classes, therefore, are not only the basic units of social life but also of knowledge. [Carchedi, 1983:1-2]

Any compressed definition will be unsatisfactory unless related to a broader discussion of assumptions and applications of this category of social theory. While such an elaboration is not central to this study some points can be made to prepare the way for the use of this concept in the following survey of environmental activists.

Aiming for a high level of generality and explanatory power social theorists have used the idea of class in a variety of ways, most of which are found wanting by Connell and Irvings' discussion. Common problems are that classes are taken as fixed and ahistorical, they are taken as relatively equal or important in terms of broader historical or ethical assumptions and they are sometimes regarded in the theoretical abstract and fail to account for the everyday life conditions of existing people [pp. 3-12]. Class analysis is not sim-

ply a matter of categorizing individuals by various criteria but of also identifying social structures which, among other things will tend to produce individuals who are socialised into various pre-existing (although never historically identical) patterns of ideas, emotional, linguistic and cognitive attributes and above all into occupational and power roles in society. Of most interest in this process are structures resulting from the ownership and control of the means of production or the "economic" sphere. But the role of political and ideological determinants of class (the different ways that people see themselves as members of classes [Giddens, 1982; Poulantzas, 1982]) also have to be considered.

The essential point for considering social class in relation to political ideologies is that the structural location that a class does or might conceivably occupy, is ontologically independent of the groups' or individuals' awareness of it. A class may be more or less "aware" of its shared characteristics and interests and it may move more or less toward or away from exercising political power but it does all this within parameters that are given, due to the nature of that society. That awareness of social historical process or potential is accomplished in part, through ideologies. A major tenet of the sociology of knowledge and of much of political theory, is that there is an important relationship between the political power available to social classes (due to their access to productive resources) and the ideas and beliefs of individuals within them. There is no need to expect there to be a strict determinism of knowledge for this approach to be useful, nor is it necessary for problems of the validity of political theories or beliefs to be resolved.

It is this type of theoretical framework that underlies various Marxist class analyses of social and political life but it also underlies what they might call bourgeois, pseudo-class analyses. The discourse of the social sciences and of everyday political life frequently makes use of broad notions of social class determination for explanation of individual instances of political behaviour and for prediction or suggestions about local issues. It is an important way of thinking about social structure and social change, whether correct or not. For example the environmental movement is frequently disparaged for being middle-class, representative of only a narrow section of society (the privileged, idle or sentimental) or for being "bourgeois", that is, identifiable with the ruling class and thus to blame for the evils of capitalism [Beresford, 1977]. It may also be identified with an ideological position such as conservatism [Wells:1978], implying that it is inherently anachronistic and anti-progressive. Rarely have attempts been made to analyse environmentalism as a specific variant of "critical theory" and left-wing or socialist politics.

In an analysis of environmental protest in Australia, Kamarul characterizes three types of attempts to explain or discredit environmental activism. Two are individualistic, psychological explanations and another is class based: "environmental concern as the ideology of middle-class interest and status" [1976:3]. He sees all these attempts as unable to adequately explain the range and complexity of behaviour, belief and motivations in environmental protest. Most of these attempts are still being made, however. In one case for example, "amateur conservationists" are identified as those concerned

with the emotional issues such as wilderness and who are not professionally pragmatic in their concentration on more mundane problems (for example, feral pests and soil salinity). The reason for the "fanaticism and obsession" which this amateur psychoanalyst identifies amongst the leadership of this group supposedly lies in subconscious yearning for Jungian archetypes [Beard, 1982]. The psychological types of explanation seem unlikely to be considered particularly relevant any longer, at least amongst people who have to deal with environmental issues as societal phenomena. The class based explanation remains the most plausible for serious critics bent on a basically negative interpretation of environmental activism. Its plausibility is also likely to be current amongst parts of the political left, where ideas of social class have been traditionally important and remain relevant to the alliance of environmental and socialist politics. But a class explanation depends on the idea of class "interest".

While the middle-class character of environmentalism is often asserted, the meaning and implications of this are far from clear - particularly concerning the future political course of middle-classes or strata. For example Buttel and Flinn [1978] find weak support for a correlation of middle-class indicators and environmental concern but conclude that "working class hostility toward environmental issues has probably been overemphasized in the literature - with important theoretical implications being grounded on this presumed ambivalence."

It is not clear that a middle-class is really the same sort of entity as a ruling or working-class, or whether much is to be gained

by treating it in the same way. In a Marxist scheme the modern middle-class (as opposed to the traditional bourgeoisie) is ambiguously placed between the owners and prime controllers of society's production of goods and services (the bourgeoisie), and the working class who are involved directly in producing goods and services, as wage earners. It will therefore lack the left's concern with equality and political revolution but lack also a full stake in ruling class domination and the political conservatism that usually accompanies membership of political elites. In other words it is not even a "class in itself" let alone a "class for itself". An understanding of economic and political issues relating to the distribution of wealth is frequently claimed to be problematic for environmentalism [Beresford, 1977; Sills, 1974; Enzensberger, 1976]. The political naivité and inexperience of many local issue environmental groups and their basic support for liberal democracy and capitalism are often commented on. In a study of the environmental movement in New South Wales Craney found it to be lacking an "elaborated social theory" and open to being placated by legitimizing government "solutions" to environmental problems [1980:422,431]. But is this situation (this state of knowledge) somehow fixed or determined by location of the middle-class in the structure of society? Other commentators see other environmental groups pressing towards an increasingly radical political theory and practice. For example an American observer contrasting early with later forms of environmentalism found that "Social structure and class relations were to be as much a feature of later environmental analyses as the ecosystem details." [Schnaiberg, 1980:370]

Class analyses of environmentalism in a social scientific vein

have been used to a limited extent to foresee likely political developments of environmental issues relative to broader social changes. For example Buttel sees in the working-class "a substantial nascent support base for the environmental movement" due to the former's only conditional acceptance of extant political-economic structures and justifications. Class collaboration is sustained largely because of the ability of capitalist economies to provide economic growth [Buttel, 1978]. If this condition can no longer be met considerable ideological readjustment may occur concerning economic growth and the distribution of its fruits to the working-class, through the welfare state. One of the benefits of such an approach in conjunction with a theory of broad economic processes, is that it can suggest possible courses of social change in a future context of resource shortages, economic depression and political realignments to meet these exigencies. Such has been attempted by Stretton [1976] most notably, and developed by Buttel [1980] and Schnaiberg [1980]. The essence of these projections is that environmentalism composed as it is and various factions of social class components, may tend to follow one or all of three basic courses concerning redistribution of wealth and opportunity in society, which it is projected by many, will become an increasingly pressing issue in future climates of stalling economic growth in most "developed" capitalist economies. The three discussed by the above authors are: the leftist course, entailing more egalitarian and decentralized decision making and distribution of rewards*; the middle course entailing a precarious balancing of competing claims on resources by various social groups;

* i.e. economic, environmental and cultural "goods".

and the rightist course involving increased authoritarian political structures and inequality of wealth and opportunity generally.

There is a clear need then, for a case study that may illuminate the structure of the environmental movement at this level and in these theoretical terms. The ideological dimension to these scenarios for social change will obviously be important and this study confines itself mainly to this area, though not because of any assumption about the primacy of ideas in history. The aim here is to test the plausibility of the characterization "middle-class" as an indicator of the ideological position of environmentalism. To do this, evidence was sought from respondents and from some published texts about the nature of their ideas on political and economic institutions and change and about their expectations for the future, in terms of general social problems as well as environmental politics.

THE NEW-CLASS

An essential part of trying to fill out the theoretical framework of the class structure of modern societies and possibly of the environmental movement, is the position of what has been called the new-class. The new-class is characterized by its close involvement with the complex technological and bureaucratic processes that account for a large part of production and distribution within state-monopoly capitalism. High levels of education and linguistic competence are what favour access to this meritocratic class. An elaboration of the economic characteristics of the new-class is given by Carchedi who

describes the occupational and status parameters of the new middle-class, which in various ways resembles and functions like both capitalist and worker. It is distinct from the old middle-class or petit-bourgeoisie due to its corporate and educated character but similar in its mixing of functions and tendency towards deskilling or proletarianization [Carchedi, 1975].

The emergence of interest-group politics is seen by some as related to the emergence of the new-class which is politically articulate and capable of "using the system" for its own ends. It is regarded as a "class for itself" with its own class interests (especially in Eastern Europe [Konrad & Szelenyi, 1979]). Some environmental groups seem to display the characteristic political concerns and proclivities of such a social class that is well educated, affluent and generally concerned with protecting status, recreational and political resources for its own use. Such activism and pressure on existing governmental and social relationships threatens to upset a balance that is assumed to be desirable and real. Environmental politics is one of the more apparent and troublesome manifestations of an alleged breakdown of authority in society which a conservative, anti-intellectual political outlook is likely to attribute to the new-class. The legitimacy of many established institutions and corporate interests are challenged by the activities of politically capable minorities such as environmentalists who also are equipped with broad philosophies and ethical claims that challenge entrenched views and standards of the traditional left as well as the ruling class. A neo-conservative class determinism (or reductionism) which is critical of the new-class as a social group with privilege and power is evident.

in the literature on modern pressure groups and social movements [Kirkpatrick, 1979; Wildavsky, 1979]. But explanation and prediction along these lines, which relies on fairly crude assumptions about the economic and political motives of the new-class, is open to question due to the complexity of political outcomes when considered only in class terms such as these [Horowitz, 1979]. Such explanation usually reduces the dynamic of social class movements to an individualistic, subjective motivation, for example a class is seen as selfish or rationally calculating [Kamarul, 1976:30]. Experience from the Marxist tradition, with its own tendency towards class deterministic explanation of social movements, history and the state has also demonstrated the problems of this approach [Jessop 1982:74]. Appraisals of the contemporary environmental movement via a social theory of the middle-class and new-class, are frequently made with the thinly veiled intention of discrediting its claim to political legitimacy as representatives of "the public interest". A less partisan and reductionist interpretation of the new-class is given by Gouldner who considers it to be a revolutionary and potentially benign development of advanced capitalism. He makes the essential point that the new-class is inherently contradictory, reflecting its ambivalent historical and structural location between the two main classes. Its ideologies correspondingly reflect this contradiction.

If such a thing as a new-class political position and ideology exists and is responsible for the post-60s increase in consumption based lobby groups (often active around "single issues" involving "recreational" resources like wilderness) then it should be evident

amongst leaders of politically successful environmental organizations in Tasmania. If a new-class determinist interpretation is correct then activists in them will be mainly concerned with perpetuating the conditions for the reproduction of their class, that is, the corporate production system of technological specializations and a credentialist status hierarchy based on educational achievement and access to occupational rewards. If on the other hand, this class is ideologically divided, the world views of politically active members will appear to be contradictory and unlikely to serve as a basis for class interest or solidarity.

Apart from the reality of the new-class as a group with a unified world-view and interest (and the problem of defining it), the behaviour of the middle-class generally, under changing economic and political circumstances is far from clear. Similarly unpredictable is the behaviour of activists who may be expected to have middle-class backgrounds. The following survey aims to discover whether there is a wide variety of political views represented or a tendency toward a unified ideology.

IDEOLOGY AND VOLUNTARY ENVIRONMENTALISM

If environmental lobby groups are "middle-class" in that they are composed of people with middle-class backgrounds and ideas, then presumably they project middle-class interests. But if the theoretical position of the middle-class is not at all clear, middle-class

interests will also be difficult to define. In addition, it can't be assumed that the ideas or advocacies of lobby groups and more broadly, of social movements, simply reflect the class ideologies of their members. A sociology of knowledge that uncritically imputes political ideologies from social class locations would have little credibility. For example, Abercrombie describes a "conventional" explanation of ideologies, which sees their origins in social classes and more generally social locations, and also a critical position which is more concerned with ideologies as outcomes of societies' overall structure or "modes of production" [1980:110]. More generally, it is not clear in the sociology of knowledge or in theories of ideology, that ideas and beliefs can be identified simply with the social location of those who hold them [p. 172]. Ideology is not simply a set of ideas that can be read off from a social class but is determined at other levels as well, having a broader role in the workings of a social system or in history.

Ideologies are taken in this study to mean those ideas that consciously or unconsciously serve to justify political powers held (or aspired to) by a social sub-group. Activists will operate from an ideological standpoint and within a given political and material culture but by no means predictably or transparently, even to themselves. They are likely to have learnt that predictability is at times a strategic disadvantage. The confusing but essential feature of ideologies is that they have a double character: they both explain and mask social realities at the same time [Larraine, 1979:210-211; Leiss, 1972:16]. The specifics of what is revealed and concealed will be

related to the power structure of a society where, at a general level the main sub-groups interact. For most individuals, who can be categorized in terms of these sub-groups, we can expect to find a broad theory of society and of history which will guide them cognitively, in pursuing or comprehending political goals, and this will be formed by conscious learning experiences as well as unconscious background assumptions upon which experienced meanings are built. To avoid the wider problem of defining ideology in the broad sense, this study concentrates on the more obvious area of political "views" which are considered here to include the narrower range of beliefs, values and knowledge that relate to broad or global political problems, principles and aspirations, and which in turn can be applied to local issues. Peoples' lived experiences in various social roles, which entail some political power or agitation, result in a structure of concepts and values constituted by inter-subjective and common or shared meanings [Taylor, 1976:179]. These are learned or developed from previous generations and reproduced as a system of social meanings which has a capacity for local adjustments to accommodate it to contemporary and varying situations [Swingewood, 1977:83].

At first glance the "class for itself" interpretation would seem to fit institutional or professional environmentalism better than voluntary organizations whose composition would be freer from recruitment restrictions and thus more heterogeneous. But it is these organizations that are perceived as being the most publicly vocal and successful in bringing pressure to bear on governments. Voluntary environmental organizations can be broadly defined as those that

express concern at the impact by societies on the natural world, on ecological balances and on the quality of the built environment. In his study of the environmental movement in New South Wales (which involved Australia's urban core - the Sydney region), Craney divided voluntary organizations there, into four types: Nature conservation (17%), Green amenity (31%), Civic amenity (25%) and Specific issue (26%). These categories covered concerns ranging from broad ecological issues, through local area recreation and heritage protection to single issues of protest in any of these areas. The Tasmanian environmental movement has manifested itself mostly in terms of the first type of organization (nature conservation), notably the Tasmanian Wilderness Society. However there are also some local area recreational and conservation issues represented in the following survey. Environmental concerns could be defined more widely to include protest against the nuclear industry and to some extent against mistreatment of animals (where these are native or endangered species). However there has been a clear, predominant tendency in Tasmania, for protest to centre around the issue of the conservation of wilderness.

Environmental politics usually manifests itself in submissions to government, litigation, education and publicity. The emphasis in recent years seems to have shifted towards "litigation, political lobbying and technical evaluation" but older forms such as rallies and petitions are still used [Schnaiberg, 1980:367]. Occasionally campaigns escalate to electioneering and direct action. The range of tactics (and presumably strategies) is broad, implying organizational flexibility but also fundamental development or learning processes

within the movement.

Other typologies of environmentalism (in America) by Schnaiberg [1980:375-385] attempt to illustrate various dimensions of historical change. These generally show different strands of the movement (usually corresponding to different voluntary organizations) or different phases through which some organizations may have passed. For example there is a move from a cosmetic to a radical-reformist approach to solving environmental problems. There is a move from an elitist to a populist lobbying style, from treating problems as the proper domain of technocrats, to treating them as the essential object of consumer protest. Combining these, Schnaiberg sees historical development from the early roots in the conservationists (such as Pinchot and Muir), through preservationists (Leopold) and the early environmental movement of the 1960s, to the environmentalism of recent years. The last has deepened its analysis of environmental problems to find causes in high-consumption capitalism at a basic level of economic and political functions, and advocates solutions which entail broad social redistribution and small-scale technologies which undermine the power of established elites [p. 371].

The future growth or decline in the importance of environmental politics is intimately linked with other social changes, both material and ideological. It is therefore necessary to try and locate the environmental movement in the context of the broader political culture and theories of class and ideology attempt analysis on this level. In a detailed study of the Australian environmental movement Davis reviewed various phases, strategies, effects and theoretical elements

applied to major environmental issues. While he finds that "no integrated theory has yet emerged.... environmental conflict is shaped by the social and political culture." [1981:478] Part of this shaping will be through traditional political ideologies and current debates about social change.

There is substantial evidence to suggest the failing relevance and validity of orthodox liberal/pluralist explanations of political and economic systems [Lowi, 1969; Schattschneider, 1960]. To go further Higley and Field [1980] argue that the traditionally dominant pair of political philosophies in the industrial era, liberalism and socialism, are now irrelevant as ideologies. They have been supplanted in the post-war period by an insipid mixture of both that they call "welfare statism". Given this apparent crisis of confidence, the political ideologies of large numbers of people, and certainly those active in social movements such as environmentalism, are likely to become more varied as they seek to include aspects of other traditions of political thought and practice, as alternatives. Probably related to this broader process is the growth in size, influence and radicalism of environmental groups which has been documented in general for Britain and America [O'Riordan, 1976; Sandback, 1980; Schnaiberg, 1980; and, in more detail, for Australia [Craney, 1980; Davis, 1981]. What elements of the traditional political ideologies will be used in such a process of expansive inclusion that may occur in a world-wide political movement such as environmentalism? Are there identifiable factors that may indicate in advance, whether environmental politics will move in a particular direction, based on features of its leaders'

social backgrounds or interests?

