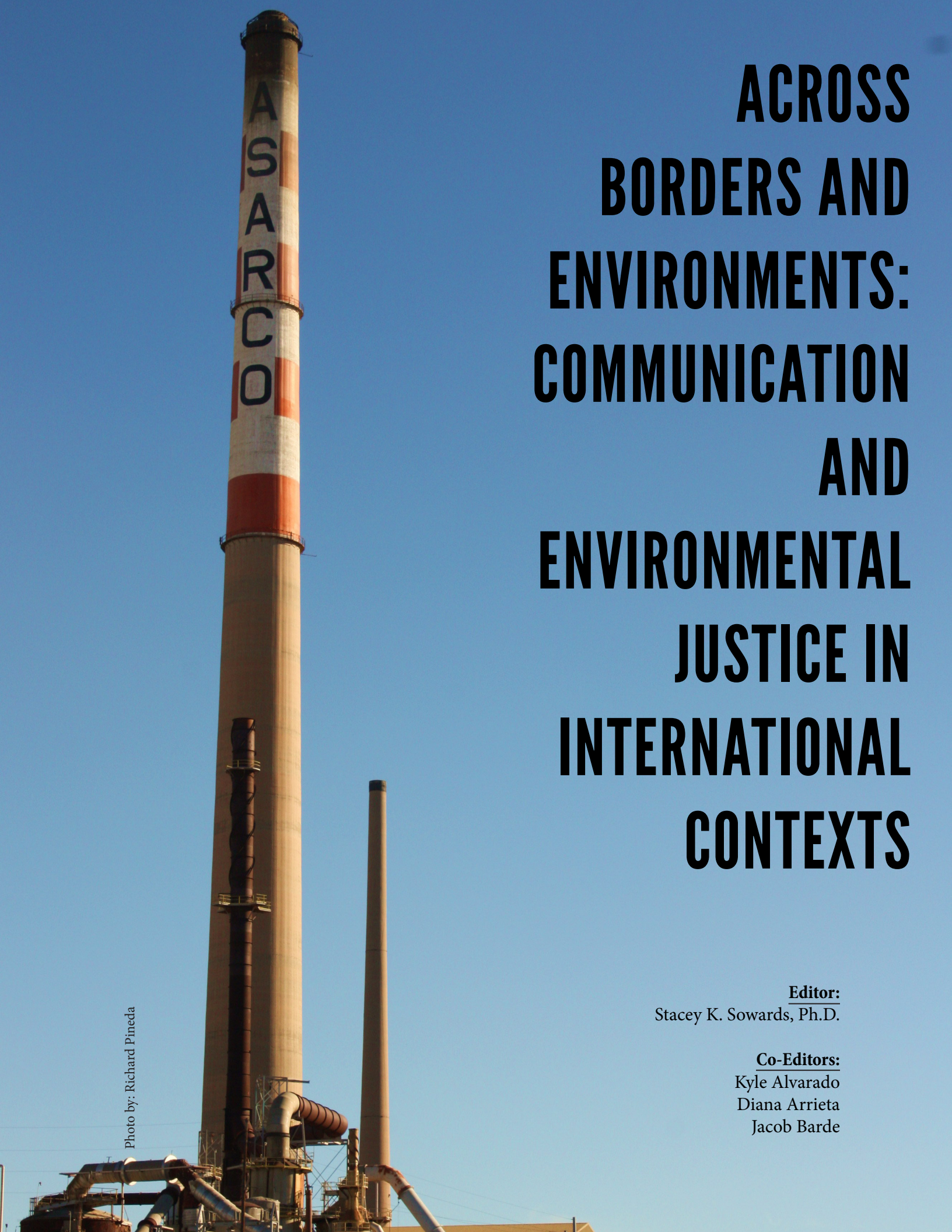




ACROSS BORDERS AND ENVIRONMENTS: COMMUNICATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS

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Across Borders and Environments: Communication and Environmental Justice in International Contexts

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Introduction

Stacey K. Sowards, Editor

The University of Texas at El Paso



UTEP's campus and Franklin Mountains (Photo courtesy of UTEP's University Communications)

El Paso, Texas, which is situated along the U.S.-Mexico border across from Ciudad Juárez and at the nexus of three states, Texas, New Mexico, and Chihuahua, is a unique place for understanding international and border environmental issues. The University of Texas at El Paso, located near downtown El Paso and with views of Ciudad Juárez from the campus, offered participants of the 11th biennial Conference on Communication and the Environment (COCE) an opportunity to understand complex border and environmental issues through conference panels and activities that focused on the conference theme, “Across Borders and Environments.” As Orihuela and Hageman’s (2011) recent article indicates, there are many environmental injustices facing border communities that are complicated by race, nationality, gender, class, language, and globalization. Some studies seek to understand these complexities, such as Peterson, Peterson, Lopez, and Liu’s (2010) study of how border communities conceptualize land stewardship in response to some of these problems and Jennings and Jennings’s (1993) analysis of the exploitation of migrant laborers who work in the U. S. agricultural industry, particularly in their exposure to pesticides. However, the limited number of studies on environmental border problems demonstrates a clear need for continued research in this area; the 11th biennial COCE provided opportunities to discuss such problems.

Recent discussions about internationalizing the environmental communication discipline are also relevant in the border area, as El Paso and Ciudad Juárez work together to address international environmental issues such as water shortages and air pollution for their combined populations of over 2.5 million people in one of the largest bi-national metropolitan areas in the world. The importance of communicating about and for environmental justice issues in international contexts is increasingly important in the 21st century. Roberts notes that “transnational and global environmental inequalities” that stem from extraction companies or problems related to climate change and pollution threaten social justice in environmental contexts (2007, p. 285). Jennings and Jennings (1993) further contend that “contemporary agrarian

and environmental sciences actively exclude the impact of techniques on people of color and Third World populations as a research focus, even as their innovations objectively worsen those populations' households" (p. 174).

COCE activities illustrated some of these border and international environmental issues, such as the conference's border tour with stops at the Río Bosque Park, the Chamizal National Monument, and ASARCO, a former smelting plant protested by environmental justice activists until its permanent closure in 2009. Veronica Escobar, the El Paso County Judge and COCE keynote speaker, emphasized the importance of community and political activism. She spoke about the power of community organizing and giving people hope that they can make a difference in their own lives as well as the lives of others. Conference panels and papers also addressed environmental justice issues in international contexts, as the 24 papers in these proceedings illustrate. COCE participants and presenters came from more than 12 countries, such as Mexico, Canada, Sweden, Portugal, Germany, South Africa, Indonesia, and Brazil, and from faraway states such as Alaska, Montana, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Maine. Several panels were also held in UTEP's Chihuahuan Desert Gardens. To broaden participation to those who were not able to travel to El Paso, panelists and participants also virtually attended the conference via Skype and Elluminate sessions.

The Conference on Communication and the Environment itself started in 1991, and has been held every other year since then. Although in the past the conference has been hosted by different universities in a variety of locations, there has been no formal organizing structure for the conference. The 2011 COCE changed that, with the inaugural meetings of the newly elected Board of Directors of the International Environmental Communication Association (IECA). IECA, under the direction of President Steve Depoe and Executive Director Mark Meisner, are working to offer greater support for COCE hosts in the future as well as leadership on issues related to *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture* and the Environmental Communication Network, which has now moved to IECA's webpage at: www.environmentalcomm.org. In line with IECA's interest in broadening the scope of environmental communication, the 2013 Conference on Communication and the Environment is expected to take place in Uppsala, Sweden, co-hosted by the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences and Uppsala University.

The 24 papers in this volume were selected for their high quality and response to the conference theme, "Across Borders and Environments." Many of these essays address Pezzullo and Sandler's call for more work in the area of environmental justice and environmentalism: "The environmental justice challenges to environmentalism in the context of issues such as war, food production, deforestation, conservation refugees, ecological refugees, and immigration need to be explored more fully" (2007, p. 318). Roberts (2007) further contends that environmental justice issues are now of concern beyond the U. S., as environmentalists and social justice activists address how deforestation, energy extraction, and globalization affect the world's poorest communities. Media representations and other communication practices also warrant investigation into how we understand global environmental issues and the people who are affected by such issues. For example, Anne Marie Todd (2010) critiques the way in which *National Geographic* constructs armchair tourism that creates anthropocentric distance in how readers consume and understand Africa; more studies like this are needed to understand postcolonial and Western views on the environment, culture, and nation. Many of these papers tackle such challenges to improve how we think about communication, environmental justice, globalization, and climate change.

The first section's essays examine environmental justice issues in the United States.

Danielle Endres analyzes the Yucca Mountain controversy, in how Native American rhetoric is situated differently from the U.S. government's rhetoric that asks for a national sacrifice zone. This essay has already been revised and will be published later this year in *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture*. JiangBo HuangFu and Ross Singer examine the rhetoric of Van Jones who has focused on green jobs, while Joseph Clark addresses Majora Carter's rhetoric about the intersections of race and environmental justice. Finally, Lorena Mondragón's essay presents a thorough analysis of an environmental campaign in the El Paso-Las Cruces-Ciudad Juárez region, offering readers an understanding of environmental problems border inhabitants face in this area.

The second section focuses on environmental justice issues in other countries, including Peru, Kenya, Brazil, India, and Suriname. Bruno Takahashi and Mark Meisner examine newspaper coverage of climate change in Peru, explaining how limited coverage of adaptation strategies can adversely affect Peruvians. A revised version of this essay has also been published in the journal *Public Understanding of Science*. Kathleen Hunt's exploration of Nobel Peace Prize winner Wangari Maathai's rhetoric offers an understanding of environmental rhetoric through an ecofeminist lens. Tonya Frizzell's essay provides a thorough analysis of criticisms levied against Coca-Cola India. The other two essays in this section, authored by Karina Mullen and Thaís Brianezi and her co-authors, examine conflict resolution for indigenous communities in Suriname and Brazil, respectively.

The following section explores the intersecting aspects of gender and environmental justice. Kathleen de Onís investigates climate justice and reproductive justice intersections. A different version of this essay will be published later this year in *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture*. Jorge Gomez's essay offers a postcolonial and ecofeminist critique of the 19th century British novel, *King Solomon's Mines*, while Erin Drake describes a project in Denver, Colorado that seeks to engage Latinas in green jobs through specialized training programs.

In the fourth section, selected papers from two special COCE panels about the non-governmental organization Rare are featured. Carlos Tarin, Anthony Jimenez, and Jacob Barde all participated in field research projects (in 2009, 2010, and 2011, respectively) to study Rare's environmental campaigns in Indonesia. Carlos Tarin writes about Rare's organizational structure as the organization manages communication in a large number of countries from its headquarters in Arlington, Virginia. Anthony Jimenez focuses on how Rare's Indonesian campaign managers work to localize their campaigns to better connect with local people in rural areas that face threats from deforestation. Jacob Barde takes a different approach by examining a single campaign that has been working to stop overfishing through core protected zones in the Thousand Islands National Park, near Jakarta, Indonesia.

Environment and sense of place is the theme of the fifth section, with essays that focus on how we understand places and environments. Justin Eckstein and Sarah Partlow-Lefevre open this section with their essay on the locavore movement, studying how those who advocate for eating locally in an environmentally sustainable way rely on mythic themes to relate to readers. Tom Bowers explains how memory is constructed in online memorials of places that have been subjected to mountain top removal mining practices. Finally, Julie Kalil Schutten extends these analyses by evaluating nature writing to better understand if it is possible to truly convey a sense of place through words in written form.

Because climate change has become such an important topic in international discussions, the sixth section of the COCE proceedings includes essays that address how communication might be used to more effectively reach audiences. Justin Rolfe-Redding finds that lifestyle

behaviors are correlated with support for governmental environmental policies, which is important for garnering public support for climate change initiatives. Caroline Beard and Jessica Thompson further contribute to audience understandings of climate change by interviewing national park staff of and visitors to several parks and refuges in Florida to find out how to better educate visitors on the specific and local impacts of climate change in those parks and refuges. They note that when people can visibly see climate change effects, they are more likely to support initiatives to take action on climate change issues. Gloria Bebber examines how the use of polar bears in environmental organizations' rhetoric helps audiences to emotively connect to climate change issues.

In the final section, authors consider organizational responses to crises and criticisms. Ann Jabro provides a case study of a local community that struggled to develop action-based plans for addressing weather crises, particularly given the lack of training for second-tier responders. Althea Jansen assesses what kind of leadership responses are needed to engage publics on thorny issues, such as in the case study she analyzes, the ongoing South African energy crisis that has created rolling blackouts. Finally, Adriana Salas and María del Mar Salazar address the natural gas industry's response to the criticisms of hydraulic fracturing in the film, *Gasland*.

Together, these essays represent an attempt to better situate environmental justice issues in international contexts, from the United States to South America, Asia, and Africa. These essays also analyze the intersections of environment, race, nationality, gender, and class, illustrating the complexities and challenges in creating solutions to environmental and social justice problems. Cotton and Motta's (2011) *Engaging with Environmental Justice* moves in the direction of creating research that explores international environmental issues in relationship to social justice as do the essays in this volume. Certainly what is represented here and in other publications is not exhaustive; much work remains to be done.

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I. ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ISSUES IN THE UNITED STATES

Danielle Endres

JiangBo HuangFu & Ross Singer

Joseph S. Clark

Lorena Mondragón



SACRED LAND OR NATIONAL SACRIFICE ZONE: COMPETING VALUES IN THE YUCCA MOUNTAIN CONTROVERSY

Danielle Endres

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Danielle Endres (Ph.D., University of Washington) is an Assistant Professor of Communication and faculty member in the Environmental Humanities Graduate Program at the University of Utah. Her research focuses on the rhetoric of environmental controversies and social movements including nuclear waste siting decisions, climate change activism, and energy policy. Endres's secondary interest is in the rhetoric of American Indian activism. Endres is the co-editor of Social Movement to Address Climate Change: Local Steps for Global Action and has published in Quarterly Journal of Speech, Communication and Critical Cultural Studies, Western Journal of Communication, Environmental Communication, and Local Environment. Correspondence to: University of Utah, 255 S. Central Campus Dr., LNCO 2400, Salt Lake City, UT 84112, danielle.endres.utah.edu.

Abstract

Using the controversy over the Yucca Mountain site, this essay examines the participation process for nuclear waste siting decisions and suggests that one of the many problems in this flawed process concerns the lack of a viable means for discussion of values. The focus of this essay is the incommensurability between the values of American Indian nations that claim Yucca Mountain is sacred land and the federal government that views Yucca Mountain as a national sacrifice zone. The essay concludes with implications for participation in environmental decision-making and American Indian rhetoric. Further, I highlight the lessons we can learn from the Yucca Mountain project as we deliberate about what to do with nuclear waste.

Keywords: *Values, Participation in Environmental Decision Making, Nuclear Waste, American Indians, Nuclear Communication*

Nuclear waste siting decisions are highly controversial. Interdisciplinary scholarship highlights local opposition as one of the biggest sources of controversy in nuclear waste siting (e.g., Dawson & Darst, 2006; Lidskog & Sundqvist, 2004; Short & Rosa, 2004; Shrader-Frechette, 1993; Slovic, Flynn, & Layman, 1991). "From Taiwan to Argentina to Japan and Siberia, citizens have protested plans to build nuclear waste facilities" (Shrader-Frechette, 1993, p. 11). Indeed, local acceptance is one of the major challenges in international nuclear waste siting (Vandenbosch & Vandenbosch, 2007; Walker, 2009). While many view local opposition as primarily an instance of a Not-In-My-Back-Yard (NIMBY) attitude, Boholm (2004) argues that characterizing local

opposition as NIMBYism is an overly simplistic and inaccurate descriptor that is perpetuated largely by technical experts, industries, and governments who assume that the attitudes behind local opposition are “irrational and narrow-minded” (p. 100). Beyond NIMBYism, local opposition to proposed sites often stems from environmental injustice that arises in the processes for site selection and local participation in decision-making.

Like other toxic wastes, nuclear waste sites tend to be sited in areas with already marginalized populations that often struggle for a voice in decision making (e.g., Hofrichter, 2002; Szasz, 1994). This is particularly true for indigenous people, raising concerns about environmental racism and nuclear colonialism (Endres, 2009a, 2009c; Fan, 2006a, 2006b; Ishiyama, 2003; Johnson, 2008; Leonard, 1997). For example, in Canada, First Nations criticize the Nuclear Waste Management Office’s process and recommendations for high-level nuclear waste, arguing, that “they did not participate in real consultation, that their treaty rights were not upheld, and that their cultures and languages were not respected” (Johnson, 2008, p. 106). In Taiwan, low-level waste from nuclear power is currently stored at an interim facility on Orchid Island, populated by the indigenous Yami people, while a permanent facility is sought (“Taiwan plans,” 2011). The Yami “regard dumping nuclear waste on Orchid Island as a violation of environmental justice because the Yami are forced to live with disproportionate nuclear burdens and lack of opportunities to participate in the policy-making process” (Fan, 2006a, p. 425). In the United States, Shoshone and Paiute peoples who opposed the now stopped Yucca Mountain high-level nuclear waste site project, cited environmental injustice and nuclear colonialism as reasons for their opposition (Endres, 2009c).

In this essay, I focus on high-level nuclear waste siting in the United States through an examination of the Yucca Mountain site, not to be confused with the private interim facility proposed by Private Fuel Storage (PSF) to be located on land leased from the Skull Valley Goshute Nation (for more about the PFS/Skull Valley siting controversy, see Clarke, 2010; Ishiyama, 2003; Peeples, Krannich, & Weiss, 2008). It has been over sixty years since the Atomic Energy Commission first began investigating high-level nuclear waste storage from commercial reactors and the United States has yet to open a permanent high-level waste storage facility. The closest the United States came to finding a permanent national storage facility is the now defunct Yucca Mountain project. In 1987, Congress amended the Nuclear Waste Policy Act (NWPA) to designate Yucca Mountain as the only site at which the Department of Energy (DOE) would conduct site characterization studies. In 2002, the DOE recommended the Yucca Mountain site as the nation’s permanent storage facility, pending Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) licensing. The President and Congress agreed with the DOE’s assessment and authorized the site. After completing some additional studies, the DOE submitted a license application to the NRC in 2006, expecting a ruling from the NRC within four years. However, upon election, President Barack Obama and Secretary of Energy Steven Chu began working to stop the Yucca Mountain project. The DOE filed a motion on March 3, 2010 to withdraw the Yucca Mountain license application from consideration by the NRC (Department of Energy, 2010b). Obama’s budget requests between 2010 and 2012 have consistently called for reductions to or elimination of funding for the Yucca Mountain project (Murray, 2010; Tetreault, 2011; Wald, 2009). For instance, the fiscal year 2010 budget shut down the Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management (OCRWM), which oversaw the management and disposal of high-level nuclear waste. Moreover, Obama’s 2012 budget proposal calls for a complete elimination of funding for the Yucca Mountain project. The DOE’s fiscal year 2012 budget request states: “The Administration has determined that developing a repository at Yucca Mountain, Nevada, is not a workable option. . . . No funding is being requested for the Yucca Mountain project” (Department of Energy, 2011, p. 139). Just

recently, in September 2011, the NRC commissioners ordered the agency to stop assessing the Yucca Mountain license application, effectively stopping the Yucca Mountain project under the Obama Administration (World Nuclear News, 2011).

Despite stopping the Yucca Mountain project, Obama is “fully committed to ensuring that long-term storage obligations for nuclear waste are met” (Department of Energy, n.d., p. 1). This commitment is particularly important since Obama is in favor of licensing new nuclear power reactors in the U.S. In order to do this, Obama and Chu established a Blue Ribbon Commission on America’s Nuclear Future tasked with evaluating options and providing recommendations for a long-term solution to high-level nuclear waste (Department of Energy, 2010a). The new taskforce has a tough job ahead. If the over twenty year controversy over the Yucca Mountain site is at all representative, then any decision about high level nuclear waste storage in the U.S. is likely to be highly contentious.

The controversy over the Yucca Mountain site is an invaluable resource as the U.S. and other nations consider options for high-level nuclear waste disposal. As the longest and most bitter debate over a high-level nuclear waste site, the Yucca Mountain controversy provides lessons not just for nuclear waste siting decisions, but also for local participation in environmental decision making. Using the controversy over the Yucca Mountain site, this essay suggests that one of the many problems in the flawed NWPA-mandated participation process is the lack of a viable means for consideration of cross-cultural values, resulting in an unjust process that marginalizes the values of American Indian opponents of the site. Although “values enter, at some stage or other, into every argument” (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 75), the NWPA-mandated participation process for the Yucca Mountain site provided little room for value-based discussion and even less room for considering values in the recommendation decision. In the case of Yucca Mountain, the NWPA-mandated participation process was constrained by an explicit preference for scientific and technical arguments over social and cultural arguments (Endres, 2009b). This occluded the consideration of radical differences in cultural background and value orientation between participants and decision-makers. In this essay, I focus on the incommensurability between American Indian nations who claim spiritually based connections to Yucca Mountain and the federal government that views Yucca Mountain as a national sacrifice zone. This conflict reflects the competing values of cultural preservation and national interest.