Environmental organizations can be considered as (among other things) interest groups, some of which have clear political goals. To the extent that such groups get involved in actively defending or pushing their interests and beliefs they would be expected to develop political ideologies which explain and justify to group members and others, their changing spheres of influence and options. The effectiveness of interest groups depends on factors such as the support of allies, financial and skill resources, leadership and organizational structure [Figgis, 1979] but more fundamentally and logically prior to all these is the initial ideological element of what might be called a basic political optimism and sense of future possibilities. Is there a recognition that the group's interests are political ones, capable of representation in political terms and potentially solvable, in part at least? The environmental movement is replete with examples of small groups which began as apolitical hobby organizations and became involved in lobbying out of necessity or lobby groups which have become radicalized by lack of success in that area [Shackel, 1968]. An important determinant of the success that environmental groups may have in pursuing their goals will be their own conceptions of their role or possible function. The political optimism (or lack of it) mentioned above will be reflected at the ideological level. Spencer [1982] discusses the future perceptions of activists, in relation to political success. The effective groups in his conception are those with an elaborated theoretical perspective which will allow them to go beyond the phase of agitation for social change and on to the prag-

matic concerns of revolution or sustained reform, as they perceive it.* This survey, in trying to reveal something of the future trajectory as well as the class nature and political ideologies of environmentalism, therefore asks activists several questions about their future perceptions.

Many environmental lobby or interest groups undoubtedly achieve some results at the level of law, government and administration even if they have been fairly limited in Australia. A lot depends on the nature of their case and the scope of their demands. However the broader aims of some such groups may seem quite utopian and in direct opposition to the political and economic system in which they operate. At the same time though, their existence alone serves to legitimize current forms of government to some extent [Ash, 1972]. Interest groups as lobbyists are seen to be proving the viability of a system of government by simply existing and thus presumably having some success in achieving their goals. Social movements generally are faced with this problem of becoming part of the system, rather than critics of it, if they are successful [Rush & Denisoff, 1971:420]. Will environmental organizations become politically passive, working alongside government and industry in deference to traditional management and policymaking procedures? Or will they solidify around non-institutional, dissident networks advocating sweeping change in line with a "critical theory"?

* Apart from the leadership allowed by such a theory it is also usual, according to Spencer, for such groups to be characterized by dissatisfaction with their present life circumstances.

Buttel [1980] characterizes the ideology of the environmental movement (in America in the 1970s) as that of a non-corporate middle-class. Does this imply a parochial populism, a conservative nostalgia for the days when things were simpler? The difficulty in producing convincing characterizations of environmentalism is apparent from Wells' attempt to show its "theoretical structure" to be in essence conservative and "basically flawed" [1978]. On the basis of certain selectively interpreted texts, he characterizes environmentalism this way even though within particular authors' work only some of his selected criteria for political conservatism are met. Amongst the wide variety of works in the field of environmental political advocacy or theory, there is even less conformity to these criteria [Kellow, 1980]. The debates between Commoner and Ehrlich are a perfect example of how a left-right polarization of theories extensively underpins the environmental movement [Feenberg, 1979]. But perhaps neither of the categories of left or right (considered uncritically) is sufficient to explain a whole which may emerge as something significantly different.

Approaching the problem from another angle, Gouldner sees the ideology of the new-class today as characterized by an uneasy blend of two types of theoretical world-views: systems theory and ecology [Gouldner, 1979]. He sees ecology as the more egalitarian of the two and it would clearly correspond to an ideology of the voluntary organizations in the environment movement, whereas systems theory is relied on by the institutional or professional branches. But just what is meant by the suggestion of ecology as an ideology is not spelled out.

Is there an emphasis on professionalism, technological solutions or

social engineering which reflects the apparently dominant role of governments and bureaucracies in the post-war era? Or is there a concern to oppose the State, decentralize political power and democratize opportunity in society? For Gouldner socialism is the logical political system for the new-class to advocate because of its affinity with rationality, planning and the type of political culture that would favour the modern educated and skilled (the "culture of critical discourse"). Is there a more or less coherent approach to social change along socialist lines? How do conservationists' views on political change compare with a "reflexive" socialist strategy of "radical reformism", involving alternative economic policies together with parallel consideration of the methods and problems of implementing these [Stilwell, 1982]?

The aim of the following survey is not to describe or analyse a class ideology but only to elucidate some of the main social theoretical beliefs and assumptions that may be taken together to indicate a "total ideology" or "world-view" in Mannheim's sense [Abercrombie, 1980:33].

CHAPTER 2: THE PUBLIC FACE OF POLITICAL ECOLOGY

Of all the ideas that emerge from the environmental movement those that find expression in books, leaflets and broadcasts will have the most widespread and significant impact on the public at large. If there is a major groundswell of public sympathy for, or interest in environmental issues or values, then the most visible and available publications by well known environmental activists or organizations will be a major factor in communication between them and this public support. Apart from the regular news items and press releases on particular issues that virtually all media consumers are aware of, there is a body of written material available to people interested in seeking out what they hope will be the fundamental and consistent ideas behind environmentalists' agitations. Values, criticisms, strategies and defences will all be argued for here, in varying degrees of comprehensiveness, in order to recruit members, enlist political support and change attitudes and beliefs. It will be in these texts that the nearest thing to an ideology or theory of environmentalism, or an Australian expression and application of such an ideology or theory, will be found. It is likely to be in this realm that the longevity of environmentalism as a focus of political agitation and its practical effectiveness under changing circumstances, will be determined. Because an environmental ethic or worldview is potentially so embracing, it contains considerable power as a political ideology. The use made of this potential will depend on how successfully a consistent, broadly

relevant or cogent theory is developed to relate environmental problems to existing theories of social structures and social change.

Two of the most thorough publications in this sense, which represent the views of influential environmental activists in Tasmania, are chosen and analysed below because they seek to present broad critiques of basic social institutions and values and also present sketchy alternatives for social change to more environmentally benign futures. They represent some of the best attempts in the Australian environmental literature, to analyse or interpret broader political and social issues from the standpoint of environmentalism, or at least as expressed by these leading activists. They are by no means unique in their advocacy of sweeping change, and comparisons between these ideas and those from the Marxist, anarchist and populist traditions of political thought are useful in preparing the ground for the more direct approach of the survey described in the following chapters.

The main texts described below were published as books which were reviewed in newspapers and available through the popular book market. Many other academic or journal articles exist which could provide material for a more detailed study but the main concern here is with ideas that enter the public forum and thus bear on the question of the long term popular reaction to environmental issues.

Before this, two other publications are discussed which show in one case, early stages of environmental debate in Tasmania and in the other a popular consciousness-raising attempt to set a scene for

future political struggle. All these texts have much in common with the literature of environmentalism as it exists worldwide.

The rest of this chapter attempts to give an overall impression of the social theoretical assumptions, political rhetoric and ideological slants of environmental activists, all but one of whom are involved in Tasmanian issues. But its analytic focus is on the nature of the theories of social change, implied or advocated in the texts. The main point arising from this observation of their literature (their "public face") is that there are complex and changing styles and forms in environmental politics. While some elements of the mixture of ideological perspectives evident below could be said to be conservative in the sense of being non-revolutionary or not avowedly left-wing, others are radical in that they reach for totalistic and historical explanations of society's relationship with its material base (Nature).

CONSERVATION IN TASMANIA

Wilderness preservation, which has been described as "the central environmental battle of our time" [Plumwood, 1983], has been a predominant concern of the environmental movement in Tasmania and this history will be a constant influence on environmental politics and ideologies that emerge in the state and Australia generally. Tasmania is a discrete community in which environmental issues have loomed large for a period paralleling the rise of environmentalism worldwide. The

main emphasis has been on conservation and preservation controversies, for example the flooding of Lake Pedder and the Franklin River dam dispute. Forestry practices have been another dominant concern in the State, notably the woodchipping industry. Most of the main issues have involved criticism of economic development policies and private industries' relationships with government regulatory agencies. The energy, natural resources and economic development policies of government have become the main targets for criticism by the environmental movement. It has been claimed that environmentalists have grasped the central problems of modern government better than political scientists have (for example, the administrative model of single purpose departments) [Peres, 1970]. Active environmentalists in Tasmania are therefore a reliable source of ideas and attitudes that are likely to be typical in many respects of environmentalists generally, whose interests are mainly in the sphere of preservation of wilderness, genetic diversity, natural ecosystems and even opportunities for tourism and recreation.

After changes of state and federal governments and an apparent reprieve for Lake Pedder in 1974 as a result of the recommendations of the Federal Committee of Enquiry, the Gordon River power scheme went ahead, being officially opened in 1979 [Davis, 1982:226]. There had been a long period from the early 60s, through the early 70s when flooding began, in which the need for this scheme was questioned [Johnson, 1972; Pedder Committee, 1973]. The impetus from this controversy carried on to the next issue of the Franklin and Lower

Gordon Rivers power schemes. The environmental lobby now included a growing activist wing in the Tasmanian Wilderness Society and pursued a policy of persuading the public, politicians and administrators of the validity and desirability of foregoing the planned energy and economic development policy of "hydro-industrialization", for alternative sources of energy generation and conservation, and the benefits of retaining the South West wilderness intact. During this period, as a result of the dominant role of environmental conflict there had also been various adjustments to administrative procedures, new departments, committees and enquiries set up and calls for more accountability and expertise in government and Tasmania's Hydro-Electric Commission (HEC). Several technical reports were produced which challenged the assumptions of the state government's economic development and energy policies or proposed alternatives but these were largely lost from public view soon after. "In the end it was value judgements and political considerations which were debated, rather than economic realities or social or environmental factors." [Davis, 1982:241]

Damania [Jones, 1972] was one of the first attempts to assess the environmental movement and land use planning in Australia. It is the proceedings of a symposium which was motivated mainly by the threat of the flooding of Lake Pedder but which attempted to relate this to broader concerns, through various approaches. By 1971 the debate over this issue had shifted from one of simply preserving a particular wilderness area to questioning the state's energy policy. The tactics adopted by conservationists similarly shifted to a more organized form with experts from various fields appearing in the media and at public

meetings to counter the official wisdom of the government, industry and the HEC on economic and administrative matters [Davis, 1982:223-4].

The introductory speaker described the symposium as an enquiry stemming from a sense of frustration. The cause of this was the inability of government to address itself to a broad range of problems - the rundown of social services, inadequate planning of resource use and the dependent status of the Tasmanian economy [p. 4]. The main subject matter of the papers presented (and the discussions afterwards) could be largely described as administrative reform. The main criticisms were aimed at policy making in the small state of Tasmania, its parochialism in administration and participation at the state government level [pp. 41-71] and the economic assessment of recreation potential [pp. 72-78], but also at land-use planning and public works in Australia [pp. 23-37]. The focus of most papers was narrowly delimited and reformist rather than radical, although the implications stemming from some of the points made were much broader. These were occasionally picked up by the audience [p. 97] but overall it too was similarly concerned with details. However this aspect of the symposium was in contrast to the introduction and the first paper given by Milo Dunphy. The tone of this paper was activist and radical, with wilderness destruction carrying a great symbolic load. "Lake Pedder is a test of the total orientation of civilization in Australia". The response to this test was the environmental movement which Dunphy characterized as something abstract and notional but by using a concrete metaphor of immediacy: "a great wave of new thinking is actually

on us." [p. 18] The relationship of various social groups to this movement (viz. the press, mining companies, "Liberal, Labor and Trade Union", community leaders, scientists, bureaucrats and finally politicians [pp. 12-15]) was described briefly by him. The main causes of the problem of environmental destruction were located by Dunphy in multinationals and compliant government regulatory authorities. There was little explanation of social power mechanisms or processes associated with this causal centre but instead an insistent focus of moral blame on the "arrogant authority". The essence of Dunphy's solution to the problem lay in the notion of the social responsibility of citizens: "Every community body or personage has a duty to speak out to protect public assets like the Colong Reserve or Lake Pedder National Park." [p. 10]* The basis for this wave of citizen action was seen to lie simply in the perception of environmental destruction, especially by schoolchildren [p. 11] but also by physical scientists (for example Ehrlich and Birch were cited). But the solution was not conceived of here as simply a matter of showing The Truth. Dunphy described a possible backlash from big companies against environmental concern, which threatens their profits and he saw them consequently producing disingenuous publicity campaigns in an attempt to demonstrate their social responsibility.

It is worth commenting here that in many cases the resistance to the environmental enlightenment of people is likely to be a lot more pervasive and deep-rooted than this type of backlash. There was no

* Interestingly at this time Dunphy saw the press as a more or less innocent agent through which community outrage was finding vivid expression. This contrasts markedly with the strongly critical attitude to the media of activists interviewed in 1982 (see Chapter 5).

attempt in Dunphy's talk to show the interrelatedness of social position, education and environmental awareness. An attack on the illiteracy of union officials supporting environmental destruction, fitted neatly with the matter of course mention of the important role of responsible professional bodies like architects and scientists, in saving the environment. The essential task was presented to this audience as falling squarely on the shoulders of the well educated and morally indignant individual. "The real problem now is to make the new thinking effective, in the face of the entrenched exploitation-oriented system in which we find ourselves." [p. 18] At this level Dunphy's solutions seem individualistic but the causes of environmental problems were not generally presented as such, nor were strategies for overcoming them. Apart from the personified "arrogant authority" the complex causality of a social system was in the background of this approach to environmental politics, although not elaborated. The general strategy advocated for effective change was the pressuring of politicians by arousing public support for environmental protection. A tough, uncompromising stance was essential, quite distinct from that of the petit-bourgeois politics of "the small-businessman or the departmental administrator who has been horse-trading all his life, and is usually satisfied with what he'll get." [p. 19] The escalation of environmental struggles to violent confrontation is seen as fairly inevitable due to the "absence of wise and fair adjudication of these debates by governments" [p. 19].

This talk presented a radical critique of capitalist Australia which tried to give a totalistic explanation of environmental problems

through the roles of social groups and a system-wide dynamic of economic exploitation and abuse of political power. Opposing these was a social movement of "new thinking" which seemed to hold great potential for sweeping social change. It was an elitist model to the extent that it depended on the moral and educational calibre of community leaders for its realization. There was an important backdrop of populism though, in that people or the masses were seen to be ready or poised to throw their numbers behind environmentalism, as soon as they were shown how. But they are conceived and represented in this paper, only briefly and in the abstract.

The South West Book [Gee & Fenton, 1978] was published some six years after Damania, when the struggle to save Lake Pedder was virtually lost but not so for other wilderness areas. It was an attempt to reach a wide reading public in an apolitical fashion but which showed another side of environmental politics. It was clearly a publication in the coffee-table style, but was not particularly lavish or soporific, having mostly black and white photographs and plenty of technical articles dealing with electrical power demand, forestry practices and legal and administrative details concerning conservation possibilities for the South West region. There were equally numerous articles on natural history, early settlement, wilderness recreation and some philosophy and poetry. The overall effect is one of richness and complexity, not just of that region and its history but of the concurrent political debate over land-use. The book could be expected to have a reasonably wide appeal because it presented this richness in a popular form although it occasionally dipped into technical detail, leaving no

doubt for the average reader that the matters being considered were taken seriously and evaluated competently by experts who were not necessarily partisan to the conservationists' cause. However, no coherent economic or political critique emerged (and was not claimed to). The predominant messages that are likely to be left with the thoughtful reader are: that the world around us, the environments - both socio-historical and natural, are interesting and rewarding and not to be taken for granted; that some government departments and instrumentalities make some dubious central assumptions about economic growth, employment and social costs [pp. 196-198]; and that the burden of blame for the problem of resource abuse falls heavily on the notion of "community values", a ubiquitous abstraction that is rarely elaborated in concrete terms, either causally or empirically. Exploitative values, private interests and unresponsive bureaucracy are criticised in passing but each are discussed separately, connections rarely being made [p. 189].

One of the clearest expressions of a political ideology where it does briefly appear in the book, is that of reform liberalism [Dolbeare, 1976:72]. After expressing some hope in the possibility of effective legal and administrative reform one of the contributors wrote: "The real question is whether the nation can find the statesmen needed to achieve the desirable aims." [p. 199] The heart of the problem was thus found in the lack of individual political leadership. This is clearly a priority which detracts from the advocacy of systematic societal change.

Apart from the implicit political views of the authors, how might

we understand the objective political significance of this text which is probably an important part of conservationist literature, helping to create popular support for environmental values? Clearly there is little in it that constitutes a political theory or plan for sustained social reform. One way of explaining its political effects is through the idea of myth. A myth "is a model for personal integration into the social order." It operates through symbols that have the

capacity to evoke images that recall the crucial events in the life of the political community. By means of such collective remembrances the authority of the ruler is renewed [Bennett, 1975:68].

The South West book is rich in mythic significations. It constitutes a profusion of visual images, statements and facts all directly or implicitly related to the symbolic depths of social and natural history. The contemporary environmental controversies are presented, through their histories, by insistent juxtapositions of the realms of nature and culture. But the overt tone of the whole book is critical of government and business decision makers: what authority figures are reinforced through the process of mythic reflection that the above formulation of the role of myth assumes? Two main figures that come to mind are the school teacher (particularly of history and science) and the bureaucrat. The first coaxes us to cherish and become absorbed in our surroundings, and the second enjoins us to participate in, and understand the planning and legislation processes that are presented as the only viable means of protecting those initial values learned in school. These are the aspirations of people who have probably had a positive experience of secondary school or tertiary education and who as a result of this, hold a basic faith in the effi-

cacy of the governmental process in Australia, of the welfare state, the value of education and of administrative expertise that government decisions are likely to be based on. There is little demonstration of hope for different approaches to these matters. Similarly there is nowhere explicit support or enthusiasm for the traditional "bourgeois" notions of individualism, free-market economic solutions or "progress".

A TIME TO CARE

A rather different pattern emerges from A Time To Care [Bell & Sanders, 1980]. Compared to The South West Book it is more politically explicit and also glossier, creating a higher quality photographic experience of ancient and mythic nature with no visual images of human involvement in landscape - this is left to the main text. The poetic aspect of the book, created by the photographic documenting of wilderness beauty along with evocative captions, carries interwoven with it a compressed, articulate, political-economic critique of the capitalist state and the profit motive in modern Western society (it is never explicitly labelled as "capitalist"). These two central themes are not explained separately but run together, for example wilderness destruction is "fuelled by the bureaucratic dreams of empire or the quest for a quick dollar." [p. 26] This is as far as economic explanation goes but historical cause is finally sought and tentatively located in the "Judaean-Christian ethic" which is seen as exploitative and expansionist. There is ambivalence though in the

type of explanation used here. From its inception, this traditional Western civilizing ethic is thought to have dominated over competing "common sense" wisdom which is captured in the maxim "waste not, want not" [p. 94]. And yet later in the text the origin of the exploitative ethic is re-identified as the essentially modern, high consumption values of monopoly capitalism [p. 100] which again topple common sense. Common sense has survived or reappeared in the modern era to be defeated yet again - but only temporarily. It still remains, and as the only real hope for a better, safer society.

Common sense dictates that households or entire civilizations must live within their means. It's an interesting insight into the workings of our society that common sense is only acceptable after verification by computer. [p. 68]

The more recent teleological scenario is the most concrete and interesting. Not only is this combination of ethics/profit/bureaucracy, which forms the basis of the social theory in the text, exploiting the environment for wealth and power but it is bent on the destruction of wilderness because it recognizes in it a radicalizing influence, which threatens a legitimation crisis in "modern consumer society" [p. 100]. The system is aware of threats to its own existence and acts to sustain itself. It is not simply technology which is offered as the explanation for the success of "progress" but the social relations of production which are deeply intertwined, conditioning the reproduction of the exploitative system. The tribal elders of modern society no longer protect the earth from destruction as their native ancestors did but have come to accept as inevitable the expansion of capitalist market relations ("supply and

demand") which themselves stimulated technology and new ways of exploiting nature. The social theory hinted at here is not that of technological or economic determinism but includes notions of over-determination or feedback between base and superstructure. It attempts to give the ideological domain some autonomy both in explaining the causes of environmental destruction and the maintenance of the exploitative social system. But this tends to lead to a philosophical idealism, dependent on abstractions like "the Judaeo-Christian ethic" to explain the root cause of environmental problems and, common sense to overcome them. In other ways though, the account is historical and materialist in character. Modern society is presented as an inversion of the pre-historic, pivoting around the contradictory notion of conservatism.

"The traditional conservatism which once protected the land has been transformed into a conservatism which protects the right to rip it off." [p. 100]

Practical solutions are offered at the end of the book. The final chapter recommends, in summary, a "restructuring of the economy, government, public service, the legal profession, the media and the scientific establishment" [p. 103], in fact everything in society except social relations themselves. These presumably will follow structural change. Taking Tasmania's South West as symptomatic of a global trend towards environmental destruction, a new start is urged on a regional basis, that is, in a "Tasmanian Utopia" which would make use of the skilled workforce and encourage innovative alternative technology designs mainly for energy production and craft industries.

A steady-state economy is needed and it is noted [p. 68], was anticipated by John Stuart Mill. The message of alternative technology here is similar to others suggested worldwide (for example by E.F. Schumacher and James Robertson). It is based on a fiscal policy of removing funding from entrenched, growth-dominated, environmentally destructive industries and using it to encourage experiment in a wide range of new industries. This, it is claimed, would not occur in a haphazard, free-market context but one that was state-planned, having full and rewarding employment as one of its highest priorities. The problem of state and bureaucratic domination is by no means overlooked but ameliorated by freeing-up public access to government decision making and increasing the representativeness of political office-holders. The latter would be achieved by fixed terms of office for politicians and administrators. An essential first step in this democratization process is to have "the media controllers shoulder their responsibility" [p. 106] and allow innovative journalism, education and entertainment.

This book provides a more radical analysis than anything else in the Australian environmental literature which is aimed at a popular audience. It is radical in the sense of providing a broad explanation of environmental problems, relating them to the economic, political and cultural systems of monopoly capitalism, albeit briefly. It is also radical in its advocacy of increased democratic control of social decision-making and greater involvement of "the people" and common sense in that process. As a succinct manifesto for revolutionary social change, its tone is less reformist liberal and more populist

than most environmental literature in Australia and thus more American. Like all such tracts it has no time to get bogged down in detailed feasibility studies although these are foreshadowed in principle by references in the text to economic facts and figures (for example possible forestry production figures [p. 110]). Its main purpose is a broad and necessarily abstract vision which encompasses total social possibilities. As such, A Time To Care succeeds in this aim by conveying a sense of plausibility to the prospect of radical social change. The concrete methods that would be entailed in applying this model for change to real society, appear by implication to be broadly comprehensible by the lay citizen and tractable to the scope and force of the theory and values suggested in the book. In other words it all sounds like it would work because everything important has been thought of. But has it?

An essential part is missing from the centre of its underpinning social theory. Apart from the teleology of anti-nature ethics there is no other provision for explaining the cultural aspects of progressivism (or capitalism) as an historical social movement. The existence of the underlying values such as growth and progress (which the text recognizes) may, it could be argued, reintroduce the structures which were changed by intention, through the application of an "eleventh commandment": "RESPECT THE EARTH" [p. 102]. The need for a dictatorship of the ecologically aware proletariat or technocracy, ironically is cast in terms of the very Judaeo-Christian tradition that produced the problems in the first place, adding to the charge that could be levelled against the book: that it provides no real

escape from the legitimation ideology of capitalism because as a critique it is still partly couched in legitimating assumptions about the nature of such a society. The heart of the political message of the book lies in the quote "The only hope lies in the people themselves." [p. 110] Like all populism, it could be argued, this hope for the future depends unnecessarily on the imagined homogeneity and solidarity of all who aren't isolated in analysis as elites, or villains. Elites are the only social group theorized in any detail in the book. This placing of "the people" onto an abstract pedestal from whence all hope flows, does not seem convincing enough for strategic purposes nor for "the people" themselves. There is little in this political theory that serves to differentiate social groups, functioning for example, as a class analysis does for Marxism, providing an understanding of day to day conflict between people and relating that to the heart of the theory through a historical explanation of social movement or action (that is, class struggle). As a critical social theory and an injunction to change, A Time to Care seems thin in its recognition that processes of economic and political change are changes in social relationships between groups involving widely differing worldviews, lifestyles and needs. It depends heavily on administrative and legal reforms to bring about fundamental social change and neglects cultural analysis of the role of the social majorities which it aspires to represent.

POWER IN TASMANIA

Power in Tasmania [Thompson, 1981] is probably the most comprehensive, non-academic political analysis to come out of environmentalism in Australia. It is a readable, detailed analysis of environmental politics using the Tasmanian issues as the main focus but suggesting much wider applications as well. The audience it is designed for is that of educated or especially interested readers and while it avoids the jargon of social sciences and administration publications it does not rely heavily on emotional appeals through colour images and flowery prose (although there are some of these). It fits more into the format of a popularized semi-academic work giving an objective account of a major social conflict, but at the same time letting be known its committed role in the debate and building strong arguments for conservation goals. It is a book designed to influence the critical onlooker and the progressive administrator or political decision-maker, on rational reformist grounds. To describe the essential features of this book then, is to provide a good example of a well developed social critique that represents the position of many environmentalists and conservationists in Australia (and America).

The two main parts of the book are firstly and predominantly, a critique of orthodox notions of "economic growth", (specifically energy and capital intensive growth in Tasmania) and some suggestions for change. Secondly, sandwiched in between this is a case for the importance of wilderness and other natural and historic features of Tasmania's South West and an account of the political struggle over the region. The main thrust of the social critique by Thompson is

against bureaucracies, drawing on C. Wright Mill's notion of a power elite and paralleling the latter's observations of the American military establishment with the role of the HEC in Tasmania. Thompson describes the extent of the political power that this "public utility" has wielded. He discusses the history of its rise to a point where it is largely unchecked by ministerial control, dictating the industrial development of the state's economy and job creation potential. Compliant in this process have been several other institutions. The Tasmanian Upper House is described as "the most reactionary house of parliament in Australia" [p. 79] and the Lower House as comprised of an ineffective opposition and a Labor government cabinet deeply divided over the Franklin issue. This is pressured on the one hand by some of "Australia's most conservative and reactionary" unions [p. 90] and the conservationists on the other. The unions are seen as a powerful force in the Labor Party but fragmented and unable to organize effectively or grasp the complexities of issues such as energy policy. This has left those Tasmanians who are dependent on the main employers for jobs (the term "class" is not used in the book) vulnerable to misinformation by the HEC and mobilization into anti-conservationist pressure groups* or lobbying for short-term job creation demands regardless of broader issues. All the political factors (the institutions above and individuals whose roles in the account are briefly described) do not interact randomly. The presence behind them all, mainly because it is behind the HEC, is the large corporation and its planning system as described by J.K. Galbraith [p. 149]. As well

* viz. H.E.A.T. (Hydro Employees Action Team) and A.C.E. (Association for Consumers of Electricity).

as "footloose" transnational corporations, large Australian companies have benefitted enormously from the historical strategy of hydro-industrialization. Despite the importance of private companies in the power structure of Tasmania, hinted at by Thompson's account, they are not the subject of close examination. Their presence is only thinly analysed or described and their motives are taken for granted so that they appear as almost unwitting beneficiaries of Tasmania's parochial naiveté in giving away its resources. They are not related to a broad theory of economic development which attempts to explain Australia's role in world markets or the influence of historical factors outside Tasmania or Australia. Governmental processes are shown to be the main problem for Tasmania. The HEC was given too much power by government and almost all else seems to have stemmed from that fact. The focus of the analysis is on monopolistic, corporate powers as such and not on Australia's political economy as a system of interrelated, historically specific political and cultural factors.

All in all though, liberal democracy has not fared well in Tasmania in Thompson's view. It has been a zero-sum game in which the power elite have won and the citizenry lost, many of them unawares. The stakes have been mostly identified as natural resources and cultural ones figure little in the heist. This implies an economic determinism which may have been thought appropriate to the context of debate rather than as a theoretical end in itself. But there seems to be little recognition of the shortcomings of such an approach. There are also other factors which indicate an inadequate explanation of the realm of culture or values. The reforms suggested for Tasmania are

concerned with increasing bureaucratic responsibility to parliament and freedom of information but above all increased resource taxes and Australian equity in foreign investment projects. New areas of investment and job creation are advocated, such as tourism and wood-skills industries. A more steady-state economy is needed so that jobs are not destroyed by capital intensive development and resources not needlessly depleted. Small scale and innovative development as described by E.F. Schumacher, is presented in this book as the alternative to past growth based on high turnover of energy and bulk. The explicit goal of this type of economic system is to increase democratic control of economic decision-making and reduce institutions to a more human scale. Rather than spend much time advocating greater political participation as such, this clearly underlies the book as a hope for the future society. It seems that this would emerge as an automatic result of a smaller scale development policy, as in Sanders' view as well. This is a rather doubtful expectation and Thompson does not deal with the problems of participation directly nor with cultural values or traditions, which may make such reform difficult. While one book cannot do everything, the scope of the title leads one to hope for a fuller view of power, including mass or popular power and powerlessness. It provides a top-down, pluralist view, without any populist enjoiners or references to "the people" as being particularly important one way or another. To some extent it briefly outlines a notion of a ruling class ideology: "At the very root of the HEC's success has been the commonly held set of ideas, interests and practices which have permeated the Tasmanian political establishment for generations" [p. 31]. But this turns out to be only a shared belief

in economic growth based on cheap electricity, hardly a sufficiently broad notion to function as a full-blown ideology, although obviously central to progressivism. In short, the role of ideology at the level of elites and popular culture is neglected. As in Sanders' book the role of majorities or large social sub-groups in social change are hardly differentiated and hence poorly analysed in the context of the general social critique presented. Although a prominent actor in the story of the power of the HEC, Eric Reece, is described as "a talented political populist" [p. 31] the appeal of populism and its long and troublesome history in the labor movement in Australia is not seen as important.

But there is not as much neglect of the social agents of change as in Sanders' book. This function is taken up more or less separately in a description of a small group of agitators who to some extent resemble an artistic or aesthetic avant-garde. The second part of Power in Tasmania outlines a history of wilderness appreciation in Tasmania and of the original movement in America, as a foil to the history of exploitation. In contrast to the critique of the establishment and suggested political and administrative remedies mentioned above, this is the more positive story of the conservationists' vanguard organization. They are seen as non-radical, non-violent and (not unrelated to this) engaged in the most rewarding area of political struggle in modern Western societies, that of the middle ground or "middle-class" voter. This social movement is described by Thompson as being comprised of a group of dedicated activists "young, mostly shy, mostly idealistic" (p. 98). They achieve the success they do

largely because of the determination of leaders and rank and file volunteers to save a specific area of wilderness. Because of the precarious and irretrievable position of wilderness in the modern world this seems to be a truly historic mission. The treatment here contrasts markedly with an earlier consideration of conservationists involved in the Lake Pedder campaign [McKenry, 1972]. This earlier publication (the Pedder Papers) offered an analysis of an environmental issue, as Power in Tasmania does but the latter is much less circumspect about the role of conservation activists and reflects their growing political self-awareness and efficacy.

Through this account Thompson sketches a counter-culture which is a reformist, countervailing power having roots in the American wilderness movement inspired by Thoreau and later Leopold, and a contemporary presence in the Tasmanian conservationists. But this is not just an account of social groups interacting in a material vacuum. The role of wilderness itself is important. Its values are listed, as befits the resource politics approach used generally in the book (genetic diversity, scenic beauty etc.) but it is also seen as having broader significance, somehow crucial to an understanding of society and history. Natural, remote areas are important here at this level because they represent "our first freedom". "Access to the land marked man's universal birthright, regardless of his race, culture or creed" [p. 56] in the pre-agricultural era of human history. This could be seen as a good example of the ideological interpretation of "primitive" cultures in terms of liberal democratic presumptions. Access to land was by no means free from cultural and political res-

trictions in hunter and gatherer societies but the presence of wilderness was obviously closer to everyday life. There is a fairly strong essentialist implication in Thompson's discussion of wilderness here (that is of innate "human nature") but it is only mentioned in passing. This, together with references to pre-agricultural societies (as in Sanders) is typical of environmentalism's "mythic elements" which in other contexts, used by other writers may be typically "bourgeois" in intent or effect, that is seeking to justify present social values by an appeal to what are seen as unavoidable traits of "human nature" (competitiveness, acquisitiveness etc.). Ideas of wilderness and freedom are central and closely related in Power in Tasmania but they are not unambiguously founded on a rhetoric of liberal ethics. The important role of individual freedom here, has little to do with the freedom of the entrepreneur to profit or exploit. It is closer to an approximate formulation of basic human needs and to collective rights over common property. Of greater pertinence to the political theory expressed in the book and more convincingly put (with help from Ivan Illich) is the idea that it is really the irrational or mindless onslaught of technological "progress" that has enslaved people as an automatic consequence of expansion into even the last wilderness areas on the planet, largely for the private profit of the few. This notion more closely relates Thompson's treatment of the environmental movement to his social critique of power which is generally New Left in its major tenets.

Chronicling the rise of importance of wilderness in America and its faltering progress in Australian legal and administrative institu-

tions, Thompson opposes the "strength of the idea" of "wilderness" to that of "politics". Probably the most succinct and encompassing of the many quotes used in this chapter arguing for the value of wilderness and of wilderness as an "idea", is that of an American Wilderness Society Director:

Out of wilderness has come the substance of our culture and with a living wilderness..we shall have also a vibrant, vital culture, an enduring civilization of healthful, happy people who... perpetually renew themselves in contact with the earth... We are not fighting progress, we are making it. [p. 59]

The idea represented so strongly here is not that of ethical responsibility to other creatures or nature as such but a utopian view of social harmony and progress. Thompson goes on: "But the strength of the idea was no assurance of victory. Politics follows no rules of virtue or justice, it is merely the exercise of power by the strongest." [p. 60] This seems to put environmental politics squarely in the ring with the amoral vested interests and bureaucrats, sketched elsewhere by Thompson and thus eschewing the claim to ethical superiority that others who are concerned with or active in environmental issues often use [Birch, 1982]. Ideas like "Freedom" or "Socialism" are hardly less powerful notions than wilderness and they are inseparably in the realm of both pragmatic politics and ethics.

The Tasmanian conservationists in Power in Tasmania, achieve what they do mainly by using television and film to transmit the appeal of the threatened areas to the public, which is assumed to be basically on their side, especially when shown such evidence for the value of this asset (wilderness). The evidence for public support is to be

seen in polls taken in 1979 and cited by Thompson. Since the publication of Power in Tasmania public opinion shifted to show a more or less even split over the Franklin River issue. The susceptibility of people to counter campaigns by the establishment which turn on broader issues such as regional fears about political autonomy ("state rights") is not approached by Thompson's account which fails to analyse popular culture because it does not have an adequate theory of ideology or of social change.