I begin the essay by developing a framework through which to evaluate this case. First, I argue that local participation in environmental decision-making is an essential tenet of environmental justice. Then, drawing from literature on participation in environmental decision-making and nuclear communication, I discuss the importance of values for participation in environmental decision-making. Beyond this, I suggest a critical framework for evaluating value conflicts drawing from the loci of the preferable (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969). I then analyze how competing values emerge in arguments about the Yucca Mountain site. I conclude by discussing the implications of this analysis for participation in environmental decision-making and American Indian rhetoric. Finally, I highlight the lessons we can learn from the Yucca Mountain project as the U.S. and other nations deliberate about what to do with high-level nuclear waste.

Environmental Justice, Participation, and Values

Local participation in environmental decision-making is an issue of environmental justice. The Principles of Environmental Justice, adopted in 1991 at the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, state: “**Environmental Justice** demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment,

planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation” (n.p., bolded text in original). Environmental decisions, especially about toxic waste storage sites, have far-reaching effects on the citizens of the United States as well as American Indian nations. A crucial element of environmental justice is that local populations should have an equal say in environmental decisions that affect them. The environmental movement and environmental justice movement have done valuable work in increasing the amount of local participation in environmental decision-making. This has resulted in the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) that mandates public participation in Environmental Impact Statements (EIS), Executive Order 12898 that requires federal agencies to address environmental justice in their actions, and other policies aimed at involving local populations in review of and participation in decision-making. Depoe and Delicath (2004) argue, “Since the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in 1969, public participation in environmental decision making in the United States has become gradually institutionalized at federal, state, and local levels” (pp. 1-2).

Despite this progress, flaws remain in many currently used processes of participation. Although decision makers have adopted more dialogic participatory models of participation in some settings (Dietz & Stern, 2008), the NWPA participation process followed for Yucca Mountain remains essentially technocratic. Technocratic models are often referred to as Decide-Announce-Defend (DAD) to reflect how decisions are made by scientific and policy experts and then presented to the public for approval, as opposed to a genuine process of open deliberation between stakeholders (e.g., Depoe, Delicath, & Elsenbeer, 2004). Senecah (2004) argues that although “most governing systems attempted to develop, and are now mandated by a litany of federal and state laws and executive orders to provide a minimum of formal opportunities for participation,” administrators and decision makers might be able to “talk the talk” of participation in environmental decision-making but they are still limited to “walking the walk,” fearing antagonistic responses, costs, time, and implications of fostering an open process of public participation (p. 16). As a result, most DAD participation processes value scientific and technical arguments over social and cultural arguments (e.g., Depoe & Delicath, 2004; Farrell & Goodnight, 1981; Fiorino, 1990; Katz & Miller, 1996; Toker, 2002; Waddell, 1990, 1996). Furthermore, although scientific, cultural, and social dimensions of decision making are all influenced by values, technocratic decision makers often assume that scientific and technical arguments are value-free, thus relegating values to the realm of the social and cultural dimensions that are already marginalized. Therefore, technocratic decision-making automatically assumes one set of implicit values while excluding other competing values under the false assumption that science is value-free. In order to walk the walk, participation processes need to not only take seriously the social and cultural dimensions of environmental policies, but also to find a way to seriously address the values that underlie arguments for or against particular policies. Before moving on, it is important to note that I am specifically avoiding the more common term “*public* participation in environmental decision making” because the term public participation has been used to assimilate American Indians into the public and deny their sovereign right to engage in nation-to-nation negotiations over the Yucca Mountain site (Endres, 2009c).

The flaws in participation in general also apply to the more specific realm of decision making over nuclear technologies. As scholarship in nuclear communication reveals, the public sphere surrounding nuclear technologies is “constricted and degraded by technocratic domination” (Taylor, Kinsella, Depoe, & Metzler, 2007, p. 381). Stakeholder participation over nuclear issues is particularly problematic because of secrecy, discursive containment, and the perception that the highly technical nature of nuclear technologies is best handled by experts (e.g., Kinsella, 2001, 2005; Taylor, 1998; Taylor et al., 2007). Scientific and technical knowledge

dictate the process with little attention paid to other relevant forms of expertise, not to mention an understanding of values. In the case of Yucca Mountain, participation in the Yucca Mountain siting decision occurred in the form of public comment periods held during both the Environmental Impact Statement (1996-2004) and site authorization decision (2001-2002). While the EIS public comment period valued scientific and technical arguments over social and cultural arguments (Ratliff, 1997), the site authorization public comment period explicitly called for only scientific and technical arguments (Endres, 2009a). The DOE explicitly framed the site authorization public comment period as: 1) an opportunity for the DOE to educate the public, and 2) for the public to comment on the scientific and technical documents produced by Yucca Mountain Project scientists (Department of Energy, 2002b, 2002c). Indeed, former Secretary of Energy Spencer Abraham (2002) noted in his site authorization report that the NWSA mandates that he make his decision based purely on the scientific and technical suitability of the site. In this realm of technocratic decision-making, there was neither a role for non-technical arguments nor a role for the values underlying both technical and non-technical arguments. Yet, opponents and proponents still made value-based claims. An examination of the arguments in the Yucca Mountain site authorization decision reveals that value-based arguments formed a significant stasis point in the controversy.

In order to evaluate the competing values of sacred land versus national sacrifice zone, I turn to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's (1969) concept of the loci of the preferable to ascertain the differing premises that undergird these values. They define loci as "the most general premises, actually often merely implied, that play a part in the justification of most of the choices that we make" (p. 84). The loci of the preferable allow the critic to uncover the underlying cultural premises behind the competing conceptions of Yucca Mountain as sacred land and national sacrifice zone.

Sacred Land or National Sacrifice?

Yucca Mountain is part of the original land-base of the Shoshone people who, before Caucasian contact, lived nomadically in the Great Basin region of the U.S. desert southwest since "time immemorial" (Crum, 1994; Harney, 1995). Current day Western Shoshone, Southern Paiute, and Owens Valley Paiute and Shoshone are all ethnically Shoshonean (Crum, 1994; Harney, 1995; Stoffle, Halmo, Olmsted & Evans, 1988). Multiple contemporary American Indian nations (e.g., Timbisha Shoshone Tribe, Chemehuevi Paiute Tribe) within the Western Shoshone, Southern Paiute, and Owens Valley Paiute and Shoshone (hereafter Shoshone and Paiute) claim spiritual, cultural, and treaty-based connections to Yucca Mountain and the surrounding land. These nations argue that Yucca Mountain and the surrounding land is a unique sacred place steeped in culture, history, spirituality, sense of place, and struggles for sovereignty. For example, in a public hearing statement, Edward Smith, chair of the Chemehuevi Southern Paiute nation, states:

We have been telling the government about the importance of Yucca Mountain area to our people since 1987. During every study, at every meeting, we tell the government the same thing. Today I tell you the same thing yet again. Yucca Mountain is sacred to our people. (Department of Energy, October 5, 2001, pp. 24-25)

Shoshone and Paiute people value Yucca Mountain for its unique sacred qualities and have consistently communicated this to the federal government in meetings about the Yucca Mountain proposal.

The federal government, on the other hand, values the potential of Yucca Mountain as

a resource-barren desert land as a suitable place to store nuclear waste. Kuletz (1998) argues that Yucca Mountain is part of a general area in the Southwest that the federal government considers a national sacrifice zone. This region bears the brunt of nuclear testing, uranium mining, nuclear waste and other effects of nuclear development in order to sustain the benefits of nuclear technologies for the nation as a whole. The federal government's arguments for the Yucca Mountain site assume that it is a resource to be used for its utilitarian function, in this case a sacrifice made by a small group to benefit the entire nation. Abraham (2002) concludes that the cultural significance of the land for Shoshone and Paiute does not outweigh the "national interest" of going forward with the project (see also Department of Energy, 2002a).

In order to further explore how these competing values emerge in arguments about the Yucca Mountain site, I examine 1) arguments made by Shoshone and Paiute people who submitted comments in opposition to the site during the site authorization public comment period, and 2) arguments by the Department of Energy in favor of authorizing the Yucca Mountain site. The site authorization decision was a crucial point at which local participation was officially invited by the federal government and debate intensified. Moreover, the arguments made during the site authorization decision are emblematic of the arguments that have persisted throughout the controversy. While Shoshone and Paiute comments were ultimately excluded from consideration in Abraham's assessment of the major themes from the comment period (Endres, 2009c), Shoshone and Paiute people not only came out in force to comment but also the comments mirrored the arguments found in other venues (e.g., Kuletz, 1998).

Yucca Mountain as Sacred Land

The value of Yucca Mountain as a cultural and spiritual resource to Shoshone and Paiute peoples is central to their objections to the Yucca Mountain site, as seen in the comments submitted during the site authorization public comment period. They talk about Yucca Mountain as a place linked to their cultures and spiritualities. Recognizing that each American Indian nation is distinct, the arguments are not identical across Shoshone and Paiute public comments. Yet, representatives of all the American Indian nations that participated in the public comment process mentioned the value of Yucca Mountain for its unique spiritual qualities in some way.

Several American Indian nations value Yucca Mountain because it is part of their homeland. In the public comments, members of the Las Vegas Paiute, the Lone Pine Paiute Shoshone, the Big Pine Paiute, the Western Shoshone National Council, Western Shoshone, and the Paiute Tribes of Utah all made arguments that Yucca Mountain is a part of their homeland. For example, Calvin Meyers, Chair of Las Vegas Paiute states, "I would like to welcome you to my homelands" and Western Shoshone Lois Whitney claims, "Yucca Mountain sits in the middle of my home land [sic]" (Department of Energy, December 12, 2001, p. 102; Department of Energy, September 5, 2001, p. 9). Homeland arguments build from the assumption that because Yucca Mountain is part of their homelands, not only do Western Shoshone and Paiute nations have unique standing to reflect on Yucca Mountain, but also putting nuclear waste in Yucca Mountain would go against their ability to protect their homelands. This value of Yucca Mountain as a homeland is rooted in a long history with the land. Rachel Johnson of the Lone Pine Paiute Shoshone Tribe declares, "We object to the proposed siting of the repository at Yucca Mountain. The proposed site is in the homelands of our people, lands we have occupied since time immemorial" (Department of Energy, October 10, 2001a, p. 11). Another statement, by chair of Chemehuevi Tribe Edward Smith, highlights the responsibility he feels to his homeland:

*Our people, along with other Southern Paiute tribes and Western Shoshone
and Owens Valley Paiute peoples have lived, traveled, worked, raised*

children, worshiped, harvested plants, animal, water and mineral resources and died in these lands for thousands of years. Our Creator gave us the sacred responsibility to live on, use and care for the land and all of its resources so that future generations would benefit from the many gifts that they provide to sustain life. These lands are part of our people and we are part of these lands. The two connected as one and that connection is everlasting. . . . This land is and will always be Indian land. (Department of Energy, October 5, 2001, p. 23)

Viewing Yucca Mountain as a homeland given by the creator implies that Shoshone and Paiute people are an inherent part of the place; the people and the land are eternally connected.

Beyond its value as creator-given homelands, Yucca Mountain itself—including the plants and animals living with it—is sacred. Edward Smith states, “We believe that Yucca Mountain will become unhappy and angry if you put radioactive waste into it. The spirits living in the area will move away and eventually the land will be unable to sustain plants, animals, water, air, people, and life” (Department of Energy, October 5, 2001, p. 25). This statement demonstrates that part of the spiritual value is in the spirits of the area who will move when Yucca Mountain begins accepting waste. Lorinda Sam, environmental director for the Ely Shoshone Tribe emphasizes the importance of the resources of the land to survival:

As Western Shoshone people, we hold significant ties to the land. We use the land and its resources for our existence. The Yucca Mountain project can destroy our resources used by tribal members such as water, wood, grasses, pinion nuts, plant for food and medicinal uses by being exposed to radiation (Department of Energy, October 10, 2001b, p. 5).

In addition to pointing out that there are many resources in Yucca Mountain, Sam also states that these resources may be lost if the Yucca Mountain Project pollutes the land with radiation.

Another form of spiritual connection to the land is that Yucca Mountain plays an important role in the path to afterlife. Calvin Meyers, chair of the Las Vegas Paiute, provides the most vivid description of how the Yucca Mountain project would affect spirituality. Meyers explains how Yucca Mountain and the surrounding area is part of a path to afterlife for Southern Paiutes. The project would disturb Yucca Mountain and this spiritual path by filling it with radioactive waste. He states:

The transportation of nuclear waste will go across a very important trail of ours that when we die, this is—this trail we go along to take us to the next place where we’re supposed to be at after this—after we pass this time. . . . [If nuclear waste is stored at Yucca Mountain] We don’t know what will happen to us. Will I be a Paiute then? Will I be able to go to the sacred place after I’m gone from here?. . . Without this land you have nothing, you can’t go back and – you can’t go anyplace. (Department of Energy, December 12, 2001, pp. 179-80)

Yucca Mountain is not just a place in which Shoshone and Paiute people happen to live, it is a place given by their creators and integrally linked to their cultural and spiritual identities.

In these public comment statements, Yucca Mountain is said to have intrinsic cultural value. Shoshone and Paiute arguments for this intrinsic value depend on the locus of quality, for “what appears unique that becomes precious to us” (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 89). Yucca Mountain is a unique and precious place inextricably linked to the Shoshone and Paiute from time immemorial. Most American Indian cultures (especially traditionalists) have a spiritual and physical connection to the land with strong ties to environmental protection of that land

that can be linked to realist animism (Sheridan & Longboat, 2006) and spiritual ecology—"an intimate relationship between themselves and their environment" (Cajete, 1999, p. 4). This relationship is mediated through particular places and lands. Unlike many non-Native religions in America, Wilkinson (1991) writes that, "the fact that humans cannot survive without the natural environment is recognized by most Indian religions, and tribes usually are responsible for protecting the ancestral territories provided to them by their creator" (p. 50). To further refine their discussion of the locus of quality, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) introduce the locus of the irreparable, which places value on that which is irreparable if destroyed (see also Cox, 1982). As seen in the comments above, the Yucca Mountain project may irreparably destroy Yucca Mountain through loss of plant and animal resources, spirits, and important spiritual paths. The locus of the irreparable presents a vision of the future changed fundamentally by the siting of the nation's nuclear waste repository at Yucca Mountain. Shoshone and Paiute people value a particular place, Yucca Mountain and the surrounding area. In sum, the argument against the Yucca Mountain site is an attempt at cultural preservation that assumes that Yucca Mountain is a unique cultural resource that will be damaged through the Yucca Mountain project.

Yucca Mountain as National Sacrifice Zone

In contrast, the DOE and the federal government do not consider Yucca Mountain as a spiritual homeland. Rather, the federal government values it as a resource for an instrumental purpose—storing high-level nuclear waste. In the *Site Authorization Recommendation Report*, Abraham (2002) makes the following statements: "The Yucca Mountain facility is important to achieving a number of our national goals," "A permanent repository for spent nuclear fuel is essential to our continuing to count on nuclear energy," and "Failure to establish a permanent disposition pathway is not only irresponsible, but could also create serious future uncertainties potentially affecting the continued capacity of our Naval operations" (pp. 1, 28). These statements value Yucca Mountain in terms of its instrumental telos towards preserving national interest (and national security). The locus of quantity is a utilitarian premise, in which "a greater number of good things is more desirable than a smaller number, a good thing useful for a comparatively larger number of ends is more desirable than that which is less so" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, pp. 83-84). From this perspective, the use of Yucca Mountain for a nuclear waste repository supports the national interest by solving the "problem" of nuclear waste to the benefit of the whole nation. Yucca Mountain is valued, not necessarily because of its unique qualities, but because of its utility in achieving national goals and benefiting the entire nation (as opposed to the quantitatively smaller number of Shoshone and Paiute nations who oppose the site).

It is possible to argue that the federal government also values Yucca Mountain for its unique qualities (being a desert wasteland). In describing Yucca Mountain, the DOE Yucca Mountain web site states, "No one lives at Yucca Mountain," and "There are no known natural resources of commercial value at Yucca Mountain (such as precious metals, minerals, oil, etc.)" (2004a, n.p.; 2004b, n.p.). The federal government considers Yucca Mountain to be an isolated and barren desert, far from population centers and with no commercially-valuable resources. While this could be interpreted as an argument for the uniqueness of Yucca Mountain because of its location, sparseness, and lack of resources, these unique qualities are subsumed under its ability to gain value by serving the national interest. If we store nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain, it serves the national interest. If we do not store nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain, it remains useless. Indeed, naming of the area as a national sacrifice zone perfectly describes the value of the land based on the premise of quantity over quality (Kuletz, 1998).

Concerning Shoshone and Paiute arguments for the intrinsic cultural and spiritual

value of the land, the Department of Energy (2002a) recognizes that the area holds cultural and spiritual significance for American Indians and argues that they have worked with and considered American Indian perspectives. The DOE states:

people from many Native American tribes have used the area proposed for the repository as well as nearby lands; that the lands around the site contain cultural, animal, and plant resources important to those tribes; and that the implementation of a Yucca Mountain repository would continue restrictions on free access to the area around the repository site. Furthermore, the presence of a repository would represent an intrusion into what Native Americans consider an important cultural and spiritual area. Restrictions on public access to the area, however, have also been generally beneficial and protective of cultural resources, sacred sites, and traditional cultural properties. (p. 311)

What is striking about this response is that, first, they admit that there will be an intrusion into a cultural and spiritual center for American Indians, and secondly, they argue that they also protect the area through its restricted access. In analyzing this response, it is important to consider the context of the decision calculus Abraham used to make his site authorization recommendation. The Secretary of Energy made his decision based, in part, on whether there were counter-arguments that significantly outweighed the national interest of going forward with the project (Abraham, 2002). The DOE did not consider the intrusion into American Indian spirituality a cost that would outweigh the benefits to the nation of going forward with the project. This type of cost-benefit analysis reflects an underlying assumption of the locus of quantity; even if there are impacts on the small number of people who believe Yucca Mountain is a cultural resource site, they do not outweigh the benefits to the entire nation of storing high-level nuclear waste.

The federal government's instrumental view of Yucca Mountain as a means to national interest is antithetical to Shoshone and Paiute belief in the intrinsic value of Yucca Mountain as a cultural and spiritual resource that cannot be replicated in another spot. Furthermore, assuming that the storage of nuclear waste would irreparably damage Yucca Mountain, the federal government's call for sacrifice is a significant sacrifice for Shoshone and Paiute people. Calvin Meyers states:

And there's one thing that you guys need to remember. That you may go ahead and move out of Las Vegas, you can move clear across the country, where it may be safer, but I can't. My heart and soul comes from this earth, from right here, not very far away from where you guys want to destroy my land (Department of Energy, October 12, 2001, p. 74).

Donal Carbaugh (1999) reveals that, for the Blackfeet, particular places hold special meaning because of their resources, historical events, or spirits that inhabit these places. Keith Basso (1996) argues that the "*sensing of place—is a form of cultural activity*" (p. 143, italics in original). Sensing a place, I argue, assumes the loci of quality. Sensing a place depends on recognizing what makes a particular place unique and the cultural meaning in that place. Yucca Mountain is valuable because it is a spiritual center. The creators gave Yucca Mountain to the Western Shoshone and Paiute in time immemorial. They have a responsibility to care for and sustain the land for future generations as its resources are key to their life and sustenance. Because of these reasons, Western Shoshone and Southern Paiute people cannot merely leave to find another place.

Conclusion

This analysis examines the incommensurability between American Indian and federal

government arguments about the value of Yucca Mountain as sacred place or national sacrifice zone, uncovering the underlying conflict between the fundamental loci of quality and quantity. Although the loci of the preferable are considered intentional resources, I demonstrate their usefulness as analytic tools by rhetorical critics (see also Cox, 1982; Walker & Sillars, 1990; Warnick, 2004). Specifically, uncovering the differing loci of the preferable in a controversy provides nuance to a reading of values in argument. These loci can help us to ascertain the implicit value preferences in what is explicitly stated. Furthermore, in reading public controversy, the loci of the preferable uncover the underlying areas of disagreement so that we may then attempt to find the starting points for argumentation. Beyond the value of loci of the preferable as critical tools for examining the role of values in public controversy, there are several significant implications of this study.