In a later article on the politics of Tasmania, Thompson [1982] ventures somewhat further into this realm by briefly considering the connexion between parochialism and facsism but the Gramscian implications of this line are not taken very far. However this later interest in popular thought may signal an increased concern to find a link between high consumption and hegemony. In this later article, as in Power in Tasmania and in A Time to Care, a devolution of power and scale in the general direction of Schumacher's Small is Beautiful philosophy and James Robertson's Sane Alternative, is advocated. But this whole area and that of mass politics, are dealt with obliquely and briefly. Thompson sees Tasmania's isolation as a possible benefit in redirecting politics, work, education, housing and energy policy into decentralized, self-sufficient and co-operative social endeavours. The prime mover behind this tenuous utopia is an act of will by individuals to become independent despite the wishes of the ruling class. The Marxian style of the scenario is clear, with the "inexorable decline" of the old and triumph of the new occurring as a result of objective conditions determining the (what amounts to) revo-

lutionary actions of people. Yet the fullness of a "correct" or even mediocre Marxist analysis is not found here. There is no evidence for, or implications of the philosophical underpinnings (or preoccupations) that are familiar to Marxism. What else is missing, as it is in Sanders' account, is an elaboration of the subject of this historical movement, the nature of those people or of a class which will tend to carry this process through or spur it on.

SUMMARY

The ideas that have been reviewed here, from some of the more comprehensive writings of environmental activists must be considered in the context of the political debates of which they are part. They are not necessarily representative of views of many people presently or potentially involved in environmental politics but are among the most accessible to research and to the public.

The philosophies and ideologies in these books show a great eclecticism. Elements of reform liberalism, neo-Marxism, anarchism and populism are all intermixed, within works and among authors but nowhere thoroughly developed along any of these lines. There is a noticable absence in later works, of the "Futurist" approach to environmental politics characterised by Dolbeare [1976:ch. 13] and rather, attempts to apply more extended analysis and critique of economic and political characteristics related to environmental issues. These explorations into social theory assiduously avoid the

use of terminology that would identify their ideas with recognizable orthodox or radical political ideologies. This practice is obviously crucial to the fostering of "middle-class" support for environmental campaigns and may help to explain the successfully broad base of political support.

CHAPTER 3: SURVEY METHODS

THE IDEAS OF ACTIVISTS

The focus of the survey is on leaders of voluntary environmental groups. It was assumed that these social movement leaders will hold strong environmental values and the most coherent ideas concerning the politics of environmental issues. To some unknown extent they will reflect and also be influenced by broad public concern. The main point of interest in the debate about their political "representativeness" is that they will be the source of considerable influence that will shape popular views and actions. This will occur through opportunities resulting from their positions, but also because their articulated beliefs and opinions are there to be taken as meaningful, coherent statements of more nebulous ideas held by larger numbers of people not accustomed to formulating concise or convincing arguments and explanations.

The critique of the conventional sociology of knowledge method of taking the work or ideas of intellectuals, as representing the ideas or ideologies of social groups [Abercrombie, 1980:67-69], can be countered to some extent for the purposes of this study. The public face statements and expressions found in the books discussed in Chapter 2 or in response to fairly bald questions asked about political issues (discussed in the next two chapters), are the most likely to be used in public debate. For this reason they are the most likely to enter

the ambit of wider discourse and thus to influence others (particularly power holders or other intellectuals) outside of the interest group or belief system under study.

As argued in the second chapter, middle-class membership is unlikely to be indicative of particular ideological positions. Complicating the situation even further is the fact that social movement leaders (Mannheim's "free-floating intelligensia" or Gouldner's "revolutionary intellectuals" [1976]) are likely to have had uncharacteristic careers and political experience. Political activists may be more widely experienced, better educated or in some unknown way more motivated or capable than others with similar backgrounds. They may be more likely to go beyond the more basic parameters of their upbringing where these are limiting to their broader purposes. Assuming that activists do not necessarily remain captive of any particular world-view learnt during childhood, they are likely to be influenced by experiences and views from sources outside their immediate social backgrounds, for example political views or values of other social classes and other societies. For example the idea that some traditional or "primitive" societies live in a more benign and stable relationship with their environment, is a frequent point of comparison made by environmentalists critical of modern societies [Sanders, 1980]. The field from which expectations or ideas such as this one can be drawn, will be wide due to the likely high level of education of environmental activists and also due to the global nature of certain aspects of the environmental movement and the wide range of social and physical problems that are brought under the rubric of

environmentalism. However there is also a range of life experiences that will be outside the recruiting ground of environmental organizations, if leaders of these organizations are somehow systematically drawn from a particular class background. Such a feature would affect the future "constituency" of the environmental movement and its broader political relevance.

QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The following two sections give a summary of the questions asked of 31 environmental activists in a questionnaire and interview survey, details of its administration and the process used to select the group of respondents. In a review of attempts to find demographic variables that correlate with environmental concern, Van Liere and Dunlap [1980] concluded that these have generally been of limited value. This seems to be because concern for environmental issues is so widespread (in America in that case) and because of the nature of research into environmental concern which tends to lump diverse issues together under broad headings. However the evidence, weak as it is, suggests that concern is more likely to be found among "young, well educated and liberal segments of society" [Van Liere & Dunlap, 1980]. Buttel and Flinn [1978] found education, income and occupation to be weakly correlated with environmental concern but age and place of residence were more strongly associated. With this and similar findings indicating the middle-class character of environmentalists, in mind [Faich & Gale, 1971; Turner, 1979] the survey aimed at establishing a more

detailed picture of the class backgrounds, educational and work experiences and political views of the respondents. Some broad questions were asked but to avoid the problem of over-generalizing some interview questions concerned specific local issues.

The first group of questions asked (mostly in the questionnaire) were about class, career and political backgrounds. The questionnaire that all respondents completed, asked for information on four main areas:

- (1) organizational involvement of the respondent and of peers and family,
- (2) age, marital status, property ownership and residence history,
- (3) parents' occupations and educations,
- (4) respondents' education and employment.

They thus mainly established social background factors of respondents, in terms of political/ideological influences, class background and their own class experiences and careers.

The second group of questions (mostly asked in interviews) concerned views or ideas held by respondents. The interview was structured around questions of fixed wording (see Appendix 1) and generally took about one hour. There were a few minor variations in the order of one or two questions and discretionary probe questions were occasionally used to elicit further views on unclear responses. The views of respondents were sought in four main areas:

- (1) general perception of social problems,
- (2) political-economic institutional change,
- (3) strategies and perceptions of future environmental politics,
- (4) voting preferences and self-assessment of political positions.

The interviews established cognitive and attitudinal positions of respondents, in terms of political theory and practices.

The questionnaire was sent out from September 1982 and interviews done mostly in November and December. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the results of these two parts of the survey respectively, together with more discussion of the significance of the particular questions asked. Chapter 6 concludes with an assessment of this evidence in the light of the questions raised in Chapter 1.

SELECTION OF ACTIVISTS

The aim of the selection process was to tap the area of most coherent political positions and ideologies of the environmental movement. The selection of activists for the questionnaire and interview was made in three steps. The first step was to identify positional leaders. An initial group of 41 office holders in the 13 most active voluntary environmental organizations, were sent a questionnaire. This first group was selected because they were prominent in the organizations and hence probably involved for some time and heavily committed. Also included were office holders from some smaller groups which were formed around environmental issues, for political purposes. The organizations which formed the basis of the initial and final selections and the numbers selected from each, are listed in the table at the end of this chapter.

These 41 office holders represented all the politically visible environmental organizations active in Tasmania at the time of writing or in two cases only recently defunct (within the last year). They

were chosen from The Green Pages, a directory of environmental groups in Australia published by the largest national umbrella organization, The Australian Conservation Foundation [1982] (there were 57 groups in Tasmania listed as at December 1981). This directory is not exhaustive but further enquiries about newly opened branches and groups that had declined in prominence brought the list up to date. The groups chosen from this list were those that appeared concerned primarily with political activism, conservation or preservation rather than recreation or amenity. The initial selection therefore represented people from a variety of "environmental" causes.

Secondly, a self-selecting, snowball technique was used to help ensure that the subjects chosen finally for the survey, included those who were thought to be the most influential by other activists. The questionnaire asked the respondent to nominate the most "effective" people in the environmental movement.* This yielded a list of 15 people who were named more than once and they were all then sent the questionnaire if they had not already returned one. Half of this reputational group of 15 had already been chosen in the first step, described above (as office holders). The other half were either considered effective environmentalists for their work outside voluntary organizations or for past involvement (that is, they were not currently active - two cases only).

The third step produced the final group of activists who would be the object of the survey. To the reputational group of 15 was added

* See questionnaire item # 1. The process thus relied on respondents' own interpretation of the two concepts of "effectiveness" and "the environmental movement".

most of the original positional group (that is, office holders) who had returned questionnaires but who were not named more than once.

The group of opinion leaders described above, were all known as conservationists, involved mainly with the Franklin River issue or with the past Lake Pedder issue. The initial selecting group interpreted "environmental" mainly to mean conservation activists and so nominated this entirely conservation-oriented group of opinion leaders. To make the final subject group consistent with this tendency four from the first office holder group were left out because they were not activists from nature conservation organizations.

A reminder letter was sent to those who had not returned the questionnaire and the final response rate was 77%. This was high and reflected a general openness and co-operative spirit that was apparent in the interviews that followed. The final subject group who were all interviewed included all the opinion leaders (the reputational 15) and nearly all the conservationist office holders (the positional group - two were not available for subsequent interviews). The questionnaire and interview responses of these 31 are analysed in the last three chapters. The input and output, as it were, of the selection process just described, is shown in the following table.

S E L E C T I O N P R O C E S S

Office Holders Initially Approached	Final Respondents Surveyed
Tas. Wilderness Soc. Head Office - 5 Branches - 18	Tas. Wilderness Soc. Head Office - 6 Branches - 10
Tas. Conservation Trust Head Office - 2 Branches - 5	Tas. Conservation Trust Head Office - 3 Branches - 5
The National Trust of Aust. - 2	The National Trust of Aust. - 0
Small or Single Issue Forestry/Preservation Groups etc. - 5	Small or Single Issue Forestry/Preservation Groups etc. - 3
Anti-Nuclear/Peace Groups - 2	Anti-Nuclear/Peace Groups - 0
Branches, International Environmental Groups - 2	Branches, International Environmental Groups - 0
Opinion Leaders Not Currently Active In Groups - 0	Opinion Leaders Not Currently Active In Groups - 4

Those selected by this process, which was based initially on voluntary environmental organizations, were also predominantly active in this sphere. Effectiveness was taken to mean political effectiveness by voluntary, public figures. The institutional part of environmentalism (government or private sector employees) was not regarded as particularly effective in the sense intended by the voluntary group.

CHAPTER 4: ACTIVISTS' BACKGROUNDS

This chapter examines some basic demographic and sociological features of the 31 conservation activists selected as described in Chapter 3. Are there any obvious factors that may help indicate why they have become involved in environmental politics and in particular is there a characteristic class background that may be common to them and which may have somehow influenced or determined their views? Are there any typical forms of shared life experiences which may indicate reasons for past and future environmental and political interests? May such factors influence future patterns of participation in environmental politics?

Background factors described below are divided into three main areas: parents' occupation and education; respondents' education and; occupational careers and organizational and other influences on their involvement in environmental politics.

Some comparisons are suggested between the data from the survey and other sources, to give at least a rough idea of the proportions involved which may be checked against evidence from other research. In some instances figures are available from the statistics collected (by Tasmanian Wilderness Society organizers) of people arrested during the South West blockade of December 1982 to March 1983. These will allow for some estimation of the relationship between activist organizers (the respondents) and their supporters (public environmen-

talism).

The selection of respondents was made up of 20 males and 11 females. This ratio of 65:35 is similar to the 61:39 of arrested blockaders. The ages of the respondents ranged from 24 to 56 but two thirds of the group was between 27 and 38 years of age with most of the rest in their forties. The average of respondents age was 37 (it was 28 for blockaders).

CLASS BACKGROUNDS

Were there any notable relationships between the parental class backgrounds of respondents and their own careers or political and ideological positions? The usual indicators of social class position and socio-economic status which are most readily available are education, income and occupation. In examining the class positions of respondents' parents no question on income was asked (because it is unlikely that they would have reliable knowledge of their parents income) but data on occupation and education indicate that there is a tendency for fathers to have had high status and income occupations. Over a third (11/28) were in the "Professional, Technical and Related Workers" or the "Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers" categories of the 1981 census coding system used by ABS [1981].*

* Similarly with mothers, about a third who had an occupation other than housewife or mother, fell into these categories.

Comparable figures for this cohort from the census of 1961 show that the proportion of the male workforce in professional, administrative or managerial occupations was only half this at 15%.

Details of parents' employment were initially gathered from the questionnaire but checked later in interviews. Over two thirds (18/27) of the respondents' fathers who were in the workforce when the respondent was 14 could be classified as wage or salary earners and the other third as self-employed (all but one of these employing others at some time). Comparing occupational statuses of the working fathers with 1961 census data for males there is a slight underrepresentation of wage earners, who comprised three quarters of the male workforce in 1961. Correspondingly the proportion of self-employed and employers amongst the working fathers is considerably higher than the 18% of the Australian workforce in these categories in 1961. Most parents had completed some high-school and some fathers had university educations (8/29). Completing even four years of high school was not common for a cohort at school in the 1920s, as most respondents' parents were. In New South Wales for example 60% of primary school students enrolled in their first year of secondary school but only 4% of these reached 4th year [NSW Govt., 1924]. The respondents' mothers' educational and occupational positions mirrored closely those of fathers, that is the wives of professional fathers tended to have some educational qualification or employment skill whereas wives of the unqualified employees did not.

A breakdown of fathers' class positions by economic and educational criteria shows the three largest groups to be: employees

with no trade or university qualifications (over 1/3 - but four of whom had supervisory roles); less than a third were small-businessmen (4 of whom had university qualifications), and; professional employees (7/28), all with university degrees (or in one case, teachers' college training).

Considering the economic sectors that fathers were employed in, the corporate sector (government or large private enterprise firms) and the competitive sector (small and medium sized businesses) accounted for half each, with nearly a third of the respondents fathers working as government employees.*

So clearly activists are more likely than most people, to have had childhoods where family income and attitudes to education would have fostered educational and other forms of achievement. At the same time though, the group was not dominated numerically by any particular parental occupational or sectoral type, such as professional fathers.

ACTIVISTS' EDUCATIONS

Not surprisingly environmental activists were well educated. All but one of the respondents had completed five or six years of high school (the retention rate to year 12 for secondary school students in Australia in the late 60s was about one in five [Anderson & Vervoorn, 1983:65]).

* The proportion of male wage and salary earners employed in the government sector in the early 1960s was just under 30%, for Australia.

Respondents had mostly attended state secondary schools. Only two reported attending a private, non-Catholic high school and one of these for only a year. Enrolments in private (non-Catholic) schools at this time represented less than 5% of Australian students [Anderson & Vervoorn, 1983:78].* The proportion of respondents who attended Catholic secondary schools was similar to the approximate 20% of Australian pupils attending Catholic schools in the early and mid 60s.

A very high proportion of the respondents - more than half (18/31) - had at least one university degree and another five had teaching, nursing, art or technical diplomas or certificates. The average number of years of education for the group was nearly 15. Nearly a third either had higher degrees or were completing some other tertiary course. Of Australians in their 30s only about 5% had at least one degree and about 11% had non-degree qualifications.**

The proportion of respondents with high-status fathers (in terms of occupations, as described above) was similar to that of Australian university students - about 40-50% [Anderson & Vervoorn, 1983:130-146]. But there was no simple relationship between fathers' and respondents' educations. Of the respondents who had a degree, half had fathers with no education beyond high school.

As higher education appears to be an important feature of respondents' careers the subject areas of education may give some idea of

* None of the schools attended corresponded to those elite schools listed in a recent study of Australian elites [Pakulski, 1982].

** The best measuring stick available to provide some comparison of educational standards is the 1981 census which asked for highest education level achieved and subject area [ABS, 1983:15].

values or outlooks. The most striking feature was the underrepresentation of technical or trade fields. About 60% of the qualifications held by Australians according to the 1981 census, were in the technical and industrial fields such as engineering, architecture, manufacturing and trades. Only three of the respondents could be classified in such fields. A few others had completed courses but since moved into other areas or had discontinued courses in these fields. Similarly there were very few respondents with qualifications in high status professions of medicine and law. The largest group of subject areas was in the arts and human sciences.

Nearly half the respondents had qualifications in these areas, which in the census accounted for 32% of Australians with some qualifications. But more suggestive was the comparison between respondents with qualifications in the natural sciences (that is biology, forestry etc.). Nearly a quarter of respondents were in this category compared to only 5% for Australian qualifications.

So generally activists' educations may have led to an intellectual orientation towards the broad issues of social and ethical impacts of science, economic growth and political change. Also as a result they may be unfamiliar with technical matters concerning particular industries and technologies. But seeing this another way, they have not been exposed to the "ideology of feasibility" [Schnaiberg, 1977] which has politically conservative implications and is associated with a narrow, technical interpretation of social issues.

Virtually all those who had attended a university did so during

the decade from 1965 to 1975, which was a period spanning the influential political events such as the anti-Vietnam activity in Australia and America, the European strikes of the late 1960s and the sacking of the Whitlam Labor government in Australia in 1975.

WORK CAREERS

There was no evidence to suggest a dominant type of occupational or career pattern amongst activists, such as alienating downward mobility or status role incongruities, supposedly leading to political extremism or radicalism. Nor was there a tendency to social and occupational entrenchment or smooth career paths; rather, a high degree of geographic, occupational and educational mobility was the norm.