In terms of participation in environmental decision-making, my findings suggest that there must be a place for explicit examination of conflicting values in environmental decision-making. The NWPAs model and other DAD models for participation already assume incommensurable values between the technocratic decision makers and the local populations, making no attempt to resolve it. In other words, DAD models start with the assumption that scientific and technical arguments are value-free and that public, social, and cultural arguments are value-laden. Instead of using participation processes to work through value differences, DAD models present participants with an already-made decision, resulting in an unjust process that limits voices of dissent and true participation in decision-making. Therefore, two problems must be addressed. First, nuclear waste decision makers need to adopt models of public participation that allow for key stakeholders to be genuinely involved throughout the process. We need to move away from the DAD model of one-way participation. Second, nuclear waste decision makers should adopt a model that recognizes the importance of values and enables the discussion of those values. Although my findings do not necessarily offer suggestions for how to encourage decision makers to choose new options, the case of Yucca Mountain reveals that attempting to site a nuclear waste site in a location is highly contentious and unlikely to succeed without the assent of the host community. Indeed, in a letter to the Blue Ribbon Commission, Secretary Chu acknowledges that:

any workable policy to address the final disposition of used fuel and nuclear waste must be based not only on sound scientific analysis of the relevant geologies and containment mechanisms, but also on achieving consensus, including the communities directly affected. It has been clear for many years that Yucca Mountain did not enjoy that kind of consensus. To the contrary, Yucca Mountain produced years of continued acrimony, dispute, and uncertainty (Chu, 2011, pp. 1-2).

With this opening to consider alternatives, my findings suggest that it is crucial that there is a mechanism to understand the underlying values of stakeholders in the process. In the case of conflicting values, attention given to this point of stasis can allow for a deeper understanding of the controversy and potentially allow for the development of starting points for discussion. My purpose in this essay is not to develop a new model of public participation. Indeed, much scholarly attention is already paid to theorizing, developing, and advocating alternative models of participation, many of which account for values (e.g., Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Depoe et al., 2004; Fiorino, 1990; Hamilton & Wills-Toker, 2006; Kinsella, 2004; Walker & Daniels, 2001, 2004). Rather, my purpose is to highlight the flaws in the NWPA-mandated form of participation and argue for the necessity of adopting a new model for future decision making about high-level nuclear waste that openly address values, recognizing the values inherent in scientific and

technical approaches and the values of local participants.

This essay also helps to understand Shoshone and Paiute rhetoric. We should be very careful about generalizing across all American Indians because each nation has its own distinct culture. However, in the case of the Yucca Mountain controversy, there are similar values and orientations in a variety of different Shoshone and Paiute comments. For example, although the land holds different, specific, and spiritual value for the Shoshone and Paiutes, both raised arguments based on spirituality of the land in general. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) argue for the possibility of characterizing “societies not only by the particular values they prize most but by the intensity with which they adhere to one or the other of a pair of antithetical loci” (p. 85). I argue that the importance of land to American Indian nations implies a preference for the loci of quality over the loci of quantity. According to Vine Deloria Jr. (1992):

American Indians hold their lands—places—as having the highest possible meaning and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind. Immigrants view the movement of their ancestors across the continent as a steady progression of basically good events and experiences, thereby placing history—time—in the best possible light. When one group is concerned with the philosophical problem of space and the other with the philosophical problem of time, then the statements of either group do not make much sense when transferred from one context to the other without proper consideration of what is taking place. (pp. 61-62)

This statement describes the difference between the loci of quality and the loci of quantity as a cultural difference, suggesting that many American Indian nations may culturally prefer the loci of quality. Carbaugh and Wolf (1999) suggest that an understanding of how systems of cultural discourse influence the forms and evaluation of rhetoric is crucial for understanding instances of intercultural rhetoric. My findings call for attention to how cultural preferences for quality versus quantity—or intrinsic versus instrumental value—form a part of the system of cultural discourse that influences rhetoric. Future public controversies that involve American Indians should attend to this potential difference in cultural orientation.

Although the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste repository is now stopped, there are several lessons we might take from my analysis. First, as I have suggested, there should be a built-in process for dealing with values in any model of participation that the Blue Ribbon Commission suggests, as well as in any model eventually adopted for selecting a new permanent high-level nuclear waste site in the U.S. Part of the failure of Yucca Mountain issue was due to the years of dissenting opinions and the lack of support for the project by the host community. Genuine dialogue, trust, and examination of values are essential to local acceptance. Second, activism is still an important challenge to the system. Although opponents of Yucca Mountain did not see immediate success from their participation on the public hearing process—indeed they lost the site authorization decision—I argue that part of the reason that Obama and Chu are working to stop the Yucca Mountain project is because of the significant presence of dissenters over the course of the project. Obama (2007) maintains his belief that “states should not be unfairly burdened with the waste from other states,”—a key argument made by opponents of the Yucca Mountain project over the years—and grounds his opposition to the Yucca Mountain project (n.p.). Furthermore, Chu (2011) contends that:

The only way to open the path toward a successful nuclear future for the United States was to turn the page and look for a better solution—one that is not only scientifically sound but that also can achieve a greater level of public acceptance than would have been possible at Yucca Mountain. (p. 2)

In a sense, Yucca Mountain provides a reminder that change is a slow process, but also that consistent activism over time can influence decision makers and lead to success. Although we cannot solely attribute Obama's decision to the success of activism (the cynical opinion is that Obama needed to win Nevada in the 2008 election), I argue that the presence of long-term opposition to the Yucca Mountain project played a role. As we enter into a new public controversy over what to do about nuclear waste in the U.S., we should use the lessons from Yucca Mountain to inform our decisions. Similarly, Yucca Mountain offers lessons for other countries engaged in selecting a site for high-level nuclear waste.

End Notes:

¹Lidskog and Sundqvist (2004) note that the siting process in Sweden has largely been an exception to this. They argue that so far, The Swedish Nuclear Fuel and Waste Management Company (SKB) has successfully worked with local populations because of the local population's trust of the government and nuclear technologies. However, they caution that if this trust erodes, the local population could oppose the project causing a dead end.

²There are several differences between the two cases. First, while the Yucca Mountain facility was proposed to be the government-run national repository, the PFS site at Skull Valley Reservation was to be a private industry-run interim facility. Second, the local participation processes were different for each facility. As the government-run facility, the Yucca Mountain site was subject to the local participation policies outlined in the Nuclear Waste Policy Act, NEPA, and the NRC, whereas the Skull Valley site allowed for local participation during the NEPA Environmental Impact Statement and the NRC licensing decision. Third, while Yucca Mountain was proposed to be on Western Shoshone and Paiute treaty lands, the PFS site was proposed to be located on the Skull Valley Goshute nation's reservation. Finally, while the Shoshone and Paiute government's officially opposed the Yucca Mountain project, the Skull Valley Goshute government officially supported the PFS project. No American Indian nation is univocal, meaning that there were Shoshone, Paiute, and Skull Valley Goshute people taking both sides in the respective controversies. However, while dispute within the Western Shoshone and Paiute about the Yucca Mountain project was minimal (Kuletz, 1998), there was a high-profile and divisive dispute between members of the Skull Valley Goshute nation about the PFS proposal (Clarke, 2010; Peeples et al., 2008).

³There have been challenges to Obama's policies by members of Congress and nuclear industry people, but none of these challenges have yet materialized in keeping the Yucca Mountain project alive.

⁴With this ruling, the license application has been tabled but not pulled, meaning that a different president could choose to revive the Yucca Mountain project by calling for the NRC to revisit the application.

⁵See Clarke (2010) for a discussion of the related conflict between cultural preservation and economic necessity within the Skull Valley Goshute Nation regarding the proposed PFS interim high-level nuclear waste facility.

⁶The Western Shoshone, Southern Paiute, and Owens Valley Paiute can be further subdivided into federally recognized tribes with their own reservation lands and tribal governments. Anthropologists have identified 17 tribes or equivalent organizations (i.e., the Las Vegas Indian Center) that have ties to the Yucca Mountain region from the Western Shoshone, Southern Paiute, and Owens Valley Paiute and Shoshone ethnicities in Nevada, California, Utah and Arizona: Benton Paiute Tribe, Bishop Paiute Tribe, Big Pine Paiute Tribe of the Owens Valley, Fort Independence Paiute Tribe, Lone Pine Paiute/Shoshone Tribe, Timbisha Shoshone Tribe, Yomba Shoshone Tribe, Duckwater Shoshone Tribe, Ely Shoshone Tribe, Pahrump Paiute Tribe, Las Vegas Paiute Indian Colony, Las Vegas Indian Center, Moapa Paiute Tribe, Chemehuevi Paiute Tribe, Colorado River Indian Tribes, Kaibab Paiute Tribe, and the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, Shivwits Paiute Tribe, Cedar City Paiute Tribe, Indian Peaks Paiute Tribe, Kanosh Paiute Tribe, and the Koosharem Paiute Tribe (Stoffle, Halmo, Olmsted & Evans, 1988).

⁷Endres (2009c) argues that this logic is flawed because it subsumes Shoshone and Paiutes within the national interest instead of recognizing that Shoshone and Paiute nations have their own national interest to protect.

⁸Though there is little pre-1859 archaeological data on the various tribal groups such as the Western Shoshone, there is data to suggest that there have been dwellers in the Great Basin for over 12,000 years (Pritzker, 2000).

⁹American Indian is a generalization. The generalization is warranted because there are similarities that span across American Indian cultures, such as spiritual ecology. Yet, even when generalizing, it is crucial to recognize that there are over 500 distinct American Indian nations in the U.S.

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THE POPULIST ARGUMENTATIVE FRAME IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL VISION OF VAN JONES

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Abstract

What we call a rhetoric of market eco-populism in famed environmental activist Van Jones' vision for a "green-collar economy" provides a heuristic resource for understanding, critiquing, and building coalitions across traditionally divergent movements and communities. Our study shows how Jones' description of himself and his vision as "eco-populist" allows for situating and assessing his project conceptually, historically, and politically. In pursuit of a productive negotiation of contradictions between the interests of social justice, capitalism, and the environment, Jones conjoins multiple existing variations of U.S. and global populist argumentative frames.

Key words: Green Jobs, Environmental Justice, Market Environmentalism, Populism, Popular Environmental Literature

Van Jones' vision for an "eco-populist" and "social-uplift environmentalism" made possible by a "green-collar economy" gained him notoriety as one of the leading environmentalists in the U.S. and helped him obtain a position in the Obama administration as a special cabinet advisor on green jobs. As critics of environmental rhetoric, we take seriously the role of novel language and rhetorical conventions comprising the vision laid out in Jones' *New York Times* bestseller *The Green Collar Economy: How One Solution Can Fix Our Two Biggest Problems* (2008) (GCE). In this essay, we propose that the meaning and functions of the term eco-populism in Jones' vision are particularly noteworthy for situating and assessing his environmental rhetoric historically, politically, and conceptually. We suggest that Jones illuminates the potential of eco-populist frames for coalition building across traditionally divergent movements and communities. In Jones' rhetoric, we trace the integration of multiple existing variations of eco-populist and

populist frames into a hybrid form that we call a *rhetoric of market eco-populism*. Jones' market eco-populist vision adapts and tempers historical patterns of activist reasoning toward the end of productively negotiating contradictions between social justice, capitalism, and the environment. As with any vision put toward the service of generating social change, there are enabling and constraining features, and we assume, as part of our role as critics, the task of identifying them and what they may mean for future environmental praxis.

We begin our study of Jones' vision by exploring past meanings and uses of the eco-populism concept. Next, having situated eco-populism, we examine scholarship emerging from multiple disciplines that conceptualize populism as a political language and argumentative structure. From there, we identify some key gaps in the current theoretical understanding of populist discourse, noting how investigating Jones' environmental vision helps address them. As the final component to setting up our close reading of the vision Jones' proposes in *GCE* and its implications for environmental praxis, we provide an overview of historical trends in U.S. culture through which popular environmental literature has become an important contributor to how citizens make sense of environmentalism.

(Eco)Populism: An Argumentative Structure

Eco-Populism

Although the term eco-populism is not commonly used by environmental activists, nor does it regularly surface in the interdisciplinary sphere of environmental studies, it has appeared occasionally, such as in Szasz's (1994) *EcoPopulism: Toxic Waste and the Movement for Environmental Justice*. Using eco-populism to refer to the U.S. environmental justice movement, Szasz, a sociologist, situates eco-populism as marking a specific discourse articulated by a particular movement in public policy debates. Szasz conceptualizes eco-populism in terms of a "radical environmental populism"—a concept that marks the diversification of groups (e.g., minorities) and issues (e.g., war, nuclear power) in environmental politics. In his analysis of discursive struggle over regulatory reform and pollution source reduction in the 1980s, Szasz suggests that one key characteristic of eco-populism is its intersectional or hybrid character. This hybrid character makes eco-populism broader and more inclusive than reform environmentalism. Szasz's (1994) attention to institutional responses to the environmental justice movement that helps him identify a second characteristic of eco-populism, which links diverse groups together: anti-elitism. He writes: "The...movement is often characterized by its critics in industry and government as a NIMBY, or 'not in my back yard,' phenomenon" (p. 77). This seemingly simple phrase "invokes several related accusations about the nature of the movement and the people who are active in it" (p. 78). Resonating with the historical dismissal of populism as derangement and demagoguery, the environmental justice movement was said to be driven by "faulty, irrational perceptions" that led it to "overestimate wildly the risks of hazardous wastes" (p. 78). The argument continues that unfortunately, irrationality and fear-driven militancy can create detrimental outcomes, including harm to economic performance and mere displacement of waste to other communities.

Szasz's (1994) use of the term eco-populist to refer to the rhetoric surrounding environmental racism and environmental justice advocacy in the U.S. is insightful in its emphasis on eco-populism as constituted in discourse. This idea of eco-populist discourse is not entirely lost in other work on eco-populism by political ecology scholars Dietz (1999) and Blaikie (2000), who offer a different conceptualization of the term. They have used the terms eco-populism and neo-populism, respectively, to refer to one of two main modes of "Third World" political

ecology. Dietz (1999) suggests eco-populism refers to counter-resistance to the “ecoimperialist” mode of “First World” ecological modernization—an environmental regime of technocratic transfer from above—often under the label of sustainable development. He writes that eco-populism emphasizes the capacity of local action and peoples, and the competence of their land management traditions. Eco-populism is a place-based empowerment orientation stressing low external inputs and the ability of local communities to organize and innovate, especially via anthropological and community-based participatory techniques.

Blaikie (2000) adds that eco-populism is a kind of postmodern development paradigm: it respects diversity and is suspicious of scientific truths and the development industry. Blaikie argues that over the past few decades, a number of “curious characteristics” have emerged within eco-populism. One trend is that the audience has largely been the development industry rather than rural beneficiaries. A focus on “how to do development” seems to presume that if only the right methods were adopted, a more sustainable kind of development will occur. The result is a kind of “greenwashing” that insinuates sensitivity to enduring power inequities, but actually reproduces a business-as-usual development style by “putting old wine in new bottles” (p. 1044). Thus, for Blaikie, an authentic eco-populism provides an alternative worldview toward prosperity made possible by a deconstructive sensibility toward modernity’s grand narratives.

Populism

The studies reviewed above indicate that eco-populism derives from the more general notion of populism, which some have argued can be understood as the very basis of political action and social movement (Kazin, 1995; Laclau, 2005a, 2005b; Lee, 2006). We turn to that term now, beginning with the U.S. conception of “American populism,” to further track what scholars have suggested about it. The U.S.-based populist concept derives from the Populist movement of the late nineteenth century uprisings against corporate monopoly. According to Burkholder (1989), the politics of these protests were coalitional, bringing together people from multiple backgrounds—farmers to suffragists to factory laborers—with overlapping interests. The conflicted but pivotal role of African Americans in launching the Populist movement’s People’s Party—who were fighting Jim Crow laws but lacked electoral rights—has also been noted (Gaither, 1977). Also drawing upon observations of these early uprisings in the name of “ordinary people,” Hofstadter (1969) posits that populist rhetoric mobilizes a “restorationist” vision for productive renewal of the Founders’ vision for a simpler, idealized nation committed to traditional values. Since the days of the Populist Party, the term “populism” has been used flexibly, often to denote a range of appeals to ordinary people and their plights perpetrated by the “elite” establishment or “system.” Frank (2000) argues the term is useful for describing changes in U.S. culture since the social movements of the late 1960s. The resulting “culture wars” were ignited by what Frank calls a “backlash populism” in which working-class citizens—the so-called “silent majority”—became for the next thirty years an opponent not of corporate or class elites, but of the liberal intellectual “establishment.” Frank contends that the 1990s gave rise to another kind of populism—“market populism”—whereby the market was celebrated as “a house of the people” for “revolutionary expression” and “empowerment” (p. 26). Businesspeople became public servants, industrial and cultural production became a reflection of popular desire, and the box office was reconceived as a voting booth.

Frank’s (2000) study is instructive because he directs attention to the significance of the popular press in the formation of contemporary populisms. Demont-Heinrich (2009) has likewise stressed that more now than in the past, contemporary populism is produced via carefully selected sound bites, emotionally appealing images, and advertising discourses of

“popular demand.” Both of these writers draw upon a conceptualization of populism as a political language and vocabulary, with Frank (2000) primarily relying on Kazin’s (1995) widely cited book *The Populist Persuasion*. Kazin writes that populist rhetors envision “ordinary people as a noble assemblage not bounded narrowly by class, view their elite opponents as self-serving and undemocratic, and seek to mobilize the former against the latter” (p. 1). While Frank (2000) borders on suggesting otherwise in his analysis, populism, at least as conceived by Kazin (1995), is more complex than class-based false consciousness. Populism can take contradictory shapes that pivot around attempts to speak for the vast majority of hardworking and patriotic Americans.

Later work by Laclau (2005a) affirms the flexibility of populism, describing it as a pattern of discourse and a logic of articulation found across diverse practices in contemporary political culture. Laclau stresses that “populism has no referential unity because it is ascribed not to a delimitable phenomenon...Populism is...a way of constructing the political” (p. xi). Elsewhere Laclau (2005b) adds, “no political movement will be entirely exempt from populism, because none will fail to interpolate to some extent the ‘people’ against an enemy, through the construction of a social frontier” (p. 47). For Laclau, although populism is not specific to any ideological contents, it has pervasive “structuring effects” that manifest primarily at the level of modes of representation (p. 34).

Lee (2006) draws upon and extends this work, suggesting that the presence of a virtuous people defending traditional values against the system is only a starting point for making sense of the complex interactions constituting “the people” because this structure is also present in other rhetorical forms. By examining exemplary populist rhetors in U.S. political history such as George Wallace, Lee identifies additional themes defining the populist rhetorical tradition. These themes include skepticism toward traditional or current deliberative bodies and republican representation, and articulations of revolutionary change as imperative. Lee concludes that alterations in the focus and content, rather than the basic good versus enemy binary structure, make populism a “chameleonic” and potentially potent mode of persuasion. Thus, although populist rhetoric is often atomized in terms of a social movement, such a conception unnecessarily limits it to a flash of activism exclusively tied to liberal, conservative, or agrarian politics.

“Thickening” Eco-Populism

From our survey of the concepts of eco-populism and populism in scholarly literature, it is apparent that although several studies advocate for viewing the terms discursively, there has been limited scholarship on how it manifests in specific cases of public discourse. If populism today is a flexible form and has most recently appeared as a market populism sponsored heavily by popular media, then it seems it can no longer be adequately conceived in the image of a fiery rabble-rouser speaking from the pulpit or a Populist Party of farmers and suffragists. To be sure, given the corporatized nature of mass media content in the regulation of public discourse today, the rhetorical constitution of an enemy of the establishment becomes ever more complex and conflicted.

Our study of Van Jones, who explicitly labels himself an eco-populist and has received wide recognition made possible largely through his bestselling (commodified) book, contributes to addressing the void in the scholarly literature. Furthermore, as we explain below, today’s popular culture of market environmentalism may be an ideal site for exploring contemporary populist discourse—that is, for what Jasinski (2001) would call criticism toward “thickening” the concept. In the next section, we situate Jones in relation to this popular “eco-culture” in relation to what we contend is a broadening of its discourse over the past few years. We believe situating

Jones' book in relation to this trend is important for coming to terms with the cultural conditions of his success and the political functions of his environmental advocacy.