As a result of the tertiary qualifications mentioned above nearly a third took their first full-time jobs in professional fields (mostly as teachers*). Another third began their careers as apprentices or trainees in skilled, technical or trade occupations. The remaining third were first employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs (mainly clerical). Only one of this last group had a degree at that time although several others had discontinued some type of course.

Nearly all respondents have had different jobs since this time. Of the unskilled and unqualified group, most have since gained degrees or now work in their own businesses. Half the skilled group went on to get higher qualifications (mostly degrees) in other fields while a

* Since then six have left teaching and three entered the field.

few others were now self-employed. Half of the professional group were still employed in fields commensurate with their training.

A questionnaire item asked the respondents for their current or most recent (full-time) job. The following table shows respondents' most recent paid occupations, the comparable ABS figures for all Australians in these categories at the 1981 census and the occupations of 1024 arrested blockaders which showed less of a tendency towards high status occupations and tertiary educations but still higher than average.

O C C U P A T I O N S

	Activists	Blockaders	Census
Professional & Technical	55%	40%	11%
Other Occupations	39%	24%	45%
Not Employed	2/31	36%	44%

Percentages rounded. "Not Employed" includes unemployed, students, housewives & retired.

Generally these figures confirm studies showing that environmental activism correlates with high-status occupations and high education levels (for example, for New South Wales conservationists see Turner, 1979:255-256). Further implications of this will be discussed

in the last chapter.

No direct question on income was asked but from apparent lifestyles and discussions in interviews (which were often in the respondents's home) and information on careers, it was possible to make an estimation in most cases. It seemed unlikely that any lived on particularly high incomes and many lived on incomes that were below average. About a quarter of respondents were employed full-time in high status and average or higher than average income brackets (mostly as educators). Most of the other quarter who were in the full-time work force, were self-employed in small businesses (often in visual arts or related creative fields).

Considering the activists who responded to the survey (except women with families) on the basis of differences between first and present or last full-time jobs and their qualifications, over half were upwardly mobile in the sense of gaining higher qualifications and jobs, or by establishing businesses whereas before they were unskilled employees.

A striking feature of activists' careers was high geographic mobility. Most respondents came to Tasmania as adults. One third were migrants to Australia, born in Britain and America and most came to Australia as adults.* Only one third were born in Tasmania and the remaining third elsewhere in Australia. Nearly half of respondents had been in Tasmania for less than 12 years (since 1970) and most of

* For Australia, the proportion of overseas born residents is less than this at about 20% and half of these are from non-English speaking countries.

this group (or 1/3 of the respondents) had spent childhoods in cities and moved to Tasmania as adults. Many activists thus appear to have attempted a permanent move to a region with greater "environmental quality" than they were brought up in. Several indicators give an idea of integration into a community or "settledness". Virtually all respondents had had their most recent full-time jobs in Tasmania and many who had qualifications (or attempted them) had studied in Tasmania. Most own houses (two thirds) and most of those have mortgages. Only two home owners and four others said that they owned other property which was usually indicated in interviews to be a holiday house. Nearly two thirds were married, five had never been married and just over half of the respondents had children (usually one or two).

SUMMARY

The general profile of activists' backgrounds so far shows that they are often in their late 30s and have settled in Tasmania as adults, living on moderate incomes. There was no reason to identify the group with the new-class, in terms of their parental backgrounds but their own careers often led into it. Their parents' careers showed a mixture of working -class, petit-bourgeois and "new middle-class" characteristics although most did have more secondary and tertiary education than was common for that generation. Most activists had had early or recent jobs in the corporate sector where a university degree was required, and many of these were school teach-

ers. Several others had moved into new-class occupations from unskilled occupations, bringing the total to over a half. While most activists have university educations many of these were as mature age students and careers were not pursued in elite professions or in big business.

This evidence supports a study of student radicals in America, which traced career paths and political involvement ten years after the protests of the early 60s [Fendrich, 1973]. It was found here that protestors had maintained a "radical, humanistic commitment" and followed careers in the public sector "rejecting the traditional occupations and occupational values that only offer conventional rewards such as money, status and security. In fact they are pursuing careers that offer substantially less financial reward." To drastically simplify the pattern which appears *so far*, activists were brought up to value educational achievement, were politicized (radicalized or disenchanted) as a result of university life or other cultural events of the 60s and 70s and this led to mobility and broader interests in politics, as will be seen below.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

In investigating the social influences that may have shaped environmental activists' political positions and values, the organizations that they joined (and in particular, were active in) are bound to have been important [Putnam, 1976]. The questionnaire asked for

details of past and present organizations that the respondents were "active" in. The types of organizations requested in the questionnaire were described as "environmental or voluntary organizations, political parties, charity groups or trade unions". As the main point of interest in this study is the political nature of environmentalism, bushwalking and other recreational groups were omitted from the following analysis and treated separately although respondents usually listed these as "environmental groups".

Altogether 123 memberships to political or lobby organizations, of various types were listed. Half of these were current memberships (58). The main type which respondents were currently active in reflected the selection criterion which chose those in the clearly politically active or "radical" groups (39/123), mostly the Tasmanian Wilderness Society. The next most common membership was of the less activist environmental groups (36/123) usually the Tasmania Conservation Trust and there was a considerable amount of cross-membership between these two.

There was no evidence of strong movements from one type to the other when current memberships were compared to ones that had lapsed. There was no other particularly large group or type of organization, comparable to these two, listed by respondents. The Australian Labor Party was listed by nearly a third of the respondents but very few were current members, which is not surprising considering the controversial position of the Tasmanian A L P in environmental politics. Somewhat more common were memberships of centre political parties (11/31), notably the United Tasmania Group (U T G - active in the

early 70s) and the Australian Democrats. There were even fewer current memberships to the Democrats than to the ALP. There were also very few cross memberships between these two centre parties and between them and the ALP.

Over half of the respondents (17/30) had said that they were active in some form of (broadly) political organization (usually only one or two) before joining their first environmental organization. Of the six respondents who mentioned anti-nuclear groups only one was a currently active member. None listed radical left memberships, although because of the politically sensitive position that they were in at the time, some of these were mentioned later in interviews but not listed. Trade unions were listed three times and one of these was a current membership. Other types of organizations listed by a few respondents were "urban amenity" (for example residents' action groups) peace and human rights, international aid and feminist groups.

Over half of respondents (16/26) held one office only in any current organization listed by them.* With regard to past memberships, a quarter had been active in only one organization and another quarter in two organizations. The other half ranged up to 17 memberships. Considering the total number of political organizations which the respondents listed or mentioned the most common range was from three

* Another seven respondents held offices in two organizations and the remaining two held them in three organizations. The notion of office-holding was often said to be problematic (both on the questionnaire and in interviews) mainly by respondents from smaller organizations, because they tried to avoid formalized structures. If the broader definition of involvement is used (including "active in") the group comprised; a third involved in only one organization and another third involved in two organizations. The rest were active in up to seven.

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INVOLVEMENT

Some further indication of the extent of involvement in organizations may be seen in answers to the question on "approximate hours per week spent" in current organizations. Estimates of time involvement of 23 respondents were obtained. The group fell roughly into thirds: full-timers who said they spent over 40 hours per week (up to 100 in one case), those spending less than six hours per week and a group in between who spent one to two days per week. The duration of organizational memberships will also give some idea of involvement of activists. It would not make much sense to average memberships for individuals or across individuals due to wide discrepancies between types of organizations, different reasons for involvement and the varying ages of the respondents. However for those who listed them, a clear tendency does emerge for past memberships to all organizations to have lasted for about 2-3 years. Most respondents joined the first environmental organization that they were active in, in the late 70s or 1980 and another smaller group in the late 60s and early 70s. That is, a small group joined at the same time as they were at universities but most did so some time after they had qualified. Many of these memberships were to "radical" or activist groups (17/29 - most of these to the Tasmanian Wilderness Society) rather than to moderate groups (11/29). About half of the respondents were still active in their first organizations. When all past memberships to environmental organiza-

tions are considered (and one unusually long membership is omitted) the average length of time spent in these organizations is just under three years. Similarly for non-environmental organizations (with one unusually long membership omitted) past memberships averaged just over 2.5 years.

As seen in the above descriptions there is a wide range of types and degrees of involvement, in a fair range of different organizations reflecting different political and humanitarian concerns. There was a group of activists who appeared from their responses to the survey, to be long-serving in a large number of political or environmental campaigns. But this did not correspond closely with those currently spending the most time in environmental organizations nor with being older or widely respected as effective political workers, lobbyists or leaders. There appeared to be no significant relationship between the number of times named as effective and age, education, number of memberships of environmental organizations or years lived in Tasmania. However there was apparently recognition for hours spent in environmental activities, or in other words the full-time activists were widely recognized as the most "effective" by other activists in the survey.

REASONS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST

In response to a question about membership of religious, cultural, sport or hobby groups nearly two thirds (19/30) of the respon-

dents listed over 40 memberships. About half of these memberships were to sports, arts, crafts or science organizations. The other half were to outdoor recreation or hobby clubs which would have relied on the existence of natural or wilderness areas.*

It was expected that many environmental activists would have been involved in outdoor recreation clubs since before their involvement in political activism. Half of these respondents had been or were still members of Tasmania's two main bushwalking clubs in most cases. Memberships were longstanding ones (most over 13 years). A better idea of those who were bushwalkers or users of wilderness and outdoors resources (and who may not have been in clubs) was available from answers to a specific interview question concerning frequency of outdoor recreation. About two thirds of the respondents said that they did some serious walking and had been for a full day or overnight, within the last six months.

Clearly, recreational activities and the aesthetic or psychic benefits that stem from these are an important factor in involvement in environmental politics, but they can hardly be considered sufficient reason to explain why activism is adopted rather than passivity and tolerance of perceived environmental destruction. Neither are users of an outdoor resource automatically sympathetic with the

* As an aside, some evidence of childhood exposure to different environments was provided by answers to survey questions on places of birth, school locations and self-assessment of backgrounds. There was no clear tendency of rural or urban backgrounds, with about a third having spent childhoods in both areas or on city fringes. They roughly paralleled the proportion of about 55% of Australians born in "metropololitan" centres (at about the same time as this cohort) as defined and recorded in the 1947, 1954 and 1961 censuses [ABS].

environmentalist image or aims.

When asked why they first joined an environmental organization most found it difficult to name specific factors but most common was the influence of the Lake Pedder controversy and involvement in the U T G at that time (8/31). Another group mentioned the influence of friends or peers generally (7/31) and others attributed their initial invol^{ve}ment to an interest in the bush, walking or nature (6/31). Few mentioned family influences.

Was there any evidence of a predominance of family or peer group influence at the time these respondents joined their first environmental organization? Several questionnaire items asked for friends and family involvements at the time the respondent joined their first "environmental organization" (not necessarily the one they were first active in). Most (19/26) had at least one friend or family member involved in environmental issues at this time and a quarter had had friends or family involved only in non-environmental types of organizations (as specified in the question). Very few said that a parent had been involved in environmental issues or organizations (in any way) at that time but a quarter had parents involved in non-environmental organizations which were usually A L P or social welfare organizations.

The influence of friends, rather than family, seems to have been important in starting and maintaining involvement in environmentalism. The respondents' closest friends who were mentioned (including spouses) were usually in environmental organizations (35/48). Looking

more closely at peer group influence, the number of spouses and friends who were involved in environmental issues or organizations doubled, from when the respondent first joined an environmental organization, to the time of the survey. By the time of the survey virtually all had a close friend involved and nearly half now had all three close friends involved in environmental organizations or issues. At the time of the respondents' first membership of an environmental organization just under a third of their spouses and friends listed, were involved in non-environmental organizations, mainly left and centre politically. By the time of the interview this proportion had fallen to below 9%.

Peer influence is probably more important in maintaining activism and social involvement in organizations, than it was in instigating it, for this group. Clearly many activists had made close friends as a result of their organizational involvement which among other things, was probably perceived as a rewarding social experience.

SUMMARY

Most activists had been (and still were) predominantly involved in nature conservation organizations. But most had been in other political organizations prior to these. They have tended in the past to remain in organizations for two to three years. About half of the respondents had a recreational interest in wilderness which predated their involvement in politics. Activists in the survey are

both full and part-time and show a wide range of degrees of involvement (currently and in the past). The organizations that they had been involved in were notably oriented around protest or alternative political issues, with virtually no religious, conservative political, business or professional groups mentioned. Previous experience in non-conservative political parties was the most notable, common factor amongst respondents and together with other factors indicates a general searching for effective political opportunities and organizational involvement. The historical precedent of the Lake Pedder issue together with their earlier, serious interest in wilderness recreation probably provided a focus for activism.

To characterize conservation activists as a "single issue" group is misleading, in this light. They have longstanding, although sporadic interests in broad political change but appear to have found particular conservation issues in Tasmania a more suitable (or perhaps tractable) area to focus on.

CHAPTER 5: ACTIVISTS' POLITICAL VIEWS

Specific evidence of political ideologies was sought from interview questions and consequent discussions which asked about political self-identification, voting and how these had changed over time. Other less specific aspects of ideology were probed by 16 more questions on social change and social theory. Most of these are formed into groups which step down from more general issues to specific or local ones. As mentioned in Chapter 1 the aim here is not to evaluate or compare these ideas and attitudes but to describe the most common features elicited in the interviews. Their responses to these questions can be best described by paraphrasing interview responses around the key words and terms chosen by the respondents at the time. The groups of questions and their responses which are detailed below concern:

- (a) political positions
- (b) world and Australian problems/solutions.
- (c) Australian political change
- (d) economic growth.

Related to their views on these broad topics, were views on the environmental movement itself;

- (e) their relationship with "the public" and
- (f) their strategies.

The end of this chapter deals with the responses to 11 questions on this area.

POLITICAL POSITIONS

In the 1980 Federal election most of the respondents had voted ALP for their first preference in the Lower House (18/24). None had voted Liberal and only one other had as a second preference. The other first preferences were nearly all for the Australian Democrats. Second preferences (for the 12 that remembered) went to ALP in half of the cases and to Democrats or independent and socialist candidates for the others. State elections were not a clear indicator of political position in terms of Labor and Liberal voting. The circumstances of the 1982 state election, for Labor in Tasmania, generally provided a difficult choice for many respondents. Virtually all voted for the independent or Democrat "No Dams" candidate standing in their electorate and very few gave first preference to ALP "No Dams" candidates.

When asked about how political position had changed over time about half had clearly had traditional labor or left of centre backgrounds in terms of parents' voting or interests. This group had all voted labor when younger and some mentioned that they had at one time been involved or seriously interested in radical left organizations. Nearly all of them had voted ALP in the last Federal election (but only half had given the ALP second preference in the state election).

The other main group in terms of parents' and their own early voting, could be described as more conservative or right-wing. About a quarter of respondents fell clearly into this group either saying that they used to vote Liberal or describing

their parents as Liberal voting, or both.*

Most respondents labelled themselves left or socialist to some degree (23/31). When asked to describe their political position the most common responses were that this was difficult to define or that they had not given it much thought. Some used words like "moderate" or "centre" and others suggested "radical" or "left" but with reservations. A few used "anarchist" to partly describe their position. Very few respondents could apply a standard phrase to themselves without difficulty and the uncertainties about being more specific were expressed in three ways. Firstly there were doubts about the type or degree of radicalism. About a third found the label "radical left" to be the most appropriate but had serious reservations about the use of the term radical, for themselves. Secondly there were doubts about identifying with the left rather than the centre. About half were unsure about being labelled left at all or did so with firm qualifications using terms like "left-leaning" or "left of centre". A few others implied or said that they were liberal or non-socialist radicals, or used a simple "moderate" or "centre" description. Thirdly there was uncertainty about the relevance of ideas like left-wing, socialism and Marxism. Some expressed confusion or doubted the adequacy of these terms in relation to environmental problems or to the Australian and especially Tasmanian political situation. For example about a quarter said there was no viable or real left in

* The remaining respondents provided no clear indicators to put them into either of the two groups above. Instead they indicated that they were at variance with parents' conservatism or had parents who were mixed (both different) or swinging voters or in three cases the respondents had come from America or Britain where their early political ideas or situations were difficult to compare to Australia.

Tasmania. A few others refused to label themselves at all, rejecting the left-right dichotomy.*

Had activists changed their political positions? Several main shifts can be summarized from their comments on voting (above) and on self-identification. Just under half of the respondents said that they had moved left (mostly from left positions or backgrounds). A few others had become more moderate or conservative and the rest said that they had not changed their position (mostly on the left i.e. about 1/3 of respondents).

Political positions, as described above, based on respondents' reports of their own views and behaviour are obviously an indication of political ideologies and philosophies. However they cannot be taken as final mainly because of definitional problems with political labels of the kind mentioned frequently by the respondents themselves. The next section in this chapter will describe more fully the political theories and practices of activists to try to characterize the type of socialism that this left-leaning leadership group envisages. But before doing this what can be said about the causal factors of political positions as described above?