The Popular Culture of Market Environmentalism

The inauguration of Earth Day in 1970 galvanized an awareness of a thoroughly commercialized environmentalism (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992; Luke, 1997). It was not long before the first texts on “ecological marketing” began to appear (Fisk, 1974; Henion & Kinnear, 1976) in which conservation was supplanted by the case for responsible consumption of environmentally “safe” products and services. The emergence of contemporary market environmentalism promoted a more “sustainable” cycle of economic consumption and production as the best pathway for safeguarding the planet for future generations. This discourse became especially pronounced in the late 1980s as economists and development scholars took up the Brundtland Commission's *Our Common Future* report—and its coining of “sustainable development”—as a clarion call to the science of environmental economics to move society beyond the crude notion of economic growth to a broader quality-of-life frame (e.g., Pearce, Markandya, & Barbier, 1989; Pearce, Barbier, Markandya, Barrett, Turner, & Swanson, 1991). The debate since that time has been over whether this movement is a realistic move toward mass-scale change (e.g., Anderson & Leal, 2001) or co-optation and distraction from real political struggle. Todd (2004) notes that in the latter view, focusing on change in consumer habits may absolve guilt prematurely because it implies that one's environmental obligations can be resolved exclusively in the marketplace. Another challenge Todd notes is corporate greenwash, which may result in consumers excusing corporations for harmful motives.

Clearly, green marketing and consumerism have been instrumental to the assimilation of environmentalism into American popular culture over the past several decades. As environmental communication scholarship has shown (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992, 1996; Muir, 1991; Salvador, 1991), this assimilation moved to a new level with the publicity provided by what Killingsworth and Palmer (1992) describe as a “flurry of publishing activity” offering “friendly tops” for all individuals to make small changes in their daily lives (p. 386). According to this “50 Simple Ways” literature—the genre of a suburban middle-class “green how-to manual” (p. 386)—smarter everyday consumption would protect against the environmental threat to long-trusted American ideals of personal freedom on private property ownership (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1996).

Today, there is evidence of ongoing expansion in the discourse of market environmentalism. This discourse now features as much gesturing toward necessity, economic production, and national prosperity—via terms like “green jobs” and “eco-preneurialism”—as it does toward green consumerism's quality-of-life notions. We observe the proliferation of this theme across popular titles such as *Green to Gold* (Esty & Winston, 2006), *Green Jobs: A Guide to Eco-Friendly Employment* (Llewellyn, Hendrix, & Golden, 2008), *Lean and Green: Profit for Your Workplace and the Environment* (Gordon, 2001), and *Sustainable Value: How the World's Leading Companies are Doing Well by Doing Good* (Laszlo, 2008). This trend has been marked in environmental communication scholarship by Kendall (2008) and Singer (2010), who direct attention to rhetorical features and political functions of popular literature hailing a green industrial revolution. One contribution of these studies for our investigation of Jones' book is that they express deep concern about new strategies of persuasion used to merely repackage the Western myth of development—that is, they implicitly take up tenets of the global eco-populist critique outlined by Dietz (1999) and Blaikie (2000). As we move to examine Jones' vision, we are directed, then, to enduring differences in the rhetorical worldviews of market environmentalists

when compared to environmental justice advocates and other skeptics of popular green success discourses of the past.

The Eco-Populist Vision of Van Jones

Van Jones has been praised by politicians, business leaders, and social activists alike for a charisma combining intelligence regarding policy matters with an uncommon ability to effectively communicate across traditional barriers. Formerly affiliated with socialist and civil rights activist groups, Jones is the founder of Green for All, a national organization working to create green jobs in disadvantaged communities, and co-founder of the social justice organizations Color of Change and the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights. He has been recognized among environmental groups for his work in Oakland, California, including his success with establishing a “Green Jobs Corps” youth training program (Roberts, 2007). Jones is also known for his work with the Apollo Alliance (2007), a coalition of labor, business, environmental, and community leaders that has proposed a comprehensive national economic investment plan for a clean energy economy. He was the main advocate for the Green Jobs Act—the first piece of federal legislation to use the green jobs term, which was signed into law by former president George W. Bush in 2007 (Van Jones, n.d.). A later stint as special cabinet advisor on green jobs in the Obama administration, upon the release of *GCE*, ended when Jones stepped down amid controversy about his “radical” activist past. At the time of this writing, Jones holds a joint appointment as distinguished visiting fellow in the Center for African American Studies and the Program in Science (Van Jones, n.d.).

Foundations of Jones’ Argumentative Structure

We focus our attention now on Jones’ argumentative case for a green-collar economy as laid out in *GCE*. Foundations for this case appear very early on in his book as Jones asserts that a dual crisis of economy and environment provides impetus for a revolutionary solution sponsored by “millions of ordinary people...many of whom do not have good jobs right now” (p. 9). His project is to end a long-held stalemate between jobs and economic growth on one hand, and the environment on the other. Jones’ argument is that this dual dilemma is actually one big problem: energy, and specifically rare conditions of “stagflation” almost always caused by energy problems in which prices keep going up and the number of jobs keeps going down. Through the lens of energy, Jones suggests that the dilemma of whether to support immediate economic needs or the environment is a “false choice.” He adds that, we cannot “burn or drill” our way out of this crisis, but “We can, however, invent and invest our way out” through a green-collar economy (p. 4).

Hence, Jones immediately offers a straightforward problem-solution structure centered on energy. On his energy solution, Jones writes, “The solution for the economy is simple: deliberately cut demand for energy and intelligently increase its supply....But all of that is a lot easier said than done” (p. 2). Yet, “the bad news” is that “the pain at the gas pump is just beginning” and fossil fuel prices will keep rising (pp. 1, 2). While finding means to reduce oil prices and sustain the economy would be immediately helpful, Jones states that continuing dependence on oil is “leading us down a path to economic ruin; any attempt to offset...prices by burning dirtier fossil fuels would essentially cook the Earth” (p. 4). Further elaborating on the false solution of drilling, Jones notes that “an existing power structure—call it the ‘military-petroleum complex’...the present high lords of oil, coal, and armaments” (p. 83) use coalitional politics and thus, will not give up their enormous influence easily. He states, “right now the public sector gives most of its love, respect, and money to the problem makers in our economy: the war makers, polluters, and

incarcerators” (p. 82). Consistent with prototypical populism, this discourse strongly exhibits a fear of big organizations and elite power (Lee, 2006), and the “big polluters” come to occupy the antagonistic position within a friend-enemy moral dualism.

Dissociating Government from Big Oil

One stroke of nuance in Jones’ use of the populist rhetorical form is that he is careful to not situate all big organizations the same way, which figures directly into which groups are included in his coalitional vision and which ones are not. Government is not treated as a tragically flawed enemy like Big Oil. To accomplish this rhetorical dissociation, Jones appeals to the Founders’ vision and to examples in which citizens united together to overcome crisis—times in which traditional values held strong. Jones also appeals to the Founders to stress that they envisioned government’s role as protecting “the people,” suggesting that government has thus far failed this task in the face of ecological crisis. Here, by selecting fragments of the past, Jones authorizes a specific way of making sense of today’s ecological threats to the nation’s character.

As Singer (2010) has shown, appeals to the Founders, and more generally, Americana, are found elsewhere in the current wave of popular environmental literature. Singer’s reading of Thomas Friedman’s (2008) bestseller *Hot, Flat, and Crowded* describes how Friedman calls for a return to the triumphant spirit of the “Greatest Generation” and the urgency of the Cold War’s “Code Red” to cultivate an American “Re-Generation” and “Code Green” to save the planet. Similarly, Jones’ rhetoric hails a “Green New Deal” by which “the government would become a powerful partner to the problem solvers of the world—and not the problem makers” (p. 82). He states, “Imagine a Green New Deal—with a pivotal role for green entrepreneurs, a strategic and limited role for government, and an honored place for labor and social activists” (p. 17). The appeal to readers to “imagine” a more prosperous future can be read as capitalizing on the populist rhetorical form. Canovan (1999) writes that “In so far as populism exploits this gap between promise and performance in democracy, there is no end to it” (p. 12). Jones highlights this gap not by leveling a polemic on government failures, but by stressing that the promise of a green-collar economy reflects most vividly in the fact that it has already emerged *despite* government policy. Among several examples Jones uses to support his point is that while renewable energy industries generated more than \$100 billion in profit in 2006, the government is still giving billions in subsidies to oil and coal companies.

To take this movement to another level, Jones asserts that a vast movement must be launched and that, “[N]o single group can win that monumental victory in Washington by itself.” As he begins to describe the attributes of those leading the movement, Jones moves beyond critiquing government to questioning traditional practices of exclusion in the environmental movement. Here he refers not only to negating a role of business and government, but to exclusion based on race and class, and he is critical of the rhetorical style used by what he calls “eco-elites.” Jones writes:

No top-down agenda, dictated to society by a perceived eco-elite, will win acceptance in a country as proud and diverse as ours. Any kind of elitist approach will fuel resentment and generate a ‘backlash alliance’ between polluters and poor people. (p. 15)

He goes on to note that although most environmental groups know that greening the economy must be owned by a much broader coalition, “adjusting to true partnership with very different people may not be easy for some of them” (p. 15).

An overarching theme in the discourse we have examined thus far is its balance of optimism and pessimism regarding the pathway for social change. Central to this balance is

Jones' rhetorical enactment of what Lee (2006) describes as the populist's symbiotic process of constituting the identity of "the people" through failures of big organizations threatening ordinary and traditional values. In addition to appealing to the New Deal to imagine this frontier rhetorically, Jones goes back further in history to the Founders. Jones again makes a clear distinction between where the country is now and where it ought to be. He states that even though government may be currently steered and even owned by vested interests, if seen from the Founders' ideals, its foremost role is to protect the people. The problem is not government as an institution with an essential (negative) identity, but social forces conditioning its flexible practices and policymaking processes. Conversely, there is an irreparable flaw internal to petroleum corporations; they are the big polluting, readily identifiable enemy and offer little potential benefit to a green economy. The oil company becomes a perfect enemy, epitomizes "the system," and represents the faceless antithesis of ordinary people's virtue in an apocalyptic conflict. Indeed, this epic plot perhaps illustrates Lee's (2006) observation that, "The 'people's' unique identity is the driving force behind the populist assertion of crisis" (p. 359)

Styling a Working Class Nobility

Parts of Jones' message we have not covered yet and turn to now include how he envisions rhetorically the exact character of those non-elite individuals—the would-be eco-populists who can save the planet by erecting a green-collar economy. Jones describes this group as millions of ordinary people, many of whom do not currently have "good jobs." It is these citizens who will be doing the "hard and noble work" (p. 9) and "opportunities abound to make things better for everyone" (p. 11). We submit that this "friend" component of Jones' market eco-populist argumentative structure takes on the persona of a green working class nobility—a virtuous common sense people with a proven capacity for extraordinary feats. It is in this attempt to constitute an ordinary collective subject that Jones first explicitly invokes terms populism and eco-populism to describe the movement for the green market democracy he envisions. At one point he asserts, "To give Earth and its people a fighting chance, we need a broad, populist alliance—one that includes every class under the sun and ever color in the rainbow" (p. 59).

In quotations such as those offered above, Jones demonstrates his awareness of the history and traditional tenets of American populism. There are, however, notable ways that he adapts the traditional idea of populism. We have already noted that one way is that he does not disavow big organizations outright. It is important to add, however, that not only does this mean his message is not exclusive of corporations, but it also appears in his more general attempt throughout GCE to retain the market as today's primary means for social change. Although his message is not synonymous with the more passive and more general market populism described by Frank (2000), insofar as the market becomes the "house of the people" endowed with an ability to overcome enduring issues of difference, it is arguably closer to that description than other variations of populist discourse from the century beforehand.

In our reading of GCE, Jones' tries to promote a reconciliatory alliance between market environmentalism and environmental justice made possible by a focus on environmentally and locally sustainable economic production. Jones, in this spirit, fashions his eco-populism as more inclusive than either movement given that it allows for overcoming racial and class-based grudges with reform environmentalists, and enables working with basically everyone besides Big Oil, no matter the political affiliation or relative power in society. Stressing the need for less "eco-elitism" and prevention against "eco-apartheid," Jones states that the way to overcome this divide is with an eco-populist movement that thinks differently than eco-elites. It is a movement that is sensitive to, but moves beyond waste distribution, racism, and wilderness preservation to jobs and

workplace issues. As Jones envisions this broad alliance, he is careful to focus on commonalities over differences. For example, he states, “Just to be clear, people of color and the urban poor are not the only ones hurting. In many ways, those suffering in rural and small-town America are even worse off, because their plight doesn’t even make the sensationalized evening news” (p. 28).

Jones invents a collective persona for a green working-class nobility not merely in the content of his message, but in how he says it as well. His primary rhetorical technique here is a plain style that functions in at least three ways: (1) it grounds his message in a populist grassroots sensibility—a rhetoric of realist practicality, (2) it builds his ethos on the subject matter, and (3) it dissociates from and transcends above what he perceives as inferior environmental visions of the past. Jones’ use of a plain style to elaborate upon what he means by a “green-collar job” demonstrates the wide contextual adaptability and flexible appeal of the populist frame. He writes that a green-collar job is simply “*a family-supporting, career-track job that directly contributes to preserving or enhancing environmental quality*” (p. 12, emphasis in original). They are ordinary “middle-skill jobs” demanding more than a high-school diploma, but less than a four-year degree (p. 12).

One of the more novel ways Jones’ tries to project a common sense persona for himself, which could in turn foster an alliance between environmental movements, is by dissociating from the lofty and often class-alienating abstractions of popular market environmentalist discourse we described earlier in the essay. In *GCE*, Jones pokes fun at prophetic discourses of a future Manifest Destiny via green jobs, insinuating that his vision overcomes the limits of that form:

When commentators evoke the ‘future green economy’...our minds sometimes start conjuring up images.... Perhaps we are taken to a top-secret California laboratory, where strange and mysterious geniuses are designing space-age technologies to save the world.... Or maybe we see a courageous space cowboy in orbit, bravely constructing the solar panels that somehow beam down energy to our cities. (p. 9)

Jones goes on, “Let’s be clear, the main piece of technology in the green economy is a caulk gun. Hundreds of thousands of jobs will be weatherizing and energy-retrofitting every building in the United States” (p. 9). Rather than thinking of George Jetson:

Think of Joe Sixpack with a hard hat and lunch bucket, sleeves rolled up, going off to fix America. Think of Rosie the Riveter, manufacturing parts for hybrid buses or wind turbines. Those images will represent the true face of green-collar America. (p. 10)

Jones adds that much of the work to be done involves transforming the places in which we live and work, as well as our transportation system. In these areas of work, jobs are difficult and in some cases impossible to outsource.

Continuing his praise of the extraordinary feats of ordinary citizens, Jones notes that as is evident in millions of green jobs already gained, this project of green national renewal is “not a daydream” (p. 5). Green-collar workers are installing solar panels, refining waste oil into biodiesel, erecting wind farms, constructing transit lines, planting trees, and repairing hybrid cars. Toward the end of *GCE*, Jones continues crafting a working class mobility through references to exemplary grassroots projects across the country exhibiting the hope of green jobs. To illustrate the kinds of jobs that contribute to this meshing of environmental justice and market environmentalism, Jones surveys five areas in which green-collar jobs, oriented toward practicality for working families, are emerging: energy, food, waste, water, and transportation. One of his examples is a computer recycling facility in Chicago where students participating in the city’s Greencorps job-training program learn career skills. Another example is urban organic

agriculture in low-income districts. Here, Jones describes the Institute for Community Resource Development in Chicago, which secures empty lots from the city, oversees lots turned into gardens, manages a farmer market, provides technical and nutrition education, and has plans for the opening of a retail store. Jones writes that a nonprofit organization in Baltimore called Second Chance, which offers architectural salvage and deconstruction services, stands as another model for the promising emergence of green-collar jobs. Deconstruction is a method used instead of demolition that helps reduce what the Environmental Protection Agency suggests is over 136 million tons of waste from building materials produced annually through demolition. Crews consist of low-income residents who are trained on the job, in part with the help of contracts with the city, providing workforce development funds and first bids on jobs involving government buildings that are scheduled for removal.

For Jones, these examples show that the problem of negative environmental critique in the past—of attacking industry—is that it has often done little to provide a proactive and sustainable solution. Environmentalism needs to be ordinary, not elitist; practical, not idealist; mainstream, not fringe. The problem is that “a politics centered on green solutions seems laughable at the moment” because the environmental movement seems to be “the cushy home of such a thin and unrepresentative slice of the U.S. public” (p. 94). Such appeals to practicality, common sense, and the ordinary people beyond extraordinary accomplishments are prototypical of American populist rhetoric. To make environmentalism matter to ordinary U.S. citizens, it must be couched in practical terms that serve people’s immediate everyday needs and interests. In Jones’ hands, an effective eco-populist movement must be driven *foremost* by a desire to improve the standard of living for oneself and one’s local community—especially economic and health dimensions—while helping the environment. In this sense, Jones’ vision is unwittingly anthropocentric. He writes:

We should never consider a job that does something for the planet and little to nothing for the people or economy as fitting the definition of a green-collar job. A worthwhile, viable, and sustainable green economy cannot be built on solar sweatshops. (p. 12)

Statements like this one show Jones being unapologetic about the quality-of-life and anthropocentric focus in his vision for social change. As we detail in our discussion of the enabling and constraining rhetorical features and political dynamics of Jones’ rhetoric of market eco-populism below, it is both how Jones prioritizes quality-of-life and suggests it should be achieved that are the primary sites of contention in his vision.

Assessing Jones’ Green Economic Vision

If Canovan (1999) is correct in her assessment that populist “movements often have more or less charismatic leaders, vivid individuals who can make politics personal and immediate instead of being remote and bureaucratic” (p. 14), then Van Jones is that figure for a mainstream, marketized eco-populism. Van Jones’ market eco-populist rhetoric in *GCE* adapts multiple prototypical themes from the U.S.-based populist argumentative frame described by Lee (2006). Jones targets “the system,” elevates ordinary people as a noble assemblage, and asserts that nothing less than a green economic revolution led by this assemblage and its traditional values will overcome the republican representational establishment. Yet, as noted, the market, not old-fashioned picketing and petitioning in the streets, is envisioned as the primary avenue for empowerment. This rhetorical feature connects Jones to the U.S. discourse of market populism that Frank (2000) traces in the celebrated rise of the “new” economy in the 1990s.

While Jones exhibits awareness of the American populist tradition, we have illustrated that there are also features in his message that link it to past conceptualizations of U.S. and global

notions of eco-populism. Like the eco-populism-as-environmental justice movement described by Szasz (1994), Jones expresses concern for urban communities of racial minorities affected negatively and disproportionately by industry and (white) reform environmentalism. However, consistent with global eco-populists, Jones articulates distaste for lofty scientific discourses of development, favor for the economic know-how of local people, and skepticism of the colonizing project—the empire-building—organized by fossil fuel economics. Although this hybridity describes important features of Jones’ vision, it is also part of the task we set for ourselves to weigh in on their political functionality in relation to one another. In the next section, we consider some ways in which the rhetoric of *GCE* may be simultaneously enabling and constraining for future environmental praxis.

Enabling Features of Jones’ Vision

Jones focuses on inspiring and unifying people, explaining that he has “come around” from his past as a radical activist. Still, this does not enable him to escape a difference in perspective with anti-environmentalists and environmentalists alike. Here, perhaps the key issue is that even as he balances skepticism with optimism, the populist frame does not allow for overcoming a binary pattern of negative critique in which one reality is inverted in favor of a presumably better one. Jones’ application of the populist argumentative structure is tempered, however, as he integrates multiple configurations. Jones’ version of the populist frame is instructive for environmental praxis because it avoids alienation so often caused by the cynical, resenting, or preachy style of what he calls “eco-elitism,” which sometimes chastises people for not thinking and acting more rationally. Jones’ argumentative frame is also tempered when it comes to forming alliance as it does not assume that we must rid our entire system of resources and start over. It is also inclusive of groups that normally are at strong odds with one another—such as CEOs and social justice activists. The plain style of Jones’ eco-populist vision is important here, as is his use of a dialectical sensibility throughout *GCE*, which avoids forfeiting social change politics for a “pure” message of Manifest Destiny or conversely, the social paralysis of apocalyptic fear.

Although Jones’ appropriation of an eco-populist framework seems to limit his capacity to deal with historical contradictions in ways we detail below, his prose style is constantly in flux between unity and opposition, empowerment and oppression, non-elite and elite, reform and transformation, structure and action, white and non-white. The result is an inconvenient “yes” message of sorts that expresses faith in the viral diffusion of innovations and positive ideas, and indeed, market eco-populism. One benefit of Jones’ upbeat vision as circulated in popular print form is that it may find its way into the minds of audiences previously unexposed to the history of environmental racism and classism that he offers.

Constraining Features of Jones’ Vision

To further unpack the tensions of critique and empowerment at work in Jones’ rhetoric, we shift to some possible challenges that, in our reading, complicate future actualization of the green-collar economy that Jones envisions. Certainly his vision, while attempting to overcome patterns of communication that in his diagnosis have troubled environmental movements in the past, faces its own challenges. One of the broadest critiques that can be leveled against Jones is that his version of populism, while inspiring, must be consumed as an individualizing commodity, and in this way it is not dependable for forming and maintaining a counter-movement. Not only the book’s commodity form, but its content as well, accommodate mainstream middle-class values and by doing so run against the limits of not actually contesting

the structure of pro-corporate and free market politics that underwrites fossil fuel economics. Indeed, environmental justice advocate and the wilderness proponent alike may be suspicious of Jones' attempt to team up with market environmentalists, as the discourse of green-collar jobs risks ushering in the next wave of corporate greenwash.

This idea that Jones understates or underestimates the significance of structural contradictions in a liberal capitalist order resonates with what West (1986) calls a black socialist critique of populism. West argues that the dominant ideology ascribed to the language of populism is focused on getting more U.S. citizens to higher standards of living, but this standard is contradictory because as it presupposes a stance against big organizations, "this growth presupposes the high levels of productivity and efficiency of big business, big government, and big labor" (p. 209). From this view, the claim that green-collar jobs are economically sustainable because they are hard to outsource does not address other conditions of labor and consumer exploitation made possible by the corporatization of the workforce.

To extend these areas of critique pertaining to the mainstreaming and commodifying of an activist message, the dialectical, tempered and ultimately optimistic nature of Jones' vision faces some limitations as well. Here we note the almost limitless agency given to the green-collar worker in Jones' vision. In close relation to the points raised by West (1986), as stated above, we find that Jones places more rhetorical emphasis on the persona and promise of a green and racially diverse working-class hero than on a critique of enduring social antagonisms of class and race. Although Jones tempers his style of critique and secures a popular audience, to do this he must simultaneously attack and support self-interest, individual rights, the pursuit of wealth, and anthropocentrism. In other words, Jones must manage the contradictions of popular market environmentalism and work within mainstream expectations for a kind of redemptive populist vision.

The audience-related constraints we refer to here derive fundamentally from Jones writing a book about the green-collar worker rather than one for the green-collar worker. Although *GCE*'s focus is green-collar jobs, many if not most of those would-be green-collar workers that Jones wants to occupy such positions are probably not the same individuals who are reading his book. Instead, they are looking for work and trying to survive. There are signs in *GCE* that Jones recognizes this, including his attention to forging a "Green Growth Alliance" consisting of governmental, business, labor, religious, and activist leaders. Additionally, an entire chapter is devoted to providing an action plan to government policymakers, ranging from the president to city government. These signs indicate that, however paradoxically, Jones' anti-eco-elite style is largely addressing eco-elites and the would-be eco-elites of white suburbia.

Finally, a very different critique of Jones' vision might be that it is not tailored enough to politicians, business leaders, and the cultural mainstream. In a culture that Aune (2001) describes as sold on free market "rhetoric of economic correctness," Jones proposed solution of a Green New Deal is likely to make many conservatives think of anything but coalition-building. Clearly, Jones does distinguish his solution from the original New Deal. He notes that in light of no one being able to deny the limits of last century's "welfare state," it is clear that, "This time, we can also imagine a much wiser, smarter role for government" (2008, p. 81). Still, the term retains political baggage, especially when used by an activist who was once affiliated with activist groups explicitly espousing socialist agendas.

Visible negative effects of this baggage on Jones' project have been evident in the rhetoric of conservative commentators such as *Fox News*' Glenn Beck, who has attacked Jones as Obama's "green jobs czar," "anti-American," and a "communist-anarchist radical" within Obama's "racist" and "far Left socialist agenda" (Broder, 2009; Carpenter, 2009). Beck claimed this radicalism

manifests in a *YouTube* clip in which Jones is shown at a political event calling Congressional Republicans “assholes” as well as in the form of Jones’ signature on a 911Truth.org petition suggesting a possible U.S. government role in the planning of the 9/11 attacks (Burnham, 2009). To the latter, Jones responded that he did not read the petition carefully enough, and that his signature does not represent his views now or ever (Franke-Ruta & Komblut, 2009). Nevertheless, the controversy escalated quickly and Jones resigned from his government post. Beck and Jones have continued to quarrel in the media. Most recently, Jones challenged Beck to a debate regarding his charges against him, to which Beck replied he would not participate until Jones “tells the truth” (“Glenn Beck,” 2011). From the perspective of populist rhetoric, this quarrel arguably animates the malleability of the populist frame as public discourses collide to claim the “real” interests and common sense of ordinary people. As Kazin (1995) observes of populism during the New Deal era, even the proposed enemies of populism may prove to be quite equipped at claiming democratic and “American” values as their own.

Conclusion

This study suggests that famed environmental activist Van Jones’ vision for a “green-collar economy” provides a heuristic resource for understanding, critiquing, and building coalitions across traditionally divergent movements and communities. Our study shows that Jones’ description of himself and his vision as “eco-populist” is pivotal for situating and assessing his project conceptually, historically, and politically. Jones’ novel articulation of a hybrid frame of market eco-populism, while not without its shortcomings, provides productive foundations for democratically rearticulating enduring antagonisms between social justice, capitalism, and the environment. While we have explicated some possible underpinnings for future studies of market eco-populist rhetoric, additional case study work is needed to not only “thicken” this concept, but as indicated through our survey of the literature, to determine the broader rhetorical status of populism in today’s multi-mediated consumer culture.

End Note:

¹This critique confronting Jones’ vision and book can be brought from various political bents united around a traditional (Habermasian) conception of the public sphere. Following DeLuca (2003), we wish to point out that such criticisms are themselves vulnerable to counter-critiques of idealism, exclusion, paralyzing moralism, and nostalgic conservatism. Jones holds no illusion that a set-aside liberal-bourgeois public sphere exists or can realistically exist in an age of technology and advertising. Still, his willingness to tap into the institutionalized form of today’s mass media spectacle does bring with it formidable constraints on the originality and progressiveness of his rhetoric.

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PLEASE DON'T WASTE ME: MAJORA CARTER'S "GREENING THE GHETTO" TED TALK

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Abstract

A speech by Bronx activist Majora Carter at the 2006 Technology, Entertainment, Design (TED) Talks event was reposted on the web and has since been embedded on blogs and sites around the web, garnering significant positive reaction. This paper comprises a case study of the text of the speech, its immediate delivery at the TED conference (as captured by video cameras at the event), and the way the message has been re-mediated by bloggers and web commentators in the years since. The paper examines the talk and its subsequent circulation both as an instance of environmental justice rhetoric, with its tropes of community and embodied experience, and as an exemplar of the way orality and human bodies in peril retain rhetorical force in an increasingly mediated environment.

Keywords: *Rhetoric, Environmental Justice, Embodiment, Circulation, New Media*

In February 2006, Bronx activist Majora Carter delivered an eighteen-minute address to the Technology, Entertainment, Design Conference (TED) in Long Beach, California. The speech, "Greening the Ghetto" (TED Conference LLC, 2006) described efforts to reverse decades of environmental racism and to empower residents to take control of their destiny in economically and environmentally sustainable ways. When TED organizers began to place recordings of conference addresses on the Web later that year, Carter's speech was selected as part of the first group to be displayed. A clip from the speech appears in a title montage that plays at the beginning of every talk available on the site. The often emotional presentation was well received by conference attendees and has since generated considerable attention on the Web.

Carter joins other prominent speakers, such as Native American activist Winona LaDuke, Robert Bullard of Clark Atlanta's Environmental Justice Resource Center, and Mike Ewall of ActionPA and the Energy Justice Network, as one of many who are addressing environmental concerns from a standpoint most commonly referred to as "environmental justice." Her address is also framed within a collection of current events and bleeding-edge "TED Talks," and is easily accessed and experienced—again or anew—by a wide audience. Visitor comments suggest that

the speech is experienced as a present-day event rather than a historical record. Furthermore, the manner of publication allows visitors to “take a copy with them” and embed the video—and in a sense, Carter herself—on their weblog or personal website, as many have done.

In this paper, I argue that Carter’s address generates its enthusiastic and often emotional response because it creates a liminal space of dynamic movement between ghetto and elite, self and Other, and materiality and subjectivity that allows Carter’s audience to participate directly and to vicariously experience with her the harms caused by environmental injustice because she embodies her message. I also argue that the circulation of her address as an embeddable Web object affords new ways for audiences to participate in a message and convey it to others.

I begin with an examination of environmental justice, orality, visual imagery, and embodiment. I then provide historical information about the TED Conference as well as a biographical sketch of Majora Carter. The paper then turns to a detailed analysis of the address, looking not only at Majora Carter’s words, but also at her visual presentation and the way in which the address has been archived and disseminated. I conclude with an examination of the way Carter’s address both confirms prior scholarship on environmental justice rhetoric and provides insight into the ways an elite audience can be “brought into” an oppressed community and participate in an oral event through new media.

Environmental Justice: Environmentalism or Civil Rights?

Carter explicitly invokes the trope of environmental justice early in her address. Part of a cluster of related concepts, including environmental racism, eco-racism, and ecofeminism, the roots of environmental justice extend into the environmentalist, feminist, and American civil rights movements that preceded its relatively recent emergence. Robert Bullard’s seminal work *Dumping in Dixie* (Bullard, 1990) treats this origin most comprehensively, pointing to origins in both the environmental movement and Black activism.

While its arguments and imagery are in many cases drawn directly from the rhetoric of environmentalism, environmental justice has had a rocky relationship with its mainstream counterpart. The two are often depicted as standing in almost direct opposition, primarily due to perceptions—not without some basis in fact—that mainstream environmentalism has been anti-urban. Critics argue that by elevating nature and wilderness over concerns with the immediate living environments of humans, especially those living in inner cities or surrounded by industrial wastes, mainstream environmentalism has all but ignored those who tend to be disproportionately oppressed or members of marginalized populations (Melosi, 2000). Heinz (2005) notes that the mainstream movement “generally lacks attention to environmental problems affecting minorities who often live in poor, urban communities” and “environmental justice activists are expanding mainstream environmentalism to address how pollution affects their communities” (p. 50).

Without question, the conservationist thread in U.S. environmentalism is open to charges of elitism. In the early days of the 20th century, concern for ecosystem health was often primarily directed at maintenance of hunting stocks or preservation of spectacular scenery, things that were more accessible to white populations and the well-to-do. Even the transition to a deeper ecology – toward “nature for its own sake” – beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, tended to idealize pristine, uninhabited landscapes far from the day-to-day conditions in which many people lived and worked. Furthermore, organizational leaders and activists of the new environmentalism of this period were predominantly white males who belonged to the middle class (Heinz, 2005). Yet, environmental justice retains connections with the older movement. In his historical review of the environmental justice movement, Melosi (2000) suggests that critics of mainstream

environmentalism “fail to take into account the historical origins of the movement in its fullest sense” because “lesser-known activists struggled with the blight of pollution, health hazards, and the physical degradation of cities” (p. 53) by attending to problems of disease, pollution, diet, and toxins in the urban environment. This concern was simply overshadowed by “national attention given to conservation through its celebrated battles and its landmark legislation”—although Melosi also admits that “the earliest urban environmentalists gave little or no attention to race and class, nor to the issue of equity (insofar as that implies equal protection from environmental threats or equal exposure)” and were sometimes openly hostile to people of color (2000, p. 55).

According to Melosi (2000), the apparent inattention to environmental justice issues was more strongly associated with the fact that national concerns tended to receive more attention than local neighborhood pollution as a result of the spectacular nature of national parks and other issues of widespread impact. Furthermore, during the 1960s, particularly during the Johnson administration, an increasing attention to urban quality of life and pollution issues emerged, raising these issues to a national concern, though Melosi claims that Johnson never connected environmental and civil rights concerns. Melosi concludes that “the fairest assessment to make about the history of turn-of-the-century urban environmentalism is that it provides a partial legacy for modern environmental justice advocates, rather than no legacy at all” (p. 59).

For Melosi (2000), the notion that environmental justice is a reaction to, rather than a continuation of traditional environmentalism is “a revisionist interpretation of history” (p. 65) that does not bear close scrutiny, apart from acknowledged lack of attention specifically to race and class. Nonetheless, he asserts that:

[this] mythic history has served environmental justice well. It has helped to set its political agenda—to turn attention to a more intimate connection between humans and environmental problems and to call for fair play and justice for those who have been excluded and overlooked. (p. 65)

Bullard and his coauthors (2007) similarly minimize the distance between the movements, although they approach this from another direction:

The environmental justice movement is as much concerned about the environment as any of the traditional environmental groups. There is only one environment. The environmental justice movement is concerned about wetlands, birds and wilderness areas; it is also concerned, however, about urban habitats, about reservations, about the things that are happening on the US-Mexican border, about children poisoned by lead in their own homes and about children playing in contaminated parks and playgrounds. (p. viii)

Heinz (2005) suggests that another reason for the perception of distance between the movements is that “urban minorities were mostly focused on civil rights” (p. 50) during the rise of contemporary environmentalism in the 1960s. In fact, she argues that environmental justice borrows both its tactics of political activism and its imagery from the civil rights struggle (Heinz, 2005; see also Melosi, 2000). Čapek (1993) further argues that the roots of both are lodged in previous social justice movements, with the themes of individual dignity and full citizenship rising to the foreground in civil rights rhetoric. She notes that “in minority communities, environmental justice is often strongly linked to civil rights issues” (Čapek, 1993, p. 10) providing an explicit connection between the two. Environmental justice may in fact be a resurgence of a “faltering” civil rights movement (Melosi, 2000, p. 47), suggesting that it is the civil rights movement, refocused.

No one event is universally recognized as the birth moment of the environmental justice movement, irrespective of its relationship to environmentalism or civil rights. Most writers place

its emergence somewhere in the late 1970s or early 1980s, when the siting of toxic wastes and polluting industries in minority communities began to receive national attention. A 1987 report from the United Church of Christ's Justice and Witness Ministries, with its detailed statistics and strong condemnation of "environmental racism," is commonly regarded as a milestone; Melosi (2000) notes that the report was "the first comprehensive national study of the demographic patterns associated with the location of hazardous waste sites," finding that the "racial composition of a community was the single variable best able to predict the siting of commercial hazardous-waste facilities" (p. 49).

However, the centrality of race versus class or other factors in environmental injustices has been contended. In the 2007 update of the United Church of Christ (UCC) report, Bullard et al. (2007) argue that many communities face continuing problems "because of government cutbacks in enforcement, weakening health protection, and dismantling the environmental justice regulatory apparatus" (p. vii). Furthermore, the report concludes that "significant racial and socioeconomic disparities persist in the distribution of the nation's commercial hazardous waste facilities" (Bullard, Mohai, Saha, & Wright, 2007, p. xi). However, the *relative* roles of race and class in this distribution are difficult to tease out for some. Many activists have focused on "environmental racism," but others in the movement have tended to shy away from this term toward the broader rubric of "environmental justice." Heinz (2005) finds the notion of Blackness problematic as it has been used in the "racism" thread of the movement, because she argues that it just as often reinforces negative stereotypes of Black neighborhoods, and essentializes Blackness to an extent that can be nearly as oppressive as the dominant hegemonic systems that justice activists resist. As she notes, "one must be careful to avoid reinscribing monolithic notions of Blackness at the same time as Blackness is defined as difference by dominant groups in society" (Heinz, 2005, p. 57). Furthermore, the "use of Black-White categories unconsciously risks reinscribing Whiteness as the unmarked sign" (p. 57), highlighting and mystifying notions of White entitlement.

Yet, critics have found that environmental justice rhetoric displays features that connect it strongly to the African American community. In fact, the idea of "community" appears frequently, both as a sign of solidarity against oppression and as a symbol of that which is to be preserved. Čapek (1993) asserts that this usage "implies a nationwide movement 'community' transcending racial, geographic, and economic barriers and resting on the claim that no community's solution should become another community's problem" (p. 10). Heinz (2005) finds this community trope to be an essential component of Black newspapers' call for local action. Its usage illustrates both the internal solidarity and the separateness of those powerful external forces—often White and privileged—arrayed against the community. These external forces are typically depicted as threatening and even violently assaulting the community (Heinz, 2005). Heinz also claims that the "neighborhood" is further invoked to concretize the community as a particular place, connected with Black identity. She states that "In personalizing and further localizing environmental justice, the neighborhood concept brings environmental justice from a community, or city, issue to one impacting a particular street" (Heinz, 2005, p. 55).

The community and neighborhood concepts help to solidify the notion of harm inflicted by outside groups as well as the resultant need for justice to amend those harms. Čapek (1993) similarly notes "a strong emphasis on citizenship rights, democratic process, and respect for 'grass-roots' knowledge (i.e., the experiential reality of those most directly affected by problems)" (p. 10). Thus, environmental justice has a greater social and personal component than its mainstream counterpart.

Environmental justice activists speak with authority and authenticity as members of

specific communities suffering specific harms. The speaker embodies the social and personal harm that he or she describes. Blair (2001) views this as an avenue for “considering the material conditions of discourse,” focusing “on the lived-in body as a condition and consequence of rhetoric,” and understanding “rhetoric itself as material” (p. 288). Therefore, human bodies living in conditions of environmental harm can become rhetorical in the same way that the bodies of Black people, pummeled by streams from fire hoses in Birmingham, illustrate the oppression of segregation, racism, and the Jim Crow laws (Blair, 2001). Houck (2004) asserts that the mere presence of human bodies performed much of the civil rights movement’s “eloquence and moral force” and was effective in swaying public and political opinion (pp. 68-69). Furthermore, Johnson (2007) suggests that this possibility was clearly in Martin Luther King’s mind when he provoked Bull Connor’s extreme reaction in Birmingham. He claims that “For King, the best means of making racism visible was by exposing its action on black bodies” (Johnson, 2007, p. 20). The total engagement of bodies in rhetoric lends them a powerfully persuasive authenticity.

Television, print, and internet technologies extend the impact of body rhetorics. Even mediated images of bodies can have rhetorical force, as Gallagher and Zagacki (2007) relate in their study of *Life* magazine photos from the Selma marches. They argue that the photos of marchers “functioned rhetorically to evoke the common humanity of blacks and whites in compelling and profound ways by enabling viewers to recognize—and confront the implications of—themselves, their values, and their habits in the actions and experiences of others” (p. 115). They further assert that images can potentially invoke viewers’ moral consciousness by their power to “activate strong emotional responses about people in the particularity of their life circumstances and in specific locales,” (Gallagher & Zagacki, 2007, p. 132) harkening back to the concretizing power of the neighborhood trope in environmental activist rhetoric.

Therefore, bodies have rhetorical force in messages about injustice. They are evidence of the harm being resisted, and they awaken moral empathy by decreasing the difference between self and other. This is not simply an artifact of the speaker’s biography, a knowledge that they have been in the trenches, but a continual enactment of presence and embodiment that is constructed by participants.

When we turn from bodies to orality, especially in public address, it brings us from more contemporary concerns with visual and material rhetorics to the origins of classical rhetoric—origins that continue to “haunt” the discipline (Gunn, 2008). At the same time, orality re-emerges as an important site of analysis because of the affordances of current technologies, such as near-ubiquitous streaming video, in which the spoken word is effortlessly transmitted and archived, bypassing written language altogether. Gunn reminds us of the work of Walter Ong and others, who have asserted that oral speech creates immediacy and presence, preceding the symbolic and in some ways, residing “at the intersection of the human and the divine, a mysterious locality that both inspires and frightens” (2008, p. 349). It particularizes a living, breathing entity. Its impact emerges from an infant’s memory of the undifferentiated parent; the human voice so strongly evokes awareness of another subjectivity that we strive to turn nonsense speech sounds into language (Gunn, 2008). Thus, for Gunn, “In our image-saturated environment, speech has taken on a new aura of authenticity” (p. 361). The point is especially relevant in light of the technologies that are used to carry Carter’s address to new listeners. This is quite unlike reading the transcript of an address in the newspaper, for example.