Generally social class location was not a good indicator of political views. The strong and mild left groups (most of the respondents) had parental occupational and educational backgrounds of all

* The other common statements made regarding political position concerned problems with or dislike of political parties as such (9/28). Two respondents rejected the idea or viability of socialism /communism and another four expressed support for a mixed economy or the need to protect or allow free enterprise to some extent.

class or strata types described in the previous chapter (that is working-class, small-business and white collar professional).*

Although sources of political influence as such, were not asked for in interviews, about a quarter of the respondents mentioned that the anti-Vietnam protests influenced their involvement in environmental politics, either directly or as observers. In the previous chapter it was shown that there was some parental influence on respondents' involvement in political organizations but peer influence seemed more important, particularly through previous environmental issues (notably the Lake Pedder campaign) and a range of other issues typical of modern social movement concerns which characterized political dissent in the industrial capitalist societies of the 1960s and 70s. Another indication of some of the intellectual and political influences that may have contributed to environmental activists' views was a question about books which they had read and found helpful in understanding environmental and social issues. Respondents answered this in the questionnaire and a list of titles and authors is provided in Appendix 2. Apart from five who said that they hadn't read much or that they learnt more from dealing with people directly, nearly 80 books, journals and authors were listed. The largest group by far was that of books by fairly well known ecologists, alternative technology advocates and "futurologists" such as the Club of Rome, the Ehrlichs, Rachael Carson, E.F. Schumacher,

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Alvin Toffler and Ivan Illich. Also figuring strongly were works by socialist and Marxist economists and philosophers. Environmental journals and fiction were each as common as these.

FUTURES

Several questions were asked in the interviews which aimed to sample a crossection of ideas which would be indicative of respondents' political positions and broad understandings of common issues other than environmental ones.

The first questions concerned the main problems faced by "humanity" and then "Australia" and how likely it was that they would be solved or ameliorated. The most pressing world problem for nearly half the respondents was seen as nuclear war (some described the nuclear industry as inseparable from the threat of nuclear war). Most respondents mentioned two main problems and often felt that they could not be separated. Three other types of main problems were commonly mentioned.

(1) The "overuse" or "unwise use of resources" were frequently used to encompass a broad range of situations which went beyond particular environmental issues.

(2) In the same vein more specific problems were perceived such as pollution, ecosystem failures and resource destruction. Overpopulation was singled out as a pressing long-term world problem by some.

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(2) In the same vein more specific problems were perceived such as pollution, ecosystem failures and resource destruction. Overpopulation was singled out as a pressing long-term world problem by some.

(3) The other main type of response concerned "human nature" or people's understanding or values, for example regarding consumption, industrialization, profit, ignorance and most frequently and cogently put, "greed".

The most common position on whether these problems would be solved was one of pessimism but not total gloom: about a third said that it was possible but not probable. The next most common response was one of cautious optimism for the long-term and these together with a few who expressed some confidence, formed another third of the group.

The main problem faced by Australia* clearly emerged as that of foreign ownership of resources and the consequent abuse or depletion which this was assumed to entail. One third of the respondents mentioned multi or transnational ownership or control of Australian resources. A few others mentioned resource abuse or overuse in connection with political conservatism or lack of personal and "cultural" self-confidence of Australians. Too much affluence, general apathy or materialistic values were also given by some as the main problem. Somewhat fewer than in the case of the world problems, felt able to judge whether these Australian problems would be solved but these 25 fell fairly evenly into either guarded optimists and not total pessimists. Most who were optimistic about the world's future tended to be so about Australia's future as well (about 1/4) and another quarter was pessimistic in both cases.

* the question was asked in a way which avoided repetition of the previous world problem, applied to Australia.

INSTITUTIONS

Assuming the general importance of "environmental" problems to the respondents, the next question asked for the main change necessary in Australia before they could be solved. The most common response (by 12/31) was a change in values or attitudes by Australians which was often given as a more or less self-contained or self-evident solution. Presumably these were references to, in some cases, a need for people to care more for their environment. In other cases there was the statement or implication that it was broader political values that had to change. The next most common response to this question was the clear statement that the political system needed to be more responsive to, and representative of people's needs, thus alleviating at least, environmental abuse. When a second "main" change was considered as well which was often an elaboration of the first, the idea of education and knowledge emerged strongly. Other changes seen to be important were: an increase in self-confidence of Australians; a greater moral awareness and; freedom of information.

Nearly three quarters of the respondents felt that Australia's "political institutions" were incapable of solving environmental problems. The other quarter felt that it was not the basic nature or form of the political system that was the main problem but that it was either abused or not used to best advantage. When asked what specific changes they would like to see to improve this situation there was a diverse range of suggestions. The most common of the general answers (by 1/3 of respondents) was that there should be more access to the political system and more participation by people generally. This was

closely related by these respondents to the availability of knowledge, information and education. The next most common and more specific reply was the necessity for more diversity of political representatives (that is, alternatives to the two party system). The main reason for this need, which was often expressed with some force, was the corruptibility and self-serving nature of politicians. Other answers were: socialism, stronger centralized government controls and several specific reform measures.

Having thus sought an outline of their criticisms of the political sphere and some views on how to change it, respondents were asked to isolate the main power group in the Tasmanian context. Responses to this question were fairly evenly spread across several types:

(1) general economic agents such as capitalists, major industries, multinationals and more specifically the HEC and the Tasmanian media;

(2) the more inclusive notion of elite groups (who may have been mainly local for example, the "Tasmania Club") or;

(3) elites specifically mentioned as being dominated from outside, consisting of companies, politicians and bureaucrats and to a lesser extent, large agricultural land holders.

Only three mentioned the political parties and none singled out anything like "the people", "the unions" or a class, as a significant power group.*

Another question tested for belief in the efficacy of referenda as a means of political determination. It was felt that this would be

* Those who mentioned companies or industries were asked to specify these and nearly all mentioned Comalco (10/11), then EZ, followed by A.P.P.M. and A.N.M. and various others.

particularly pertinent to activists in Tasmania because of the state Labor Government's referendum on the Franklin-Gordon dams in 1981. Nearly all respondents answered this question in the negative. They rejected the validity of a hypothetical referendum with an anti-conservation outcome (23/30) although two did so with some difficulty. A few said they would have accepted such an outcome if there had been proper dissemination of information or education beforehand. The reasons given (by just over half of respondents) for this strong response, were that such a means of determining the outcome of this type of issue was inadequate because majorities were not always right, didn't understand the issues fully or were too easily swayed by false appeals from vested, establishment interests. Two other equally common responses were that the domination of the information channels by such interests precluded proper dissemination of information, and that the issue of the Franklin dam should have been determined on a national or international level, such was its significance.

SOCIAL EQUITY

A further question to help determine the respondent's stance on traditional political issues was a direct query on the desirability of "more equality in Australia". The ensuing discussion usually involved the respondent asking for a clearer definition of the term which was not given. Instead their own understanding of its meaning was sought and the extent to which they saw it as an important or feasible social goal. Nearly all who felt they could answer did so in the affirmative

(23/29). A few of these answered emphatically but most others seemed to have difficulty with this fairly bald question. Nearly a third said that they had not thought about it much and a similar number, although not necessarily the same group made notably few comments on the subject. Over a third of respondents made the point that Australians were fairly or very well-off or in a few cases rejected the goal of total equality. Another third favoured significant redistribution of wealth with a few saying that Australia was not as egalitarian or classless a society as many people believed. When asked where specific changes in equality should occur or for whom, respondents generally seemed unfamiliar with this specific issue, often saying that they had not given it much thought. The three most common responses (each from half of the respondents) were: more equal access to good educational resources; more amenities for low income groups and; rights and opportunities for particular disadvantaged groups.* Other less common suggestions were that the wealthy should generally pay more, the stigma of being unemployed should be discouraged (or eradicated) and that there should be better access for people to the political system. Specific policies or measures for bringing about changes in equality were sought next and three main types of suggestions were made or advocated, more or less evenly through the group:

(1) improvement of educational facilities and skills in schools and in the area of adult education (15/28);

(2) a guaranteed minimum wage for all, whether employed or

* Looking at the groups who were specified as such, the most commonly mentioned were aborigines and racial minorities (9+3/31 resp.), the unemployed (10/31) and women (7/31). Another frequent comment was that the middle-income wage earner was exploited or disadvantaged (9/31).

unemployed (14/28) and again; (3) improved access to political decision making and policy determination processes (12/28).

Proposals for taxation measures were sought if not suggested by the respondent and two equally common responses were to tax higher income earners more and to catch tax avoiders (9/28 each - 4 both). Taxing large, profitable or overseas companies was suggested rather less frequently than the above (6/28). Similarly to other questions above, there was a clear discrepancy between those who said that they had not thought about these issues much and who made one or no suggestions, and those who had apparently given it considerable thought.

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Another group of questions sought the respondents' views on economic growth, a notion which plays such an important role in political rhetoric and "rational" planning by government and business and yet goes relatively unquestioned and loosely defined. Economic growth is a crucial issue for environmentalist critics of modern high consumption societies and most respondents were well aware of this although a few said they didn't understand much economics. In general these activists advocated a new type of economic system. At face value the goal of more economic growth for Australia was rejected by most (19/31). The more immediate question of the compatibility of growth and environmental quality in Tasmania drew a more positive response with most saying that the two could co-exist (20/29), although a few were very pessimistic about the likelihood of this.

But the important point is that most did not take the questions at face value. Some mentioned the definitional problems of the term (8/31) but most gave a qualified answer to one or both questions, saying that the desirability of growth depended on changes in the type or amount of growth (24/31), or significant changes in the distribution of benefits from growth (6/31 - three mentioned both).

Only a few used the phrase "stead-state economy" but altogether half felt that a fundamentally different type of economic basis was necessary. This was expressed by asserting the need for "restructured" or "redirected" growth or for a significantly different "industrial base" (for Tasmania). Most of the others expressed less encompassing views (16/31) by saying that some types of growth were acceptable or that a different emphasis or better management were needed. Respondents were asked to specify which industries or areas of growth or economic activity might provide environmentally benign forms of employment or revenue. Many suggestions were made and the most common was to avoid energy and capital intensive industries using large amounts of bulky raw materials (14/155). Nearly as common was the converse suggestion to encourage high skill, design-intensive areas of growth (high-technology and "cottage industries"). The phrase "labor intensive" was used by a few only.

Most respondents (18/30) made suggestions along these general lines. The most commonly suggested particular industry was timber and wood skills (12/155), followed closely by computers and electronics, and then food production and processing and finally tourism. Other general points that were made (by about 1/3 of the respondents) were

that there should be more downstream processing of products exported from Tasmania and that Tasmania should be more economically self-sufficient, particularly in food. Other suggestions were agricultural specialty crops, fisheries, cottage industries, a new type of "non-trinket" tourism (educationally oriented and well planned) and alternative energy production/equipment industries. To test further whether environmental activists saw an unavoidable trade-off between growth and environmental protection they were confronted with the argument that the latter cost jobs by discouraging investment. Virtually all rejected this argument on various grounds. The most common reason was that this was just a red herring by vested interests, or simply "nonsense" (9/31). The next most common response (by 6/31) was that it was more likely to be the inefficient administration of such laws that would adversely affect business interests. Other views were that environmental protection created investment and jobs in new industries, which offset other losses and that there was scope for industries which were environmentally benign rather than destructive. A few accepted the argument and some said that if it was so then the loss was worth the gains of environmental protection.

"CONSTITUENCY"

From the survey so far it is clear that environmental activists in this group represent a range of non-orthodox or critical views on political and economic issues. The most unpredictable or unclear aspects of the environmental movement are how this range of alterna-

tive views and critical sentiments can be mobilized effectively to change basic policy-making processes, in traditionally growth-oriented societies such as Australia. Questions were asked in interviews which approached this area in two ways. Firstly, respondents were questioned on how they saw the "public" in terms of changing environmental values and how they thought the public saw environmental activists. Secondly, ideas on strategies were sought and specific criticisms and suggestions on the environmental movement and its future.

As mentioned above a considerable number of the respondents were bushwalkers and the organizations selected for this study were nature conservation groups. There is thus likely to be a high value placed on the appreciation and preservation of wilderness. Wilderness is thus a key idea for activists but how important do they think it is in their attempts to influence others? When asked to estimate the proportion of Australians who, like themselves place a high value on wilderness, nearly half of the respondents suggested that the definition of wilderness was unclear and that many people did not understand the distinction between true wilderness and the more popular notion of natural beauty. Accepting the narrower definition more than half felt that very few people valued wilderness highly, that is, they estimated less than 10% of Australians. Less than 5% was the most common estimate. Another third of the group thought that it might be more like 10-50% but only three suggested that half or a majority of Australians came into this category.

These activists thus tended to see themselves as fairly separate from the general public on this important issue for them. How do they

think the public sees them? Nearly half responded to a question on their public image by saying that they thought it was fairly good or steadily improving. Few thought it was bad or getting worse. Most respondents saw "the public" in Tasmania as fairly divided on environmental issues and thus falling into two camps, reflecting two views of environmental activists. The unfavourable view was concentrated on in the discussion and three main self-images emerged.

(1) Environmentalists were "outsiders", in the broad sense as well as geographically - they were seen as too young, not in the workforce (dole bludgers), dirty etc. (7/30);

(2) they were too radical - seen as a noisy, often pushy minority (10/30);

and finally;

(3) they were do-gooders - well meaning idealists who didn't understand the "real" issues (10/31).

Virtually all respondents thought that public interest in environmental issues would increase in the future (24/26). The main reasons given for this (by 12/28) were that people were becoming more educated about environmental problems (which was mentioned by some as being due to the efforts of environmental organizations in publicising things like the Franklin River). Also it was thought that the perception of increased environmental destruction would force people to confront the situation and realize that it had become unacceptable (9/28).

STRATEGIES

The main strategies that respondents advocated for the general aims of improving both awareness of environmental issues and policy making procedures are summarised below together with the main obstacles that they perceived to their favoured strategies. The responses fell into four main types, each answered by half to two thirds of the respondents.

Firstly, the value of media publicity was mentioned (20/31) in various forms ranging from a belief that support would increase automatically as a result of more money spent on media time, to the need for relentless presentation of attractive images of wilderness, showing people what is threatened with destruction.

The second type of strategy involved direct appeals for specific impacts on particular groups or on individuals (19/31). Lobbying of politicians or administrators was an obvious suggestion (6/31) but one that might have been expected to be more common. Equally common was the idea of personal contact with people to influence their attitudes to the environment, and also encouraging them to become more involved in outdoor recreation. Closer links with trade unions or "the working class" were mentioned only twice and militant or direct action, only once.*

The third type of strategy was directed specifically at institu-

* This last point perhaps indicated a general uncertainty about the success of the forthcoming Franklin blockade, a major new tactic for Tasmania but one which had a successful precedent in the Terania Creek blockade in N.S.W., a few months beforehand.

tions (18/31) and involved specific or general reforms. Most involved changes in the political system (7/31 - such as fixed terms for politicians and administrators) but also general improvement in administrative procedures and information availability. Other suggestions were law reforms (allowing standing in court for environmental organizations) and reform of the media and the state ALP.

The fourth type of strategy was similar to the "use the media" approach. It entailed providing information, educational broadcasts and documented arguments to try to convince the adult public of alternatives to environmentally destructive industries and policies (17/31). Politicians and administrators were frequently cited as in need of enlightened arguments and information. This was described by some respondents as a "soft sell" approach which was more a description of its emotional content because it in fact implied a more intellectually high-powered presentation of environmentalists' arguments. It was often said that the main hope lay in the future generation and that many adults were too set in their ways to change their views significantly. Consequently another commonly mentioned strategy was education in schools to increase awareness of environmental problems and values in the next generation (12/31). Another small group of views was concerned with improvements in environmental organizations (8/31) such as attracting more members and funds. Overall, respondents favoured strategies that were directed outwards to gain broad popular support but there were also strong interests in working at the technical and administrative levels to change environmental policies. The actual and potential role for the public was seen as crucial in

environmental issues as it was in the broader political hope for increased democratization. However this by no means represented a naive populism because the role of intellectual or theoretical work and criticism was central.

The most commonly mentioned obstacle to strategies was the perceived intractability of the political system (11/30), generally described in terms of the corruption of politicians and the power of vested interests. Several other obstacles mentioned were: the domination of media channels by conservatives or the establishment (8/30); public apathy, ignorance or conservative values (8/30); lack of funds for sufficient access to TV and newspapers (7/30) and; the bad public image of "greenies" and too narrow a basis of support in the community (6/30).

How did these preferred strategies correspond with the actual work done by respondents as activists involved in nature conservation campaigns? The main activity that respondents said they spent most of their time on in environmental campaigns could be generally described as organizing or co-ordinating. There was a wide variety of activities mentioned and it was impossible to distinguish clearly between overlapping types of work, but co-ordinating other activists or experts or organizing public events or other activities, emerged as the most common type of work (10/30). It was often difficult for respondents to themselves rank their activities according to amount of time spent. When the three main activities that each respondent spends time on are considered, the most common (18/30) was organizing (in the sense described above), followed by lobbying (by letter or in

person 12/30), and finally research, writing of reports and articles, editing and publishing (11/30). Other less common tasks were administration, "fronting" for the media and fundraising. When all the groups of activities are considered together, substantially more seem to be concerned with direct contact with the public or administrators and politicians, than with internal administration or communication.*

Most expected environmentalists' strategies to change in the future (18/24) but they were unclear as to how. The most common changes expected were for organizations to become more radical or confrontationist (8/24) and that there would be better political planning and tighter organization (5/24).

Nearly all respondents felt that the effectiveness of their organizations could be improved. There was a wide range of suggestions and several occurred with equal frequency: avoidance of bureaucratization of organizations (8/29) and, also suggested by most of these same respondents, tighter organization and more thorough planning (8/29). Appealing to a wider public to increase membership was, as expected, a fairly common suggestion as well (8/29). The need for more experienced and committed activists was mentioned (7/29) as well as the need to ease pressure on current workers as there seemed to be a time limit on how long activists could stay in a campaign due to "burn out" and overwork. Most of the suggestions for improvement^e consisted of changes to the internal workings of organizations (45/78) and half as many to

* There was no apparent bias toward internal activities according to whether the respondent worked in a larger organization such as Tasmanian Wilderness Society or one of the smaller ones.

more effective or improved relations with outside groups or individuals, such as administrators or the public. While many respondents mentioned both types of improvements, over a third mentioned internal features only (11/29). There was virtually no mention of the need to maintain members of organizations except in the sense that experienced activists were hard to replace.

SUMMARY

Conservation activists are well aware of their unrepresentativeness in terms of public values concerning wilderness but they saw their role as educators and sensitizers of popular opinion, which was the main object of their political strategies. Lobbying of decision makers was a secondary strategy but one also approached as an educational and informational task. They saw their main tactical problem as hostile media and accompanying public image difficulties in reaching larger numbers of people to gain support. Increasing the size of environmental organizations was seen as a minor problem only. They expected strategies to change in the future but were not clear about how, although increasingly confrontational tactics or tighter political organization were commonly foreseen, as environmental problems became more acute and political in character.

Respondents spent most of their time organizing or co-ordinating activities within their voluntary organizations and outside them.

Lobbying and research were also main activities. Improvements to

organizations' efficiency was generally seen as necessary but there was little unanimity on specific details. Internal problems were often mentioned but improvements in dealing with a wider public were also suggested often, but not detailed.

Environmental activists in this survey can be described as mainly a mixture of social democrats and New Left "radical reformers". Parents' class indicators were generally unresponsive of respondents' political views. Most were moving left politically in some ways, but felt the need to go beyond or away from what they took to be "the left" and from party political strategies.

Nuclear war and general concerns for national policies concerning resource management were the main larger issues for respondents. Both mild optimism and pessimism over these problems were evenly represented. Their advocacy for change in Australia was heavily dependent on the idea of improving popular education, access to knowledge and channels for political representation. These were seen as a way to bring about major changes in political institutions although practical details for such change were not often suggested, nor were mechanisms for improving relative equality in Australia - although it and major change in political institutions were both widely endorsed by respondents. Political corruption and elites' greed were the main objects of reform. Political power structures were seen as elite dominated through monopoly, not just of economic resources but also of information and educational opportunities. This structure seemed fairly immutable to respondents. Simplistic ideas of wealth redistribution were not advocated but rather the more complex

idea of educational opportunities which would lead to greater political participation and hence accountability. Full employment was not mentioned as a goal but paving the way for socially and economically acceptable unemployment was often advocated. Ideas on other economic policies were clear in intent if not detail and amounted to the belief in the need for a basically different production and consumption system which involves more government planning, new industrial approaches and more regional self-sufficiency.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing survey using texts, questionnaires and interviews, provides some answers to the questions raised at the outset of this study. Specifically these were: whether environmental movement leaders, in their advocacies concerning political and economic change and in some of the more visible assumptions that these rested on, displayed an ideologically unified character (ideology being taken to mean views on ^{and} diagnoses of political problems and strategies for solving them). Did they share consistent views on the future, their "constituency" and practical means of achieving their ends? If so, did their ideology appear to reflect any class position? Or was there instead a miscellany of views and plans having little in common with other political ideologies? The survey results, which will be discussed at more length below*, show that there are areas of agreement on some points (and not necessarily the most removed from practical concerns) but disunity on others, which are often strategic or organizational matters. The overall impression is one not of clearly articulated ideological solidarity but of diversity and flexibility based on practical political struggles conducted by an association of people from differing backgrounds, and with ideas from different (but mostly

* Naturally the range of ideas and comments that were collected in this survey is much greater than those which were reported above as the most typical. It is beyond the scope of this study to analyse particular ideas in more detail. Instead the emphasis is on the activists as a leadership group and thus indicative of probable future directions of the environmental movement.

radical and reformist) sources.

CHARACTERIZING AN ENVIRONMENTALIST IDEOLOGY

An important common factor to emerge in activists' careers was their political experiences as members of an age cohort growing up in the late 1960s to early 70s. This was a period of considerable social change particularly in tertiary institutions, in Australia and abroad. They had had some experience in a variety of non-conservative political organizations (often parties) before joining their first environmental organization. This move was almost certainly strongly influenced by their hobby interests in bushwalking and nature appreciation and by close friends' involvement in environmental issues. They thus appeared as a generational group who had been disenchanted or radicalized since their youth and had sought political alternatives in a wide range of causes and organizations, but past and current political involvement was varied in degree and type. This range of experiences was reflected in a general variety of views that came out in the survey but which were not sufficiently divisive to stop this group from achieving considerable political success.

In trying to characterize the political ideologies of environmental activists (and thus of contemporary environmentalism) there are several important points of agreement among activists that emerge strongly. They identified with the left, albeit to varying degrees and supported traditional socialist goals such as increases in social

equality, government planning of the economy and popular participation in political decision making. They were strongly critical of Australian political institutions as such, and their understanding of political structure was in terms of power elites rather than pluralistic. They also saw economic growth, in the sense of "development" as an essential social goal, but favoured qualitative growth along basically different lines to the Australian tradition of resource extraction with minimal processing and heavy external market dependence. They saw economic growth as significantly determined by political factors and not inherently incompatible with environmental quality. They could not be simply identified with a populist left position, as they saw the need for an educating and experienced "vanguard" (although none used this term). They did not feel that the best form of political resolution of complex issues was just a matter of asking people what they wanted (via referenda). However they did see a future in which people generally would, through necessity or education, become more politically motivated and that environmental politics would change in line with this.

Their views on the need for popular participation in political decision making were not simplistic. There was no general assumption that this was a cure-all for political conflict. The efficacy of political participation depended on the intervening area of "values", "attitudes" and "education" which although abstractly expressed by activists, was the main object of their political work. Participation was not a "populist red herring" [Sandercock, 1978] for these activists but a long term goal, approached by the increasing involve-

ment of particular groups and publics in specific political issues.

They differed significantly with some of the labor movements' priorities in that very few mentioned full-employment as a means to social equality and conversely, where there was general concern with unemployment, it was usually in the sense of making it more socially acceptable and financially bearable rather than eliminating it.

So they are clearly left-leaning but in some ways critical of the left and of its relevance to their activities. Only half saw themselves as having moved left, over their lifetimes while the others tended not to see political change in these terms. Similarly with traditional left political concerns, there was some ambivalence towards the idea of equality which was problematic for some and wholeheartedly embraced by others. This ambivalence was reflected in the type of concrete suggestions for improving equality, given by respondents, as with concrete suggestions for improving political institutions. Some had clearly thought about these issues more deeply than others, in that they had considered the details of implementing such policies for change, rather than simply supporting them on principle. By comparison there was more unity on suggestions for alternative economic and technology policies.

The main problems facing Australia were expressed by half of the group in political-economic terms (viz. dominance by foreign capital) but the other half appeared to see them in terms of cultural and attitudinal characteristics of Australians. Activists thus differed in the degree of specificity of their perception of larger social issues,

as they also differed on the issues of concrete political change, mentioned above. General social problems and the nature of institutions were occasionally seen as being grounded in something like human nature, for example, characteristics such as greed or population pressure had an immutable feel about them. But ideas along these lines never emerged from this survey as characteristic of the group. The mediating role for values, attitudes and knowledge was seen as being more important than factors of "human nature" and this was borne out in their political strategies which were geared to educating and sensitizing the public and decision makers in government. But a lack of close agreement over strategies and tactics may be related to the differences in views of the tractability of social values.

There was general agreement on the strategic importance of appealing to a wide public on both aesthetic and rational (usually economic) grounds. But the practicalities of doing this were problematic for them. Activists differed on how environmentalists were themselves seen by the public and generally lacked close agreement on tactical priorities and ways of improving political effectiveness. The main obstacle that these activists saw to their strategies and to their view of a better world was the entrenched system of values and information structures in society, that is, an ideological hegemony (although not described as such by them). There was clearly little room for dogmatism or reliance on arcane theory in their styles of organization and agitation. The main source of hope for political change was in public opinion and protest, stimulated by people like themselves who had the necessary blend of sensitivity, social consci-

ence, education and courage enough to take firm political stands on particular issues. The role of majorities in social change is thus crucial for them but it is not addressed in much detail in their political philosophies; it remains abstract or symbolic, outside of the particular instances of mass protest that occur during campaigns. Their views on social change could thus be described to some extent as individualistic, moralistic and meritocratic. These characteristics were also evident in the texts discussed in Chapter 2, and have persisted from the early days of the environmental movement. These do not play an explicit role in advocacies but rather act as background assumptions, revealing the influence of liberalism which could be described as meritocratic and individualistic. But a central, positive role for markets, business or freedom of the individual was not particularly evident from activists' statements or writings. Their reliance on a moral, educational leadership function in social change could hardly be said to reveal a class position.

As an exploration of a contemporary social movement this study has not been able to rely on the assumed relevance of pre-existing definitions or conceptions of political and ideological categories. A particular label like radical, populist, socialist or liberal could rarely be applied to fully describe any activist in this survey. Instead each represented a mixture of two or more of these categories, in their beliefs and theories. In this sense environmentalism can be considered with all social movements as an emergent reality, with distinct political styles and ideological characteristics [Rush & Denisoff, 1971:252]. In terms of traditional political categories they are

best described as non-revolutionary socialists or social democrats, in that they don't believe in the likelihood (or less clearly, the desirability) of the immediate overthrow of existing economic and political elites and institutions of capitalism. They are working at reforming environmental policy and policy making procedures, but see this as an aspect of a broader, deeper process of reform but which they don't define in Marxist terms. They have serious misgivings about traditional, radical leftism, as well as the existing "representativeness" of parliamentary democracies and existing political parties. They could be characterized as New Left in that they are generally from the "Vietnam generation" and are clearly influenced by ideas from anarchism, Marxism, the civil rights, peace and anti-nuclear movements, but also ecologists, "Futurists" and steady-state economists. There is also a legacy from liberalism, in the form of unstated assumptions.

While this mixture involves contradictory positions which make broad strategic agreement difficult, it has not prohibited the type of campaign that involved a fairly specific goal, such as saving the Franklin River. There is little pretense of far-reaching, radical achievements by these activists but this single issue focus does not demonstrate an underlying acceptance of the status quo and of institutional forms as they currently exist. Instead it shows a realization of the practical limits on widespread and rapid social change under current conditions and with available resources.

REPRESENTATION AND MIDDLE-CLASS RADICALISM

Many attempts to dismiss the environmental movement on the grounds that it represents a middle-class viewpoint, such as those discussed in Chapter 1, do so on normative assumptions about representativeness in politics. In a simplistic view of the role of environmental organizations in politics and social change, it may be noted that it is "unlikely that pressure groups represent the full spectrum of society's environmental preferences." [Turner, 1979:281] But representation cannot be reduced to the sharing of characteristics such as age, education or social status, between leaders and publics. Political representatives are almost by definition, "middle-class" or "upper-class" because the political process is complex and competitive and those without verbal, intellectual and educational skills are not successful as representatives or leaders. The many interest and pressure group leaders that are competing with environmentalists for access to natural resources, will also be "unrepresentative" in the simplistic sense.

Returning to the second question posed at the beginning of this study; do environmentalists and their political views, which have been described above, reveal a class interest or position? Environmental activists were far more likely than the average Australian, to have had middle-class family backgrounds, but to say that most of the group had such backgrounds one would have to include fathers in working-class occupations but in supervisory roles, as middle-class. Otherwise the group was fairly evenly split between working-class and middle-class family backgrounds. For many, it could be said that they

have benefitted from somewhat higher than average standards of living and status levels, in their youth. No doubt related to this was the fact that most activists had tertiary educations, and had worked in skilled or professional occupations (notably not in technical, production oriented fields*). Their career paths probably allowed for greater than average occupational security, financial rewards and prestige because of their qualifications but they were not careers that followed predictable or lucrative paths through the established industries or institutions. Neither were they "drop-outs" and "deeply alienated" from the pluralistic political process [Shils, 1955]. This is a game they have learnt to play well without endorsing it ideologically. They were often upwardly mobile in various ways and often in social service, public sector occupations and these careers demonstrate a consistent humanistic and anti-establishment position or orientation which resembles those of other modern social movement activists [Fendrich, 1973]. Many of the environmental activists in this survey have moved away from standard middle-class careers in Australia's large cities (or in America and Britain) and chosen an often frugal but quieter Tasmanian lifestyle to settle into.

For these reasons it would be difficult to characterize them as unambiguously new-class. While being well educated in certain fields and often working in the public sector, they did not generally have occupational careers, other economic interests or established social connections that might allow them to be described as new-class. Few of them have occupational or career stakes in bureaucratic and cor-

* but instead often in Schnaiberg's "impact sciences" [1980:278].

porate solutions to environmental problems (or similarly with small-business or free-market solutions). Their interest in government was as recipients of the effects of policies and not as beneficiaries of any particular bureaucratic structure.

The respondents' views as expressed in this survey were critical of bureaucracy, political parties, the education system and the given order of social rewards and opportunities as determined by meritocratic or elitist criteria. They did advocate more government control and rational planning but at the same time much more responsive political institutions and education to allowed broad public participation in the political system. Conservation activists would not seem to fit Gouldner's image of meritocratic socialists (see Chapter 1). They are hardly outspoken in espousing socialist policies and rhetoric as such and they are often openly critical of government departments involved in natural resource management, almost on principle. The emphasis on rationalism that one would expect from the progressive social planner seems tempered by the importance of emotional appeals concerning the value of the non-human world. These appeals are no doubt genuine and deeply felt because of most activists' personal interest in nature and outdoor recreation.

Some evidence of their being at variance with a meritocratic and bureaucratic new-class ideology is the institutional source and ideological tone of their critics. It is worth speculating here that the anarchic aspect of organizational voluntarism upsets a conservative "instinct" for orderly careers and predictable promotion. These critics may find the most unpalatable aspect of environmental protest

the fact that it is substantially voluntary and allows for the political success of individual and collective efforts which seem to bypass the meritocratic criteria for acceptance into the established professions which are related to government, administration and business; for example the occupations of engineer, investor or high level public servant or academic. In other words environmental activists (like most political radicals) threaten the monopoly structures of credentialism [Collins, 1979].

Activists in this survey are not transparently new-class but Buttel's characterization of environmentalism as ideologically typical of a non-corporate middle-class does not seem adequate for them either. Their parental and own careers were not predominantly in the small-business sector and while their views on a better economic system often included labor-intensive, decentralized cottage industries there was no special emphasis placed on these.

In summary then, the class position most identifiable with this group of social movement leaders would be that of the new-class but not straightforwardly. They would seem to represent the anti-institutional or revolutionary aspect of the contradictory new-class as described by Gouldner [1979], and not its conservative face, defending meritocratic bureaucracies. The struggle over environmental issues can be seen in this light as a struggle between these factions of the new-class. On the one hand are the established corporate interests, depending on resource extraction to generate economic growth and thus maintain political legitimacy. On the other hand there are the equally well educated critics of this whole process,

using the destruction of the natural environment as a rallying point for limited but effective blows against this "production treadmill" [Schnaiberg, 1980]. For the reasons outlined here, environmental activists appear well placed to effectively represent the "grass roots" of the Australian public, not just in the fight to prevent environmental degradation but also to improve the accountability of governments, responsibility of the private sector and the active involvement of citizens in civil society and the political system.

THE FRANKLIN RIVER CAMPAIGN

To conclude this survey, consideration of the particular case of the Franklin River campaign may indicate activists' views at work, showing the characteristics of a "down to earth" New Left. Its success can be attributed in part to the adoption of left-wing political strategies, namely the use of direct action together with a strongly rationalist, public justification of the need for it. But there was an underlying emotional force beneath this rationalism giving it subjective relevance, that is, the beauty of natural areas. The campaign was not based on either sponteneism or "working within the system". It sought, like much contemporary political protest, to steer the difficult course between utopian or populist mass sponteneity and the meek acceptance of "the rules of the game".

In 1972 a "political profile of student eco-activists" in America [Dunlap & Gale, 1972] described what the authors saw as a key dilemma

for this group. They needed to adopt more militant tactics of protest to realize their aims but at the same time felt that they had to avoid being labelled as "radicals" so as to not alienate support from middle-America. Perhaps as a result of a decade of experience, environmental activism in Tasmania in 1982 has not found this to be an unreconcilable dichotomy of strategies. The Franklin River issue demonstrated the successful escalation to direct action tactics along with widespread support from the Australian population (including middle and conservative Australia). This perhaps does something to undermine the conservative assumption that middle-Australia basically values and respects the formal political system. And yet even in this historical environmental protest, despite much acrimony, jailings, the occasional serious assaults and death threats, it remained overall at the level of what might be called polite politics.

Perhaps related to these points on the successes of the conservation movement in Tasmania has been the role played by activists with wider political experience and general perspectives, than the parochial Tasmanian establishment which the movement set itself against. Two of the dominant partners of this establishment were the state Labor party and union movement. The political culture backdrop that this island region of Australia provided to the "Dams Dispute" could be elaborated in terms of political passivity. Tasmania as a "mendicant state" can be seen as exemplifying the Australian tendency of low levels of political participation and perceived political efficacy of non-state activities [Craney, 1980:432]. At the same time the size of the region and its population allowed relatively easy political access for

lobbyists. But this does not explain why the entrenched establishment, historically dominated by a conservative, populist labor movement and external capital [Wilde, 1980] could not ward off defeat on this important economic controversy?