Garner and Calloway-Thomas’s (2003) discussion of African-American orality helps connect the salient features of the oral modality with environmental-justice rhetoric. In attempting to characterize the nature of a “Black presence” in African-American rhetoric, they found oral culture to be central. They argue that communication in oral cultures is immediate—

literally “unmediated” as well as synchronic—and personally involves the communicators (p. 47). They also describe orality as “a rhetoric of everyday use” (p. 48). Grounded in ethics, critical thinking, and personal logic, orality emphasizes judgment and decision-making within an unpredictable arena of live interaction with others (Garner & Calloway-Thomas, 2003). To minimize conflict in this synchronic, unmediated interpersonal contact, it tends toward an indirect and circular quality. At the same time, it accentuates group identity because shared knowledge is required to decipher that indirection, to know when something is serious or playful (Garner & Calloway-Thomas, 2003).

Thus, both *phronesis* and a sense of community are common in oral culture and environmental justice rhetoric. Furthermore, prior scholarship suggests a number of components to expect in a speech like the one delivered by Majora Carter, including community and neighborhood tropes, embodied authenticity, shared humanity, moral judgment, and indirection. It can also be anticipated that the rhetorical work of the address circulates widely in the modern YouTube world.

Furthermore, Russell’s (2009) analysis of so-called “liquid media” suggests additional factors at play. She describes a novel means of experiencing messages that are a product of today’s environment of ubiquitous personal publishing and semantic computing, which she characterizes as “a participatory media culture in which creativity has been democratized and each person is his or her own channel” (Russell, 2009, Adaptive Structures section, para. 2). Russell writes about visual advertising content, but what she says is also thought-provoking when we consider the many ways Carter’s speech might be experienced and consumed:

Content—as it appears in the context of different devices and locations and is distributed to various individuals—can be adapted for relevance to the consumer’s mindset and experience. In a stream of water, each drop loses its unique identity, yet the molecules which comprise the stream retain their identity, even as phase shifts change the form of the stream—to ice or steam.

(2009, From Device-Centered to Person-Centered Media section, para. 3)

Thus, the speech can become a dynamic blend of immediate physical presence and technologically portable objects that can operate in an almost limitless number of contexts, far transcending the circulation of something like a printed transcript in a Great Speeches collection, or even an oft-repeated TV clip.

Technology, Entertainment, and Design

A description of the context of Carter’s address, delivered at the 2006 TED Conference, helps clarify its circulation and subsequent impact. This series of brief, pithy lectures began in 1984. Architect Richard Saul Wurman (2010), who among other accomplishments, coined the phrase “information architecture” as a way of expressing his desire to make information understandable, instituted the conference and talks as an attempt to popularize important ideas among an influential audience. The first TED conference featured the Macintosh computer and compact discs, and while there is a longstanding tradition of unveiling the latest technological dazzler at TED, the conference’s themes encompass the arts, politics, human rights, disabilities, culture, and business—“ideas that matter in any discipline” (TED Conference LLC, n.d.).

Conference attendees are a who’s who of heavyweights: academics, entrepreneurs, scientists, and performers who have included Amy Tan, Jeffrey Katzenberg, Billy Graham, Bill Gates, and Al Gore, among others. Membership costs \$6,000 per year and conference organizers have felt obliged to defend themselves from accusations of elitism on the website (TED Conference LLC, n.d.). Put simply, the conference attracts spectacular presenters because

its audience is influential. Presenting at TED exposes both the message and the speaker to an audience that can produce results.

The conference format is designed to expose attendees to a large number of ideas over a short period, and there are over fifty talks in four days, each limited to eighteen minutes, as well as related events such as receptions and opportunities for networking and conversation. Presenters wear portable microphones and speak from a raised stage, with large projection screens behind them. Most TED speakers move about freely on stage without notes, but Carter—although visibly well-prepared and eloquent—relied on notes resting on a lectern.

The information and networking opportunities are often transformational for those present. Both attendees and presenters refer to the TED Conference as “life-changing” in the way it cross-pollinates ideas and opens doors (TED Conference LLC, n.d.) In an interview with James Chase of the Majora Carter Consulting Group, he reacted incredulously when asked why Carter responded to the TED invitation (James Chase, personal communication, March 30, 2009). He said, “The audience is one of the most influential in the world. Why would anyone in Majora’s position not want to address them?” (James Chase, personal communication, March 30, 2009).

Majora Carter, Reluctant Recruit

Born in 1966, Majora Carter was raised and educated in the South Bronx during a time of increasing crime and urban decay. As a child, she saw neighboring apartments burn down without police or fire-department responses. Furthermore, her older brother was murdered there after surviving two tours in Vietnam. These facts of her childhood are repeated in nearly every biographical sketch that appears. They are pivotal in her life and, clearly, a source of rhetorical authenticity.

Carter escaped the neighborhood, returning to attend graduate school (Carter, 2009). She obtained an MFA from New York University in 1997 (Holloway, 2008). During this period she became involved with a local community-development initiative that led to her interest in environmental issues (Waldman, 2001).

In 2001, after a successful campaign to shift a municipal waste plan backed by the Giuliani administration towards “positive green development,” Carter founded the nonprofit Sustainable South Bronx (SSBx) initiative, an “environmental justice solutions corporation” (Majora Carter Group, Our Story, n.d.). The group landed several large federal grants and created “one of the nation’s first and most successful urban green-collar job training and placement systems” (Majora Carter Group, Our Story, n.d.). Much of this history is recounted in her TED talk, accompanied by photographs and graphics on the screen behind her.

Carter has continued to build an impressive resume of experience and recognition in the years since 2006 (Majora Carter Group, Media Kit + Bio: Majora Carter, n.d.). She remains active on the speaking circuit and her consulting company’s website suggests a number of ventures for the future. The spike in attention caused by the TED address and its subsequent online circulation made Carter a highly visible and sought-after speaker. In an interview with James Chase of the Majora Carter Consulting Group, however, he asserts that this was unanticipated (James Chase, personal communication, March 30, 2009). He says, “We did not know the [TED Talks] site would be so successful and thought of the event as a chance to leverage connections in the room, not outside of it.” Furthermore, he adds, “We regularly get effusive emails from people inspired by that talk, and it has led to many requests at substantially increased speaking fees” (James Chase, personal communication, March 30, 2009). Audience reactions indicate that both Carter and her message benefit from this circulation.

The Verbal Message

Carter opens with a note of appreciation to her audience and an immediate statement of her theme: while sustainable development is necessary for survival, it is often resisted as politically and economically impractical. She then concretizes and humanizes the issue—as she will do repeatedly—with an anecdote about a personal discovery that led to the community's initial successes in resisting further pollution and establishing a riverfront park. She credits the discovery to her dog, which becomes a synecdoche, both for the ghetto itself and for the way Carter's activist involvement grew into something larger than she expected. Carter then lists the health and financial impacts of environmental injustice, ticking these off on her fingers in the video. The problems, she says, impact Blacks as well as all of society. They are a litany familiar to environmental-justice activists: toxic wastes, health threats, urban blight, and inequality.

She personalizes this by recounting her experiences of burning buildings and, in a wrenching passage, the death of a beloved brother. She describes herself as both like and unlike her audience, highlighting both common humanity and a deeply embedded Otherness. This is the core of her rhetorical strategy of foregrounding her own body, her own humanity (all quotations from the speech are taken from the transcript posted on the TED website):

So what else do we have in common? Well, first of all, we're all incredibly good-looking [laughter] — graduated high school, college, post-graduate degrees, traveled to interesting places, didn't have kids in your early teens, financially stable, never been imprisoned. OK. Good. [laughter] But, besides being a black woman, I am different from most of you in some other ways. I watched nearly half of the buildings in my neighborhood burn down. My big brother Lenny fought in Vietnam, only to be gunned down a few blocks from our home. [pause — crying], Jesus. I grew up with a crack house across the street. [pause] Yeah [raises hand] — I'm a poor black child from the ghetto. These things make me different from you. But the things we have in common set me apart from most of the people in my community, and I am in between these two worlds, with enough of my heart to fight for justice in the other. (TED Conference, LLC, 2006)

She then describes the origin of this disparity in a history of urban decay in the South Bronx, leading to apathy and lack of concern for the neighborhood: “If you are told from your earliest days that nothing good is going to come from your community, that it is bad and ugly, how could it not reflect on you?” (TED Conference, LLC, 2006). She also finds the origin of apathy in the neighborhood's subjugation by the overwhelming political influence of the rest of the city. This lack of agency is reversed when residents decided to take control of their destiny, Carter says, and from this point forward in the address she and the Bronx are active change agents, rather than victims of injustice. The middle of the speech details successful campaigns in which Carter has been directly involved, including a green-jobs training program and the installation of several “cool roofs” and green roofs.

She also injects a lighthearted note about the butterflies attracted to the gardens—described with childlike excitement as “our little friends—so cool!” and playfully violates TED rules about not asking for financial support. Again and again, Carter injects herself into the message, for she is the Bronx, the complete human beings that the audience must begin to recognize in environmental planning. The humor and lightness are never allowed to be completely frivolous. As she does repeatedly, Carter immediately shifts emotional gears with a topical reference to the destruction of Black neighborhoods in New Orleans in the wake of

hurricane Katrina. Thus, she uses a familiar image of the devastated Lower Ninth Ward as an analogy to the impoverished South Bronx, articulating both as calamities exacerbated by racism.

As she addresses the counterarguments she often hears directed against green initiatives, her negative emotions become more apparent; she comes close to open sarcasm when she claims to recognize that solutions won't be pursued simply because they are right or moral:

Now, listen — I do not expect individuals, corporations or government to make the world a better place because it is right or moral. This presentation today only represents some of what I've been through. Like a tiny little bit. You've no clue. But I'll tell you later if you want to know. (TED Conference, LLC, 2006)

Nonetheless, she says, "I have embraced my inner capitalist" and she knows the power of bottom lines. She turns this in her favor by redefinition, arguing for a "triple bottom line" that recognizes community, government, and business interests, and thereby helps avoid waste and "hyper exploitation" by corporate interests. She opens a space of operation for the enlightened capitalist—likely in her immediate audience—who might want to invest toward a potentially non-exploitative profit.

She then visualizes the possibilities by describing successful efforts in Bogotá, Colombia, implying that both Katrina and the South Bronx are, in effect, part of the third world. She challenges the United States, with its first-world resources, to take similar action—because "We have no excuse in this country. I'm sorry." She begins her closing with a direct appeal to the audience to become more involved, to talk about sustainability, and include more stakeholders in policymaking:

You, however, are blessed with the gift of influence. That's why you're here, and why you value the information we exchange. Use your influence in support of comprehensive sustainable change everywhere. Don't just talk about it at TED. This is a nationwide policy agenda I'm trying to build, and as you all know, politics are personal. Help me make green the new black. Help me make sustainability sexy. Make it a part of your dinner and cocktail conversations. Help me fight for environmental and economic justice. Support investments with a triple-bottom-line return. Help me democratize sustainability by bringing everyone to the table and insisting that comprehensive planning can be addressed everywhere. (TED Conference, LLC, 2006)

At this point there is a powerful and seemingly unscripted moment. She appears to depart from her planned talk ("Oh good, glad I have a little more time!") and moderates what has been a rapid-fire delivery—slowing down, even pausing for several seconds, maintaining eye contact with her audience. This maximizes the significance of her seemingly mild rebuke of audience member Al Gore—a direct assault on white, male, traditional environmentalism and on government inattention to minority stakeholders:

I don't think he understood that I wasn't asking for funding. I was making him an offer. [long pause while Carter looks significantly around the room; applause begins as audience "gets it"] What troubled me was that this top-down approach is still around. Now don't get me wrong, we need money [laughter]. (TED Conference, LLC, 2006)

The humor cleverly defuses this potentially tense David-and-Goliath moment; if handled differently it might have risked the connection she has built up through the address. She needs this connection, as she indicates once again by placing herself squarely in the middle, with a

peroration that clearly situates her as messenger and as embodiment of the “environmental justice community:”

I have come from so far to meet you like this. Please don't waste me. By working together, we can become one of those small, rapidly growing groups of individuals who actually have the audacity and courage to believe that we actually can change the world.

We might have come to this conference from very, very different stations in life, but believe me, we all share one incredibly powerful thing — we have nothing to lose and everything to gain. (TED Conference, LLC, 2006)

Overall, the verbal transcript demonstrates a strong first-person presence. There are nearly one hundred occurrences of *I*, *me*, *my*, and *mine*, reinforcing Carter's authenticity and embodiment. She is evidence and messenger. But she also connects herself with the audience with liberal use of first-person plurals. The terms *we*, *us*, and *our* appear almost seventy times, twice as often as *you* and *your*, linguistically conflating residents of the South Bronx and the elite audience.

The environmental-justice theme of community helps intensify the connection between speaker, audience, and the ghetto. Words like *community* and *neighborhood* are common, as are *home*, *people*, and *residents*. Awareness of the history of the environmental justice movement also helps one understand why references to race are relatively limited. Carter describes disproportionate harm suffered by Blacks, but far more often uses the phrase *environmental justice community* when describing those impacted. Even the word *ghetto* appears only once. She does not directly provoke her immediate audience with charges of racism—generally situating the racism that created conditions in the South Bronx in the past—and she is aware that class injustice is also at play.

The trope of *waste* is also notable because it bridges the past and future. At first, it is a noun, the sludges and garbage inflicted on the Bronx community. In the latter half of the address, though, it is a verb, a shameful act to be refrained from. It transforms from product to process, from history to ongoing enactment, from object to actor. This use of waste mirrors the shift to active agency that occurs in the speech, and nicely dovetails with the economic language described below.

She also verbally establishes her authenticity within the technocentric and economic worlds of environmental science and business. She uses terms like *sustainable development*, *agenda*, *urban areas*, and *decision-making powers*. She describes the green-roof concept with a technophile's zeal that must resonate with the TED audience. She speaks of capitalism and bottom lines. She shows her pragmatism and concretizes her “foot in both worlds” imagery by showing her audience that, on this level, she is one of them. As mentioned earlier, she opens space for capitalism and profit-making even while castigating its past excesses, but notably, her solution is neither technological nor economic, but social and political, and even idealistic.

The Audiovisual Majora Carter

The video clip is shot from several angles and allows the viewer to experience gestures, appearance, visual aids, and setting. Carter appears in jeans and a closefitting black “Greening the Ghetto” t-shirt; viewers are clearly aware that hers is a physically fit human body (one website comment describes her as “buff”). She refers to jogging early in the speech. Her body speaks of health and energetic involvement: the active, agentic Bronx that has taken up its own destiny.

This is reinforced by a sense of restrained, positive energy that emerges from her rapid speaking rate. She begins the address with hands clasped behind her back (looking not unlike a

soldier at parade rest), but this evolves into more expansive hand gestures, and she moves around restlessly. At times she rolls her eyes dramatically, as if sharing a reaction with friends, and when she laughs, her smile is infectious and open. Her bearing is a dance of exuberance restrained only by the gravity of environmental injustice and a youth's imperfect deferral towards her elite audience. The knowing looks she gives her audience while describing injustices seem designed to elicit the sense of shared community that Garner and Calloway-Thomas (2003) describe as central to Black orality. Carter invokes a connection that heightens empathy and the immediacy of her present body.

Two camera angles, including a wide shot that includes the audience, suggest the immediate auditors' experience and convey the nature of the elite audience. They also allow the viewer to see her slides, which are maps, aerial photos, artists' renderings of urban-renewal project outcomes, and stock photos of children and trash dumps. An animated slide at the beginning, with bold yellow arrows emerging to point at the South Bronx in an aerial photograph, perfectly illustrates the environmental justice trope of the community under attack from outside forces. Two additional camera angles are at left and right profile, giving a more intimate perspective of Carter's physical presence than would have been available to the live audience. In several segments, one sees only her slides.

Majora Carter, Embeddable Web Object

As has been noted, Carter's address "floats free" of the TED website and can be embedded in all manner of web logs and downloaded to personal computers, iPods, and cell phones. Treated as a rhetorical event, Carter's address thus has a wider frame, one that was not present at the time of its original delivery but which is very much a part of the context in which, arguably, her largest audience has experienced the speech. After being posted on the TED Talks website in 2006, the speech became accessible to a worldwide audience who could visit the site and play back a professionally-produced full screen video. Comments on the website and embeds in web log bear witness to the fact that the mediated address continues to be experienced by new audiences.

Thus, the physical context of the speech grows from the immediate cultural and physical setting of the 2006 address to include the TED website, Carter's own homepage, and additional resources. The video plays within a page layout template (see Figure 1) that clearly connects it with the TED Talks series, lending authority and credibility. The TED frame may also introduce a limiting and leveling generic quality because it explicitly establishes Carter's address as one of many talks available for consumption. The viewer would be hard-pressed to miss the YouTube-like "What to watch next" box and other connections. TED Talks cover all manner of "ideas worth spreading," from new computer touch-screens, to an athlete's triumph over adversity, to the ways an octopus can blend into its environment. The website lists dozens of themes and hundreds of speakers, sortable by a dozen criteria: newest, most emailed, rated jaw-dropping, courageous, inspiring, or funny, among other categories. Conceivably, this positions Carter's message as a mere selection on a smörgåsbord of ideas, a collection that is arguably open to the same critique of elitism that environmental justice activists work to sustain. Placement on the TED site is thus a mixed blessing, bringing the message to a wider audience while situating it as a kind of television program, rather than a call to action.

However, even this web frame is not fixed. TED makes its videos freely distributable via Creative Commons licensing, and common weblog techniques enable it to be embedded in any web page, either directly from TED or via the copy posted to YouTube. The video has been embedded in all manner of websites, including generic video sites like YouTube and Google

Video, environmental sites like Grist, and personal weblogs. In both the TED frame and these other settings, viewers have been able to leave comments about the speech.

Circulation and Reactions

Carter's address was filmed in February 2006 and placed on the website four months later. Since then, over one hundred overwhelmingly positive comments have been added by site visitors. In early 2007, a copy was uploaded to YouTube, where statistics show it has been accessed over 40,000 times. A Google search finds thousands of hits for the speech title and/or the keywords "Majora Carter" plus "TED Talk." Many of these sites contain an embedded copy of the video that users can watch within the frame of the referring page, while all contain a hyperlink to the TED page. The TED page contains by far the lion's share of comments; most of the other pages sampled contain from one to ten visitor responses. Comments attest to the emotional force and authenticity of Carter's message. The most common theme is the "passionate" nature of the speech and its effect on listeners. *Passion* or *passionate* appear frequently, as do the words *inspiring*, *inspired*, or *inspiration*. Carter and her speech are *amazing*, *great*, *brilliant*, and *incredible*. She is *dynamite*, a *powerhouse*, a *master speaker*. Phrases like *magnificent performance* and *forceful speaker* appear constantly. Some report getting *tingly*, *goosebumps*, *choked up*, *shed(ding) a tear*, or otherwise experiencing powerful, embodied emotions:

She had me sobbing at some points (TEDtalksDirector, 2007).

I'm sitting at my desk at work, earplugs inserted, and tears running down my face. A colleague rushes over, wanting to know if I'm alright. Am I alright? I don't know. . . . I'm crying right along with her. (Maupua, 2006)

Others suggest the natural persuasiveness of her message and question the good sense of anyone who would not be moved by it:

if you do nothing else today, listen to Majora's talk (Steffen, 2006).

most definitely worth a listen (Steffen, 2006).

highly recommend watching (O'Brien, 2006).

share with friends and colleagues (O'Brien, 2006).

required viewing (Lacey, 2006).

If this doesn't get you in your gut, you've got serious problems (Roberts, 2008).

If you are not moved by her talk, you need to check your pulse because you don't have a heartbeat (Anonymous, 2008).

Enough said [the only commentary on one site that embedded the video] (Ritter, 2008).

Her authenticity is directly mentioned several times, typically from the standpoint of a respondent with similar credentials: "Coming from the south Bronx myself, I truly understand what she is talking about" (Anonymous, 2008) or "Being a Jamaican, I know what it means to live in a ghetto" (TED Conference, LLC, 2006).

Furthermore, this sequence of comments posted to the TED site in February 2009 captures two important threads:

This is probably one of the most important talks at TED ever in the past or future

wow. very inspiring.

my new hero. absolutely. what a powerfully beautiful human.

Majora clearly LIVES and BREATHEs this idea. . . .

Majora, you are not wasted! ROCK ON... Thank you for sharing your passion

and love for the environment and your community with all of us!
This is the most impactfully IMPORTANT presentation the TED community
will EVER witness!...ever! (TED Conference, LLC, 2006)

The first and last comments above frame the speech as an exemplar of the TED series, a common theme in the TED page's comments. Elsewhere, the speech is said to exemplify environmental-justice rhetoric. This suggests the kind of leveling mentioned previously as a possible downside of the TED frame. Conversely, the way commenters address Carter directly, as if she is immediately present or will read "her" website should also be noted. These respondents are clearly feeling a direct engagement with Carter, rather than simply experiencing a recording.