The answer to this perhaps lies in its ignorance of social changes, within and from outside. The main Tasmanian South West conservation effort of organization and politicizing, began in earnest with the Tasmanian Conservation Trust in 1968 and had its roots in bushwalking clubs and several other conservation issues [Schekel, 1968]. The leadership of this series of campaigns, both the longer serving and the newly involved, have come with, or learnt and adapted a series of critical concepts and explications of what contemporary Australian society is and how it should be changed. The motivations for the often considerable self-sacrifice that this has demanded took various forms, from a broad notion of enlightened self-interest to serious doubts about the moral implications of doing nothing while destruction runs rampant.

The diversity of positions and contributions to this effort have been sketched in this survey. It is clear that the populist approach of publicising environmental issues is essential to success but it does not exclude the roles of rational argument and scientific research, which are equally important. The unifying factors that have co-ordinated all this were probably the most unpredictable and politically interesting. The particular approach by the Tasmanian Wilderness Society director, Dr. Bob Brown as a popular, identifiable figure was clearly important and more specifically his constant and scrupu-

lous habit of taking the ethical lead by counselling tolerance and constructive activism, in the face of a counter-campaign that relied on "fear of the dark". Another identifiable factor was his ability to hint at the links between the Franklin campaign and broader political issues, without turning it into a catchall for disparate discontent. For example wilderness conservation implied a lot more than recreation, such as third world poverty, the juggernaut of capital intensive economic development, democratic land-use planning, the rights of non-human life and unborn generations and the protection of science from the loss of its biological raw material in natural ecosystems. These links were vital in escalating the campaign from a local issue which was in danger of being trivialised by the media and opponents.*

The other unifying factor pertinent to this specific conservation campaign and environmentalism generally, is the role of nature or wilderness as at one and the same time global, abstract symbol and concrete, accessible material reality. The importance of wilderness to environmental politics lies in its symbolic power and scope. The essence of this symbol is obviously not that environmental destruction creates immediate hardship or social exploitation. It lies in the meaning that the natural environment (as exemplified in wilderness) has, or could have, for a conception of the social totality: a cul-

* Underlying, broad perspectives of others as well, were amply demonstrated by placards and banners seen during the South West blockade: e.g. a slogan similar to the 1968 "Consume, be silent and die" from the walls of the Sorbonne; others were "Think Globally, Act Locally" (evident also in the successful Terania Creek campaign in N.S.W.) and the 19th century "In Wilderness is the Preservation of the World" from Thoreau [TWS, 1983].

tural focus or self-image for Western, "developed" societies. Wilderness stands as a signifier, over and against society or civilization (as exemplified by urban life). It is both the material reality and symbol which most represent the opposite of society as such, and hence determination by social forces (language, exchange etc.) of human being. It represents an existential paradigm - human "being-in-the-world" does not only mean being constrained by a particular social determination of being but includes the possibility of being-in-nature. Involvement with nature, to the extent that this is the non-human, non-social world suggests the possibility of other than total social determination of being. Social pressure (from cultural norms), is what wilderness allows escape from. As a momentary real escape, or a symbolic escape, it challenges the apparent permanence of the status quo in politics and culture: it signifies an "anti-structure" [Turkle, 1975]. Thoreau's notion of inalienable rights of access to wilderness, seemingly typical of American liberalism, becomes more and more attractive as a political goal with broad symbolic power. It seems possible that a radical politics, both in the intellectual and in the extremist sense, will continue to develop around this symbol the more that urban pressures reduce quality of life and the more that the underlying rationale of capitalism is challenged. This may occur for the majority of city dwellers if fiscal crises, unemployment and recession put uncontrollable stress on the ability of governments and the private sector to provide welfare relief, collective goods and legitimization for their activities.

The role of symbols and "myth" in political ideologies is clearly

important and the broad implications of "Nature" as a political symbol portend a future where greater use is made of the deep significance that it has for most cultures. But at the same time and as apparent from this survey, there is a lot of room for more inclusive, detailed, critical theory to be linked with the specific activism around environmental issues. This link seems to provide the best possibilities for the political development of broad left-of-centre coalitions such as radical environmentalism.

QUESTIONNAIRE

-- 1-- Would you name up to 5 people who YOU consider have been the most EFFECTIVE in the environmental movement, in Tasmania?

-- 2-- What organizations are you ACTIVE in (i.e. regularly committing your time) - such as environmental or voluntary organizations, political parties, charity groups or trade unions? [Please list these, as well as the year joined, approximate hours per WEEK spent and any positions of office that you hold.]

-- 3-- Have you been ACTIVE in the past, in groups such as environmental or voluntary organizations, political parties, charity groups or trade unions? [Please list these by type only if too difficult to recall by name. Also the year joined, duration of involvement and any position of office held.]

-- 4-- Think of those who you would call your 3 closest friends (including your spouse, if applicable): are they involved AT ALL in any political or environmentalist organizations or issues? [Write YES or NO - if YES, describe the organizations and/or involvement.]

-- 5-- Think of your 3 closest friends at the time when you JOINED your FIRST environmentalist or political organization. Were they involved AT ALL in any similar organizations or issues, at that time?

-- 6-- Were any members of your immediate family (parents, sisters, brothers) involved in political or environmentalist concerns at THAT time? [If so, describe these briefly.]

-- 7-- What were your parents' occupations and their highest level of education, when you were 14 years old?

-- 8-- Where were your parents born?

-- 9-- When and where were you born?

--10-- Did you spend most of your childhood in rural or urban areas?

--11-- What secondary school(s) did you attend?

--12-- Have you had any post-secondary education? [Please include details of courses that you discontinued or are currently undertaking.]

--13-- Would you name the books and/or authors that you personally, have found to be the most helpful in understanding environmental and social problems?

--14-- What was your first occupation (i.e. main full-time job) after you left school? [Please name employer, job and location.]

--15-- What was your most recent full-time occupation (not including current work in environmental organizations)?

--16-- How long have you lived in Tasmania?

--17-- Do you RENT or OWN the house that you live in (or NIETHER of these)?

If an owner, do you have a mortgage?

--18-- What is your marital status?

--19-- Do you have any children (how many)?

--20-- Do you presently belong to any religious, cultural, sport or hobby groups or clubs?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1-- [Check past jobs.]
-- 2-- [Check parents occupations.]
-- 3-- Do you own any property?
-
- 4-- Do you often go bushwalking or canoeing -
for a full day?
When did you camp out last in the bush?
-- 5-- Roughly what proportion of Australians do you think,
place a high value on wilderness?
-
- 6-- What do you see as the most significant problem
facing humanity?
-- 7-- Do you think it likely that this problem will be
solved?
-- 8-- What is the main problem Australia faces?
-- 9-- Do you think it likely that this will be solved?
-
- 10-- What is the most important change that has to be
made in Australian society before the major
environmental problems (mentioned above) could be
solved ?
--11-- Do you think Australia's present political
institutions are adequate for solving the major
environmental problems that we face?
--12-- How should they be changed?
--13-- Do you think Australia needs more economic growth?
--14-- Do you think both economic growth and adequate
protection of the environment can be achieved in
Tasmania?
--15-- How - what sort of growth?
--16-- It is sometimes claimed that having too many laws
to protect the environment tends to reduce
economic growth, increase unemployment and
disadvantage the poorer groups in society - what
do you think about this claim?
--17-- Do you think there should be more equality in
Australia?
IF YES
--18-- How should such changes in equality be brought
about, in Australia?
--19-- What do you think is the main source of power that

influences Tasmania - who (or what group) has the most power in the medium term, say within a generation?

- 20-- If the recent referendum had included a no-dams option and most people voted for the dam, would you have felt bound by that majority decision?
- 21-- Why?

-
- 22-- From your experience what do you feel is the best way of improving env. awareness and policy making in Tasmania?
- 23-- What have you found are the main problems with getting thisto work effectively (name main strategy)?
- 24-- How do you think environmentalists come accross to the public, what is their public image like in Tasmania?
- 25-- Do you think the public will become more interested in environmental issues?
- 26-- Why?
- 27-- Do you expect strategies of environmentalists to change much in the future?
- 28-- IF YES How?
- 29-- Do you think the effectiveness of environmental organizations that you've had experience with, could be improved?
- 30-- IF YES - What aspects

-
- 31-- What particular activities or work do you spend most of your time on that is directly concerned with environmental issues?
- 32-- The first environmental org that you joined was the Why did you join it, what was the main thing that influenced you at that time ?
- 33-- Who did you vote for in the last federal election?
- 34-- Who did you vote for in the last state election in Tasmania?
- 35-- Have you always voted this way?
- 36-- IF NOT - How has this changed?
- 37-- How would you describe yourself in terms of your political position, eg. left-right, conservative-radical etc.?
- 38-- Has this position changed?
- 39-- How?

INFLUENTIAL LITERATURE

Books, journals, magazines and newspapers cited by activists
in response to questionnaire item # 13 (Appendix 1).

No. Cit- ing	Author	Title (and times cited)
6	Club Of Rome	Limits To Growth (6) Mankind At The Turning Point
5	Carson, Rachel	Silent Spring
5	Ehrlich, Paul	The Population Bomb
	Ehrlich & Harriman	How To Be A Survivor
	Ehrlich, A. & P.	Population Resources & Growth
5	Schumacher, E.F.	Small is Beautiful
5	Toffler, A.	Future Shock
4	Illich, Ivan	Energy and Equity (3) Deschooling Society (2) Celebration of Awareness Tools Of Conviviality
3	Gee, Helen (Ed.)	The South West Book
3	Thoreau, Henry	Walden Pond
2	Angus, Max	The World Of Olegas Truchanus
2	Attenborough, David	Life On Earth
2	Bell & Sanders	A Time To Care
2	the Bible	
2	Commoner, Barry	The Poverty of Power
2	Herbert, Xavier	Poor Fellow My Country
2	Hesse, Herman	
2	Russell, Bertrand	Why I Am Not A Christian History Of Western Philosophy
2	Stienbeck, John	The Grapes Of Wrath The Sea of Cortez
2	Thompson, Peter	Power In Tasmania
1	Abbey, Ed	The Brave Cowboy The Monkey Wrench Gang
1	Ardrey, Robert	The Territorial Imperative The Social Contract
1	Aust. Conservation Foundation	The Peddar Papers Lake Peddar - Why A National

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11	Illich, Ivan	Energy and Equity (4) Deschooling Society (3) Celebration of Awareness (2) Tools Of Conviviality (2)
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2	Attenborough, David	Life On Earth
2	Hardin, Garret	Exploring New Ethics For Survival Tragedy of the Commons Poor Fellow My Country
2	Herbert, Xavier	
2	Hesse, Herman	
2	McQueen, Humphrey	
2	Mollison, Bill	Permaculture
2	Russell, Bertrand	Why I Am Not A Christian History Of Western Philosophy
2	Stienbeck, John	The Grapes Of Wrath
1	Abbey, Ed	The Brave Cowboy The Monkey Wrench Gang
1	Arday, R.	The Territorial Imperative The Social Contract

		Park Should Be Saved
1	Baker, J.A.	The Peregrine
1	Barnet & Muller	Global Reach: The Power of Multinational Corporations
	Barnet, Richard	Intervention And Revolution
1	Biographies	Nehru, Kennedy, Mao, Tito, Lenin, Mugabe, Whitlam, Cairns, Nader
1	Birch, Charles	Confronting The Future
1	Brower, David	
1	Brown, Dee	Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee
1	Butler, Harry	
1	Caldicott, Helen	
1	Castenada, Carlos	
1	Clarke, Robin (Ed.)	Notes For The Future
1	Collis	The Worm Forgives The Plough
1	Connolley	The Fight For The Franklin
1	Daly, Herman	Towards A Stationary State Economy
1	Dombrovskis & Miller	Quiet Land
1	Dubois, R.	
1	Durell, Gerald	The Overloaded Ark
1	Eckholm	Losing Ground
1	Engels, F.	Anti-Duhring
1	Falleci, Oriana	A Man
1	Fener, P.S.	History Of The American Labor Movement
1	Fitzgerald, C.P.	Communist China
1	Forrester, Jay	Counterintuitive Behaviour of Social Systems
1	Fromm, Erich	Fear Of Freedom To Have Or To Be
1	Gibran, K.	The Prophet
1	Hardin, Garret	Exploring New Ethics For Survival
		Tragedy of the Commons
1	Hardy, Frank	
1	Hawes, Martin	Above Me Only Sky
1	Henning, D.	Environmental Policy and Administration
1	Hughes, Stuart	Consciousness And Society
1	Hunter, Robert	Warriors Of The Rainbow
1	Huxley, Aldous	Brave New World
1	I.D.A.	The Mappoon Books
1	Jay, Peter	The Crisis Of Western Political Economy
1	Jones, Barry	Sleepers Wake
1	Kirkpatrick, J.	Tasmanian Conservation Trust Studies
1	Lamb, Robert	World Without Trees
1	Lenin, V.I.	Theory Of The State

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|---|-------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Aust. Conservation Foundation | The Peddar Papers
Lake Peddar - Why A National Park Should Be Saved |
| 1 | Baker, J.A. | The Peregrine |
| 1 | Barnet & Muller | Global Reach: The Power of Multinational Corporations |
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| 1 | Kirkpatrick, J. | Tasmanian Conservation Trust Studies |
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		Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism
		Left Wing Communism An Infantile Disorder
		Philosophical Notebook
		What Is To Be Done?
1	Leopold, A.	Sand County Almanac
1	Lorenz, Konrad	On Aggression
1	Marcetti, Victor	CIA and the Cult of Intelligence
1	Marcuse, Herbert	One Dimensional Man
1	Marx, Karl	Capital Theses On Feurbach
1	McPhee, John	Encounters With The Arch Druid
1	McQueen, Humphrey	
1	Mollison, Bill	Permaculture
1	Morris, Desmond	The Naked Ape
1	Muir, John	
1	Nader, Ralph	The Menace Of Atomic Energy
1	Nash, R.	Wilderness And The American Mind
1	O'Reilly	Green Mountain
1	O'Riordan, T.	Environmentalism
1	Orwell, George	1984
1	Paton, Alan	Cry The Beloved Country
1	Robertson, James	The Sane Alternative
1	Roszak, Theodore	Where The Wasteland Ends
1	Routley, R. & V.	The Fight For The Forests
1	Stretton, H.	Capitalism, Socialism & The Environment
1	Stuart, Donald	
1	Stuart, George R.	Storm (Five Days Of The City, Not So Rich As You Think)
1	Tolkien, J.R.	Lord Of The Rings
1	Uris, Leon	Trinity
1	UTG (United Tasmania Group)	Manifesto
1	Wheelwright, Ted	Capitalism, Socialism Or Barbarism Predicament Of Mankind
1	Wood, Donald	The Life Of Steve Biko
1	Wright-Mills, C.	The Power Elite

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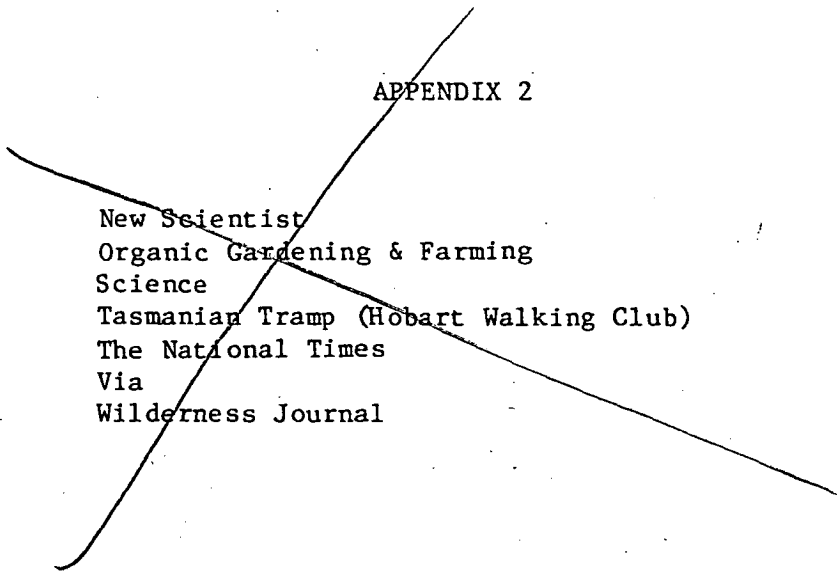
3	Habitat (Aust. Conservation Foundation)
2	Chain Reaction
2	The Ecologist
2	Ecos
2	Sierra Club Journal
2	The New Internationalist
1	Blueprint For Survival

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1	O'Reilly	Green Mountain
1	O'Riordan, T.	Environmentalism
1	Orwell, George	1984
1	Paton, Alan	Cry The Beloved Country
1	Robertson, James	The Safe Alternative
1	Roszak, Theodore	Where The Wasteland Ends
1	Routley, R. & V.	The Fight For The Forests
1	Stretton, H.	Capitalism, Socialism &
		The Environment
1	Stuart, Donald	Social Issues
1	Stuart, George R.	Storm (Five Days Of The
		You Think)
1	Tolkien, J.R.	Lord Of The Rings
1	Uris, Leon	Trinity
1	United Ta	
1	Wheelwright, Ted	Capitalism, Socialism
		Or Barbarism
		Predicament Of Mankind
1	Wood, Donald	The Life Of Steve Biko
1	Wright-Mills, C.	The Power Elite

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2	Sierra Club Journal
2	The New Internationalist
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1	Development News Digest
1	Grassroots
1	Nation Review
1	Nature

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1 Nature
1 New Scientist
1 Organic Gardening & Farming
1 Science
1 Tasmanian Tramp (Hobart Walking Club)
1 The Australian
1 The National Times
1 Via
1 Wilderness Journal

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