Critical commentary is minimal. Her speaking rate comes under fire several times, especially in a critique and responses on a site dedicated to public speaking. One respondent finds her personal anecdotes to be transparent attempts at establishing credibility, while two respondents feel emotionally manipulated, referring to "emotional abuse" of the audience (TED Conference LLC, 2006). Nonetheless, these negative reactions are rare, and even when voiced, their authors tend to balance them with positive comments.

Conclusion

Majora Carter's address can be classified as a success. In an interview with James Chase of the Majora Carter Consulting Group, he asserts that it led to wider recognition (James Chase, personal communication, March 30, 2009). Other reasons for which the presentation can be classified as a success are its early selection for the TED site, its incorporation into the title montage there, and its subsequent wide distribution on the web, generating enthusiastic viewer reactions.

As previous work in environmental-justice rhetoric leads one to expect, Carter's physical presence on the stage embodies both the problem and solution she describes. As a representative of the community and neighborhood addressing the TED Talks audience (as she says, "Yeah—I'm a poor black child from the ghetto"), Majora Carter's own body is part of her rhetoric. She speaks about environmental justice while presenting herself as a victim of environmental injustice. At one point she is visibly moved to tears and is forced to stop speaking in order to regain composure; her voice is hoarse and trembling when she continues. She is immediately present as a living victim of environmental injustice and, as if her appearance does not evoke that of a victim, she details the hidden health impacts that her body—as that of a black woman from the South Bronx—is likely to experience. Her words reinforce her authenticity and embodied experience in the South Bronx. Furthermore, her clothing—a close-fitting black tee shirt and blue jeans—speaks of a place far removed from an elite, Long Beach audience. Her exposed, toned arms are those of someone who rolls up her sleeves and works with her body. Her stage presence is full of restrained energy. She rocks on her heels and moves around, clasping her hands in front of her at times in an almost supplicatory way. At the same time she appears relaxed, confident, and in control—speaking to peers, even when mildly chiding Al Gore.

Carter's physical presence serves as an embodied bridge between the oppressed Other and her elite audience. Her presence and her story posit her as an authentic voice, one who has put her body on the line, in a way reminiscent of Houck's description of Ed King, though in Carter's case the disfigurement is an emotional one, signified most powerfully by her brief moment of tears (Houck, 2004).

In addition to its embodied and visual nature, Carter's address is primarily oral in the experience of its wider audience because of its distribution as a video clip rather than as a transcribed speech. Although mediated by video and the web, Carter's address is experienced

orally, and the comments of website visitors make the immediate, emotional impact of her speech clear. She is in effect present and speaking directly to her Web audience because we hear her voice and see her body moving, smiling, crying, and gesturing. In addition, her address displays the features of an African-American orality. She also playfully engages her audience with humor, mild exaggeration, and shared-knowledge cues—as when she engages in a kind of co-conspiratorial eye-rolling. Her reasoning is pragmatic and grounded, even when she pleads with her audience, “Please don’t waste me.”

The content of her address reinforces themes of environmental justice in a way recognized by her wider audience. Viewers often rate the talk as an important contribution to a worthwhile subject. She uses the trope of the embattled community to establish place and to situate agency, inviting her audience into that community by straddling two worlds. She is both an emissary and a welcome wagon.

The image of a foot in both camps clarifies one of the speech’s most powerful characteristics: the balanced, dynamic tension between rational science and embodied experience, business and humanity, ghetto and elite, and critique and invitation. She balances social worlds by being like her audience, yet different from them. This tension is mirrored in the emotional terrain of the speech, particularly at three points: when she shifts from talk of marriage to an enumeration of environmental injustices against Blacks; when she jokes with the audience about being good-looking and never having been in jail, while breaking down into tears about her brother’s death; and when she transitions to some light humor about “Green is the New Black” to the sobering images of Katrina.

This push-pull helps Carter achieve a delicate balance. As an environmental justice proponent, she must critique the system that produced the injustices of which she speaks. As members of the elite, her immediate audience is, in indirect ways, the source of this injustice. Carter’s balance of humor and powerful emotion keeps this tension working to her favor as she creates discomfort and then reveals a path toward its resolution.

The result is what creates the powerful emotional response in her audience; not the direct pathos of her personal experiences or even her engaged, energetic delivery, but the placement of the listener into a liminal, shifting space without solid reference points, except the path of the broadly characterized call to action. Notably, viewers are responding to this call by sharing their opinions on the web, by recommending the speech to others, and by embedding it on their web logs. The act of commenting on the address becomes for many audience members a direct and totalizing response, allowing them to participate with Carter in the shared community she creates. This enactment further enhances circulation, though it might be argued that it also drains off energies for more substantive change if viewers feel they have done their part simply by commenting on a website or embedding HTML code into a blog.

More research is needed on the impact of the variable web frame that results when anyone can “host” Carter’s address. As Russell (2009) argues in her discussion of “liquid media,” the impact of this is not clear. For example, is it comparable to the effects of the typeface layout, and other contextual elements when a speech by Frederick Douglass or Malcolm X is reprinted in many different newspapers? Can the aggregate contextual framing of this mediated talk, across a number of websites, promote or inhibit certain other readings of the text? Although there is plentiful research on the relative effectiveness of computer-based learning, we do not yet have a clear understanding of the possible impact of varying electronic contexts for an address of this nature.

One intriguing possibility is that the ability of web audience members to “adopt” the message and surround it with personal commentary on their blogs creates a new kind of

participation in the rhetoric and authorizes it for subsequent viewers. The informal nature of blog writing and user comments suggest some of the characteristics of orality and presence, recreating the living audience even within the disembodied environment of the computer screen.

Only with a better understanding of the way a text evolves through this kind of circulation can we come to a more definitive understanding of what will likely become an increasingly common mode of publication. Until then, we can only speculate about some of these processes, as I have done in this study. What is more certain, however, is that Carter's embodiment of her message, and the dynamics of the discursive space into which she pulls her auditors, generated an enthusiastic response, and serve as a model for spreading the environmental justice message to an audience that has embraced its "inner capitalist." Carter further demonstrates the way an embodied and oral message can retain its immediate and authentic power, even when attenuated through computer monitors, and remain alive for successive audiences. As technology begins to afford even more immediate senses of presence through live videoconferencing, holographs, and immersive virtual worlds, the ancient mode of the unmediated oral address will likely haunt us in more unexpected ways than Gunn (2008) has observed.

The screenshot shows the TED Talks website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the TED logo and the tagline "Ideas worth spreading". To the right of the logo is a "Sign In | Register" link. Below the logo is a table with two columns: "Themes" and "Speakers". The "Themes" column lists "Talks" and "Speakers". The "Speakers" column lists "Joining TED", "TED Community", "TED Conferences", "TED Prize", "TED Blog", and "TED Fellows".

Below the navigation bar is a red horizontal line. Below the line is the title "Talks Majora Carter: Greening the ghetto" and a search bar. Below the title is a video player showing a woman (Majora Carter) speaking. To the right of the video player is a sidebar with the following sections:

- About this talk**: In an emotionally charged talk, MacArthur-winning activist Majora Carter details her fight for environmental justice in the South Bronx -- and shows how minority neighborhood suffer most from flawed urban policy.
- About Majora Carter**: Majora Carter is dedicated to fighting "environmental racism" in her hometown of New York's South Bronx. She's working not just to hold back the polluters who target neighborhoods like hers,...
- About our sponsor**: BMW supports TED's belief in the power of ideas, and underwrites the distribution of talks on this site. Find out more »

Figure 1: The TED Talks Frame

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ENVIRONMENTAL KNOWLEDGE, VALUES, ATTITUDES, AND BEHAVIORS IN PASO DEL NORTE: IMPLICATIONS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGNS

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Abstract

This study presents an analysis of Eco-Vida, an environmental campaign created to increase environmental knowledge and generate behavior change in the binational region of Paso del Norte through a series of key-informant interviews and a survey administered to college students. By delineating the general environmental knowledge, attitudes, values, and behaviors of residents in the region, this study identified four campaign pitfalls. Supported by communication and environmental behavior theories, the study presents some suggestions for environmental communication campaigns in the region, including making the environmental issues addressed more relevant and making the informational resources more accessible and useful to diverse residential audiences.

Keywords: Environmental Behavior, Environmental Campaigns, Social Marketing, Border Region

Environmental issues now occupy an important position in governmental and civil society agendas. According to The Global Environmental Outlook 4 (GEO-4) report from the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), environmental problems such as climate change and biodiversity loss are issues that pose significant challenges to humans (UNEP, 2007). The GEO-4 report highlights the need to address these and other pressing challenges through adoption of innovative actions. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governments have attempted to address these needs through environmental campaigns. Such campaigns usually raise awareness about environmental issues and challenges, engaging in communication strategies to achieve specific goals.

This study focuses on Eco-Vida, an environmental informational campaign aimed to produce behavior change among Paso del Norte (PDN) community members in the tri-city area that includes El Paso, Texas; Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; and Las Cruces, New Mexico. The purposes of this analysis were to determine: if the environmental issues addressed in Eco-Vida's

campaign met the region's needs, if the media vehicles used to disseminate information were the most effective, if the population's environmental behaviors were influenced by Eco-Vida, and if any areas for improvement existed. While specific studies on U.S.-Mexico border environmental cooperation exist, these primarily focus on large institutional binational agreements and programs,¹ therefore opening a window of opportunity to understand the impact of smaller local environmental initiatives such as Eco-Vida.

Paso del Norte and Binational Environmental Issues

Situated in the midst of two countries and three states, the PDN region embraces rich binational, cultural, and environmental diversity. On the border between the United States and Mexico, the area encompasses El Paso County, Texas, Doña Ana County, portions of southern Otero and Luna Counties, New Mexico, and the municipality of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Approximately 2.5 million people currently live in the PDN region, an area where different languages, values, and economies intersect (El Paso Information and Links, n.d.). According to Schmandt (2002), by 2030 the region's population will grow to about five million people. High population density has been driven by the industrialization of the region, which makes it a center for manufacturing, trade, and migration (Sabet, 2005).² While land is clearly divided by the U.S.-Mexico border, water and air are shared between the two countries. Both industrialization and population growth have produced a variety of binational environmental issues, including air pollution, water pollution, water shortage, limited waste management, and natural ecosystem destruction and degradation (Anderson & Gerber, 2008; Liverman, Varady, Chávez, & Sánchez, 1999; Sabet, 2005).

Air Quality

Deterioration of air quality occurs in the PDN region since “[t]he topographic conditions of its atmospheric basin and the movement of suspended particles back and forth across the border intensify the accumulation of natural and manmade pollutants in the air” (Santes, 2002, pp. 85-86). Air pollution stems from population growth and an increase in industrial activities, which have led to more intensive transportation and the unplanned growth of neighborhoods with unpaved streets (Anderson & Gerber, 2008; Liverman et al., 1999). Other sources of pollution include heavy industry, construction materials and equipment, transportation and storage of fuel, fugitive solvents, open burning for brick kilns³ and other heating necessities, and dust storms which often contain particulate matter carrying “dried fecal matter, household chemicals, motor oil, and other toxins” (Anderson & Gerber, 2008, p. 106; see also Santes, 2002).

Water Issues

Access to adequate water supply is an ongoing challenge in PDN. Both the lack of water quantity to provide for binational demand and declining water quality due to agricultural/urban industrial pollution and inadequate wastewater treatment has created a water scarcity issue that poses a serious threat to citizens of PDN. The Río Grande River is the region's only renewable source of water.⁴ The main uses of the river's water are for agricultural activities and for municipal water supply.⁵ A number of dams have been built on the U.S. side of the border, providing water for irrigation and electricity mainly in New Mexico (Schmandt, 2002). Even though these dams provide water resources to meet current agricultural and energy demands, dams have also been a cause of ecological damage.⁶ The PDN also relies on the Hueco Bolson, a groundwater aquifer that has been exploited for decades. The water used from this aquifer is the

main source of drinking water for El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, and it is estimated to be depleted by 2025 (Liverman et al., 1999; Schmandt, 2002). The Mesilla Bolson is the second aquifer available in the region; nevertheless it contains mostly brackish water.⁷ Currently, only El Paso has taken steps to address the water scarcity problem.⁸

In addition to water shortages, both river water and groundwater are suffering degradation by industrial pollution and fecal contamination (Hamson, 1996; Sabet, 2005). Water contamination leads to the spread of illness and diseases in low income neighborhoods on both sides of the border, such as *colonias* or *asentamientos*,⁹ many of which lack adequate access to piped, potable water (Hamson, 1996; Liverman et al., 1999). Liverman et al. (1999) indicate that, in U.S.-Mexico border localities, an inadequate number of water treatment plants exist, which have minimal capacity and use only partially-effective treatment technologies.

Waste Management Issues

Waste disposal and management also threaten the U.S.-Mexico border region's environment. Along with residential waste from *colonias*, which often lack access to sewer systems,¹⁰ both agricultural and industrial waste streams add pollutants to the land, air, and water, contaminating workplaces,¹¹ communities, and natural ecosystems (Liverman et al., 1999). There is an ongoing debate as to whether or not the issue of industrial waste disposal can be primarily sourced to *maquiladoras* on the Mexican side, which do not follow strict environmental regulations.¹² Nevertheless, Anderson and Gerber (2008) argue that most of these large manufacturing plants and *maquiladoras* follow environmental regulations, and that, in contrast, the major source of industrial pollution are unregulated small businesses on the Mexican side of the border. Enterprises such as auto body shops, brick manufacturing, metal plating firms, and agriculture lack regulation enforcement, waste collection, and disposal facilities. Additional waste disposal problems include scrap tires, transboundary transportation of waste, and lack of official hazardous waste disposal sites that leads to illegal disposal¹³ (see Blackman & Palma, 2002; Anderson & Gerber, 2008; Kourus, 1998; Liverman et al., 1999).

To address residential waste issues, the City of El Paso has taken the lead by creating two relevant programs. The Citizen Collection Sites provide service for public drop-off in five locations throughout the city, accepting trash, household hazardous waste, bulky items, and recyclables (The City of El Paso, n.d.). To support these recycling initiatives, the city partnered with Friedman Recycling Co. to create El Paso's Curbside Recycling Program that started in 2007. Aluminum, tin cans, plastics, and paper are accepted by the recycling program (Environmental Services, n.d.). While neither Las Cruces nor Ciudad Juárez offer an official curbside recycling program, a recycling center is available to citizens of Las Cruces, and a number of industrial recycling businesses exist in Ciudad Juárez.

Natural Ecosystem Issues

Industrialization and population growth have also generated environmental stress in natural ecosystems in the border region. The natural ecosystem fragments in the PDN, such as Río Bosque Wetlands Park,¹⁴ Franklin Mountains State Park,¹⁵ and Arroyo Park are being threatened by the previously mentioned issues. During the last century, many species have suffered diminishing populations and declining habitat due to human-induced changes of natural ecosystems. Grasslands, wetlands, and desert landscapes have been converted into areas for industrial, agricultural; and urban use; and climate change impacts are starting to manifest (Liverman et al., 1999).

Eco-Vida in the PDN Region

To address some of the environmental issues that affect the PDN region, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Region 6, the U.S.-Mexico Border 2012 Program, the Border Environmental Health Coalition, and the Border Environment Cooperation Commission created the Eco-Vida campaign. Running from June 2009 to June 2010, Eco-Vida was a public awareness campaign designed to broadcast educational environmental information to residents of the PDN region. Through a partnership with local television stations and market stakeholders, the initial goal of Eco-Vida was to disseminate information about environmental issues unique to the PDN, and about voluntary measures that residents can adopt to improve the region's environment (EPA, 2009a; EPA, 2009b). Erin Ward, an Eco-Vida coordinator, stated that a unique element of Eco-Vida was the involvement of local television stations as their message delivery system. She called this a "new paradigm," in which television stations are seen as the ideal vehicle because they reach broad audiences at a local level (Erin Ward, personal communication, April 30, 2010). Eco-Vida did not identify a target audience other than the general PDN population. The participants included local television stations KVIA (ABC affiliate) and KINT (Entravision affiliate) and local stakeholders (EPA, 2009b). Since the population of the PDN region is primarily Latina/o, the program operated in a bilingual format, with KVIA broadcasting in English, and KINT in Spanish.

Eco-Vida's project manager, José Serna, indicated that each of the participant stations had television and radio partners on both sides of the border, which enabled them to reach different audiences through mass media vehicles (personal communication, April 30, 2010). These included news stories broadcasted twice a month, television spots, radio shows, and internet sites where newscasts could be uploaded and additional information presented. The topics introduced to the public were selected during monthly meetings between Eco-Vida campaign planners, stakeholders, and reporters from the participating stations. In each of these meetings, a topic related to the environment was presented by a guest speaker to provide ideas for the following month's news report. Andrew Chung, a reporter from the KVIA partnership, stated that his role as a reporter in Eco-Vida was to look for story ideas relevant to the campaign. He said "twice a month, I with the photographer we go [sic], we shoot the video for the stories, we put the story together and we edit it and we present it on air" (A. Chung, personal interview, April 27, 2010). Chung claimed that in order to select the ideas for his stories, they considered what was discussed at the meetings; however, if they felt that the topics were already adequately covered, then they would cover another topic by presenting it to their editors. Even though planners seemed to have clear agendas in their monthly meetings, message selection and framing was ultimately decided by the reporters and editors. Since the people at the station involved with the Eco-Vida campaign were not experts on environmental issues, Chung said that they would have to refer to various contacts, for example, representatives of the City of El Paso, who would provide them with story ideas (e.g., the importance of using recycling and waste collection centers) (personal interview, April 27, 2010).

According to the *Border 2012* report (EPA, 2009c), Eco-Vida had an impact on residents of the PDN by diffusing information on environmental topics such as waste management, energy-efficient house tips, water conservation, and recycling. Nevertheless, due to time restraints and financial resources, no systematic study was conducted regarding the effects of the Eco-Vida campaign on PDN residents, a gap that this research project seeks to address.

Environmental Campaigns and Behaviors: A Theoretical Framework

According to Cox (2009), there are different types of environmental campaigns: environmental advocacy campaigns, informational campaigns, and social marketing campaigns. Environmental advocacy campaigns are comprised of broad forms of communication, such as public education, community organizing, boycotts, lobbying, or direct action. Informational and social marketing campaigns base their planning and strategies through the use of marketing concepts (see Weinreich, 2006). Even though similarities (i.e., purposefulness, target audiences, time limit, and a communication strategy) between environmental advocacy, informational, and social marketing campaigns exist, Cox (2009) identifies two main differences: 1) unlike environmental campaigns, most informational social marketing campaigns are sponsored by either governmental institutions or non-governmental organizations (NGOs); and 2) while the goal of environmental campaigns is to raise awareness of the issues exposed, social marketing campaigns also seek to influence and change audience members' attitudes and behaviors. Social marketing has been mainly used to address issues concerning the public sector, such as public health, AIDS prevention, and alcohol abuse (AIDSCAP, 1994; McAlister, 1991).

There have been studies designed to identify determinants of successful mass media communication campaigns, defined in terms of desired behavior change (see McAlister, 1991; Staats, Wit, & Midden, 1996; Winett et al., 1985). While television and radio appear to be the best approaches to disseminate information about the environment to a wide range of people, McAlister (1991) argues that "mass media messages usually influence only a small proportion of their audience" (p. 221). Similarly, Staats et al. (1996) assessed a Dutch mass media public information campaign; they conclude that campaigns that primarily use mass media often fail to change behaviors (Staats et al., 1996). This might be explained by the fact that mass media are primarily one-way communication. McAlister (1991) asserts that the strategic usage of mass media and interpersonal networks can enable programs to reach large segments of the population, and more effectively influence behavior. Specifically, voluntary participation based on communication via interpersonal networks can reinforce messages that are conveyed through mass media.

Another factor to analyze is agenda setting. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw assert that "mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda" (as cited in Griffin, 2003, p. 390). Agenda-setting theory suggests that the public is influenced by the stories that the mass media portray as newsworthy. Additionally, mass media frame stories in how they are presented and explained. Griffin (2003) contends that "the media not only set the agenda for what issues, events, or candidates are most important, they also transfer the salience of specific attributes belonging to those potential objects of interest" (p. 396).

Since many environmental campaigns are designed to change behaviors of individuals, scholars in social-psychology and related fields have attempted to explain the pathways to behavior change by systematically examining influences on pro-environmental behavior. Kollmuss & Agyeman (2002) refer to this behavior as "pro-environmental behavior...[a] behavior that consciously seeks to minimize the negative impact of one's actions on the natural and built world" (p. 240). Stern (2000) defines environmental behavior as "the extent to which it changes the availability of materials or energy from the environment or alters the structure and dynamics of ecosystems or the biosphere itself" (p. 408). The main purpose of this field of study is to predict pro-environmental behaviors through the analysis of a wide range of variables that hypothetically influence those behaviors. Numerous theoretical models have been developed and applied in order to clarify connections between key variables and individual-level environmental behaviors.¹⁶ However, across those conceptual models, the following four variables have been

commonly used to predict environmental behaviors: knowledge, attitudes, values, and behavioral intentions.

Environmental Knowledge

Measuring how much a person knows about the existence, causes, and consequences of environmental problems is one of the most widely used variables associated with pro-environmental behavior. Delineating early U.S. models of pro-environmental behavior, Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) state that environmental knowledge was considered the basic premise for people to develop concern for the environment, which would lead to adopting favorable behaviors for the environment. Nevertheless, it has been proven that, even if people know about environmental problems, barriers may still exist to engaging in activities that protect the environment. Knowing that using a bicycle instead of an automobile generates fewer pollutants, for example, does not guarantee that people will stop using their cars. In a study of a mass communication informational campaign, Staats et al. (1996) found that even though people were exposed to various communication instruments (e.g., television, newspaper, billboards, and brochures), a slight increase in their knowledge about the greenhouse effect did not enhance their environmental awareness nor lead to the development of pro-environmental behavior. In sum, environmental knowledge does not directly determine pro-environmental behavior; however, it is an important variable to study in order to comprehend why people choose to engage in favorable behaviors.

Environmental Attitudes

A second variable that scholars have examined in depth encompasses people's attitudes towards the environment. As mentioned earlier, early models predicted that knowledge would nurture pro-environmental attitudes, which in turn, would encourage people to behave pro-environmentally. Environmental attitudes refer to the specific opinions people have about environmental issues or practices. Focused on the general attitudes that people have about the environment, Dunlap and Van Liere (2008) developed an instrument for measuring individuals' environmental concerns. Designed to assess people's affinity or distaste for what is called the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP), it measures people's level of agreement with basic principles such as "a belief in the limits of growth, the necessity of balancing economic growth with environmental protection, the need to preserve the balance of nature, and the need for humans to live in harmony with nature" (Scott & Willits, 1994, p. 240).

To more precisely measure attitudes related to specific behaviors rather than general beliefs about the environment, Ajzen and Fishbein developed the theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). They stated that "in order to find a high correlation between attitude and behavior the researcher has to measure the attitude toward that particular behavior" (cited in Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002, p. 242). A premise of their approach is that, rather than directly affecting *behavior*, *attitudes* influence another component that shapes our actions: *behavioral intentions*.

Environmental Values

Environmental attitudes can also derive from specific values. Stern, Dietz, and Kalof (1993) maintain that altruistic-oriented values can influence the development of environmental attitudes. Their model is based on the Schwartz theory of altruism, which states that a person will engage in altruistic behavior if she or he becomes aware of the suffering of others, which

in turn creates a sense of responsibility to reduce that suffering. Stern et al. (1993) used this principle to study the relationship between value orientations and environmental concern. They studied three value orientations using Schwartz's model as social-altruistic value orientation, as well as adding an egoistic and a biospheric orientation. Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) explain that the social orientation deals with diminishing others' suffering, the egoistic orientation deals with diminishing one's own suffering, and the biospheric orientation deals with diminishing nature's suffering. Stern et al.'s (1993) model holds that environmental concern or motivation is a combination of these three orientations: $\text{Motivation} = V(\text{egoistic orientation}) + V(\text{social orientation}) + V(\text{biospheric orientation})$.

Behavioral Intentions

Ajzen and Fishbein's theory of reasoned action affirms that attitudes influence behavioral intentions, which ultimately shape the way we act. In fact, their theory of reasoned action pinpoints behavioral intentions as "the best predictor of actual behavior, better than the attitude and knowledge components" (Kuhlemeier, Van Den Bergh, & Lagerweij, 1999, p. 5). Behavioral intentions refer to the aims or willingness a person has to engage in a specific behavior. Hini, Gendall, and Kearns (1995) define behavioral intention as "a weighted sum of attitudes to performing a behaviour and subjective norms regarding the behaviour" (p. 23). These subjective norms refer to "social ('normative') pressures" or beliefs concerning how others would evaluate the behavior (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002, p. 242).

Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Other variables have also been analyzed that correspond to the study of pro-environmental behaviors. Mobley et al. (2010) assert that socio-demographic characteristics have a direct relationship with pro-environmental behaviors. In fact, several scholars have analyzed socio-demographic characteristics as conceptual variables that are more influential than other variables such as attitudes and values. These include: gender, age, ethnicity, household income, level of education, and political orientation (see Mobley et al., 2010; Sarigöllü, 2009; Slimak & Dietz, 2006; Stern et al., 1993).

It is important to note that many other studies have identified other variables as influences on environmental behavior, such as locus of control, feelings of ownership, self-efficacy, and moral responsibility. However, while this study drew on the previously mentioned theoretical frameworks, it was not designed to test the applicability of particular behavioral change models. Instead, the goal from the outset was to identify four variables that influence environmental behaviors in the PDN. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to delineate environmental knowledge, attitudes, values, and behaviors of residents in the PDN region, and outline the needs for improvement of existing environmental campaigns, and the development of new campaigns in this particular region. These needs include improving the salience of environmental issues addressed and making the informational resources more accessible and useful to diverse residential audiences.

To better understand environmental behaviors in the Paso del Norte region, five primary questions drove this research: (1) What are the key environmental issues of the U.S.-Mexico border according to PDN residents? (2) What are the characteristics of environmental knowledge, attitudes, values, intentions, and behaviors of PDN residents? (3) What factors influence environmental behavior among PDN residents? (4) What communication media are most effective for reaching residents of the PDN? (5) Is Eco-Vida a successful environmental

communication campaign in terms of informing its target audience and addressing environmental issues?

Method

The data for this analysis were collected from existing literature on border environmental issues, key-informant interviews, and a structured survey. The interviews were conducted in order to develop a broad understanding about Eco-Vida, mainly consisting of general questions about the program, with some reference to personal insights about the program's impact in the region. Interviewees were people directly connected to Eco-Vida, such as program coordinators, participant stakeholders, or media contacts. Key informants were asked to answer approximately 15 questions related to the origins, purpose, planning, and structure of the Eco-Vida program.

Additionally, a survey was administered to university students residing in the PDN, which provided data pertaining to environmental attitudes, values, intentions, behaviors, and knowledge—as well as socioeconomic characteristics—of residents of the region. For the study, students from three major public universities were selected, one each in El Paso, Las Cruces, and Ciudad Juárez. The three universities were selected because of student population characteristics. A total of 249 questionnaires were completed by students taking courses related to the themes of society and environment. Respondents from El Paso and Ciudad Juárez answered the majority of the surveys, 45% and 40% respectively. Both English and Spanish versions of the survey were made available to all students.

To measure the level of engagement in pro-environmental behaviors, self-reported environmental behaviors were evaluated using nine items, some of which were taken from Maloney, Ward, and Braucht's (1975) 128-item ecological attitude-knowledge scale. The items were provided in Likert-type scale statements asking about respondents' levels of engagement, ranging from 0 for "Never" to 4 for "Always." The statements were measured based on a scale derived from the sum of the responses for each of the items, ranging from 0 for lowest pro-environmental behaviors, to 36 for highest pro-environmental behaviors. The behavioral items corresponded to behaviors relevant to college-level students, all of which were framed positively to facilitate their responses. The topics covered consumer behaviors, political activities, responsible household behaviors, alternative transportation activity, and efficient energy consumer behaviors.

The questions provided also were based upon previous surveys that defined environmental knowledge in relationship to environmental topics that are mostly covered by the media and information provided by governmental agencies. These eighteen items were stated as True or False questions. Each of the participants' responses was then assessed as "correct" (value=1) or "incorrect" (value=0), and then all resulting values were summed to create a scale ranging from 0 (lowest environmental knowledge) to 18 (highest environmental knowledge). Of the eighteen items, ten pertained to universal environmental knowledge related to climate change effects, air pollution, industrial pollution, chemical toxicity, biodiversity loss, and waste practices. The remaining items focused on regional issues or concerns, including water quality and scarcity, desert biodiversity, and sustainable agriculture practices.

The measure of environmental attitudes combined two survey sections, with a total of twenty items. These were evaluated with a measurement scale derived from the sum of each of the participants' responses to statements (based on their level of agreement), ranging from -40 (weakest pro-environmental attitudes) to 40 (strongest pro-environmental attitudes). This measure was designed to address attitudes toward both general environmental issues and more regionally-relevant environmental issues. The first section was comprised of thirteen items that

were based on Dunlap and Van Liere's (2008) New Environmental Paradigm, and were focused on attitudes toward general statements about the environment including: views of humans and the natural world, opinions on economy and the industrialized society, views on environmental consumption preferences, and views about human growth limits. The second section included statements specific to the PDN region, including views about water scarcity, opinions about household chemical use and impacts on the regional water system, opinions on natural ecosystem prioritization, and views about recycling as an everyday activity.

Similar to self-reported environmental behaviors, several survey questions were adapted from Maloney, Ward, and Braucht's (1975) 128-item ecological attitude-knowledge scale to measure environmental behavioral intentions. The measure included six items posed as statements, and respondents were asked to identify their level of agreement with each statement. Topics covered by these items include: willingness to adopt alternative means of transportation to reduce pollution, willingness to join an environmental group, willingness to change consumer habits including paying more for environmentally-friendly products, and willingness to become politically active and voice concerns to state representatives. The measure resulted from the sum of participants' responses to each statement, ranging from -12 (lowest pro-environmental behavioral intentions) to 12 for (highest pro-environmental behavioral intentions).

Questions to measure environmental values were adapted from Stern et al.'s (1993) survey instrument, which focused on beliefs and political and behavioral intentions in the state of New York. Nine survey items evaluated environmental values in general, which were divided into the value categories of altruistic orientation, biospheric orientation, and egoistic orientation. To evaluate the level of pro-environmental values, results of the nine items were added. Since two of the egoistic orientations statements were negatively framed, responses to each were multiplied by -1 to directionally scale them from lowest (-2) to highest (2) pro-environmental value orientation. The measurement scale ranged from -18 (lowest environmental value orientation) to 18 (highest environmental value orientation).

In order to identify the media preferences of respondents, fourteen questions pertained to media engagement, uses, and preferences, specifically in terms of radio and television outlets. Also, a question to identify the media through which respondents receive information about environmental issues and related activities and events was included, focusing on different media: advertising, websites, social networking sites, institutions, community groups, and interpersonal relationships. Additionally, a final question was included to identify the preferred communication vehicles to distribute information about environmental issues, related activities and events.

Measures of media use were created based on survey items asking respondents to select levels of engagement with six different media outlets. These outlets included FM and AM radio stations, a local newspaper, cable and local television stations, and the internet. Results were measured on a scale with scores ranging from 0 for "Never" to 4 for "Every day." Mean results for each of the items were compared to identify respondents' most and least commonly used media outlets. Nine radio format styles could be checked if the respondent considered it one of his/her top three favorite media outlets. The metric for each of the items was 0 for unchecked, and 1 for checked. Mean results were compared to identify respondents' generally most and least preferred radio formats. Preferences were measured in reference to the following TV genres: news, sports, entertainment, culture, and public television. Each respondent was asked to rank these formats according to a preference level scale, ranging from 1 for "Most Preferred" to 5 for "Least Preferred." Mean results were compared to identify respondents' generally most and least preferred television formats.

Since this study was conducted in a setting with highly diverse socioeconomic and

cultural characteristics, several variables were taken into account. The variable of race/ethnicity was divided into several groups (given the frequency scores, only Hispanic/Latino and White non-Hispanic were used for the results). The metric for scores was 0 for unchecked and 1 for checked. The household income variable analyzed measured through fourteen different ranges of income. The lowest income was “Less than \$1,999” and the highest was “\$150,000 or more.” Evaluation for household income was measured with a score ranging from 1 for the smallest income category to 14 for the largest income category. Since the PDN is located in a bilingual context, four questions were included to assess the respondents’ ability to speak and write in English and Spanish. Each of the language variables was composed by the sum of the scores for both the speech and writing questions, resulting in a measurement score ranging from 2 for lowest language proficiency to 8 for highest language proficiency. Finally, age and sex variables were also analyzed in this study. Age was incorporated as a fill-in question, while sex was evaluated with a measurement score of 1 for “Male” and 2 for “Female.”

Questionnaire items were also included to assess respondents’ familiarity with the Eco-Vida campaign as well as the campaign’s influence on study participants. An initial question asked if respondents had heard of Eco-Vida, measured with the metric 0 = “No” and 1 = “Yes.” In the case of an affirmative response, the question was followed by a set of questions focused on Eco-Vida program’s level of influence on the respondent.

Results: Descriptive Statistics for Analysis Variables

Self-Reported Behaviors. The mean and median scores on the pro-environmental behavior scale were 14.3 and 14, respectively (on a scale that ranged from 0 to 36). Both the mean and median scores were just below the center of the scale (18), which suggests generally moderate-to-low engagement on pro-environmental behavior among respondents.

Knowledge. With a mean score of 13.1 and a median of 14 (scale range 0-18), respondents generally demonstrated basic environmental knowledge.

Attitudes. The mean and median scores for environmental attitudes were 18.1 and 18, respectively. The minimum score was -5. Based on results, survey respondents generally exhibited moderately strong pro-environmental attitudes, since the scale ranged from -40 (weakest environmental attitudes) to 40 (strongest environmental attitudes).

Values. The mean score was 9.6 and the median 10. The minimum score was -5. Since a score of 0 is the scale mid-point (scale range -18 to 18), results suggest that respondents generally had moderate-to-high environmental values.

Behavioral Intentions. The mean and median score for the behavioral intentions measure was 4 (scale range -12 to 12). Assuming that a score of 0 (which corresponds to the scale’s mid-point) represents a neutral attitude towards engaging in pro-environmental behaviors, the average respondent had higher than neutral pro-environmental behavioral intentions.

Media Uses. Media uses were evaluated based on responses to multiple survey items:

- a) Use of Mass Media Communication Outlets: Relying on the comparison between the means of each of the question types, “Navigate the Internet” was the item that scored the highest, followed by “Listen to Local Radio Stations (FM).”
- b) Preferred Radio Format: Results show that the items that had the highest response rates were “Rock/Alternative” followed by “Hip-Hop/R&B.”
- c) Preferred Television Format: The “Entertainment” format was the most preferred by respondents.

Socio-demographic characteristics. Results indicate that 72% of respondents were within

the age range of 18-22; 52% were male and 42% female; about 74% identified themselves as Hispanic/Latino, 18% as White non-Hispanic, and 8% as other ethnicities/races. The mean for household income ranged between \$20,000 to \$29,000 per year. Mean results for language proficiency were 6.2 for English, and 5.9 for Spanish.

Eco-Vida Awareness. Out of a total sample of 249 respondents (valid = 243, missing = 6), 93% of the respondents had not heard of Eco-Vida. Only 5% of the respondents (12) were aware of Eco-Vida. While more research is needed to draw conclusions on the effectiveness of Eco-Vida as a public awareness campaign, it is evident that there was a very low level of awareness of the existence of Eco-Vida among university student respondents.

All but one of the variables were significantly and positively correlated with environmental behaviors at a 95% confidence level. The only variable that was not significantly correlated with environmental behaviors at a 95% confidence level was environmental values; however, it was nearly significant. The only socio-demographic characteristic significantly correlated with environmental behaviors at a 95% confidence level was Spanish fluency. The relationship was positive, meaning that an increase in Spanish proficiency was associated with an increase in pro-environmental behavior among survey respondents.

Discussion: Environmental Behaviors, Knowledge, Attitudes, Values, Intentions, Media Uses and Socio-demographic Characteristics

Based on the analysis results, general conclusions about the respondents help to identify characteristics of environmental knowledge, attitudes, values, intentions, and behaviors of PDN residents (research question 2), as well as the communication media that may be most effective for reaching residents of the PDN (research question 4). Results reveal that PDN residents have moderate-to-low engagement in pro-environmental behaviors; basic environmental knowledge; moderately strong pro-environmental attitudes; moderate-to-high environmental values; and higher than neutral pro-environmental behavioral intentions. The most frequently used communication outlets by PDN respondents are internet and radio (FM), and rock/alternative and hip-hop/R&B are the preferred radio formats.

In order to answer research question 3 (What characteristics influence environmental behavior among PDN residents?), results of correlations between environmental behaviors and knowledge, attitudes, values, and behavioral intentions, demonstrate that these variables are significantly correlated with environmental behaviors. While a multivariate analysis is needed to identify which variables are most strongly associated with environmental behaviors, the results presented in this study generally align with the theories presented in the literature review section of this report; that is, all of the studied variables had significant, positive relationships with environmental behaviors.

Additionally, the correlation between socio-demographic characteristics on environmental behaviors indicates that proficiency in Spanish is the only influencing socio-demographic characteristic. These results raise further questions about the cultural differences between U.S. and Mexico residents. Preliminary independent sample t-tests indicate that students from the Mexican university had significantly higher environmental values and attitudes as well as greater engagement in pro-environmental behaviors (nearly significant at $p = .08$) than students from the two U.S. universities. A campaign that intends to appeal to PDN residents should take into account differences between groups of residents (including those residing in the U. S. compared to those in Mexico). Therefore, future research should strive to clarify factors—including knowledge, attitudes, values, intentions, and socio-demographics—that influence pro-

and anti-environmental behavior among specific resident groups for the purposes of informing contextually-appropriate interventions.

Eco-Vida: Conclusions

Based on the literature review conducted for this study, it was possible to analyze Eco-Vida's campaign in order to constructively assess which areas of the campaign need to be addressed to explore answers in relationship to research question 5. While the campaign planners managed to produce a cohesive campaign that aimed to disseminate information about environmental issues unique to the PDN and about voluntary measures that residents can adopt to improve the region's environment, analysis of personal interviews and EPA reports identified four campaign shortcomings.

First, Eco-Vida was based on early models of pro-environmental behavior. Based on the information provided by key-informant interviewees, it became clear that the campaign was based on the premise that people's increased knowledge would directly translate into pro-environmental action. Kaleb Heinemann (personal interview, April 30, 2010), one of the Eco-Vida project managers, specified that the purpose of Eco-Vida as an organization was to disseminate information through media partners, which would encourage audience members to alter their lifestyles. As Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) state, "most environmental Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) still base their communication campaigns and strategies on the simplistic assumption that more knowledge will lead to more enlightened behavior" (p. 241). Correlation results for this specific study did find a strong correlation between environmental knowledge and behavior. This suggests that, among PDN residents, environmental knowledge does have a direct influence on pro-environmental behavior. However, results on previous studies in different contexts demonstrate the need for systematic preliminary research not only on behavior-change strategies, but also on specific barriers—beyond knowledge deficiencies—that people in the PDN region face, which prevent them from engaging in environmental behaviors.

Secondly, information was distributed via mass media only. Reliance on mass media as the main information source (with the intent of reaching a broad audience) seems to have resulted in Eco-Vida's messages being interpreted by recipients as background chatter. As a result, Eco-Vida did not successfully engage many people. Eco-Vida did not create many spaces for community interaction and discussion about what they consider important in terms of environmental issues. Lack of citizen participation can lead to disengagement in the solutions to these issues.

Another problem was that ambiguous campaign goals resulted from inadequate planning. Based on data from the key-informant interviews, it can be inferred that the campaign failed to construct specific and achievable goals. Instead, goals were set ambiguously to reach a large population, while no target audiences were identified. This led the campaign to generally address environmental issues in the area with no precise purpose. A wide variety of topics were covered by Eco-Vida reports and articles, ranging from technological advances for energy savings such as solar heating for swimming pools, to the lack of basic water service infrastructure in lower-income areas. The key point is that even though Eco-Vida's interest in promoting a healthier lifestyle and environment in the border region is important, it is equally relevant for any kind of campaign to have clear goals. It is fairly unrealistic to address all of the border environmental issues in a one-year campaign that relies only news broadcasts and websites as message conveyers.

Finally, the tail wagged the dog, as topics were selected by television partners rather than an agenda defined by the Eco-Vida partnership. All communication campaigns have particular biases. However, a fundamental problem with the Eco-Vida campaign was that although environmental experts suggested topics to the media representatives, they did not have the final

word in the selection of the topics that would be introduced to the public, nor any power to weigh-in on the specific information conveyed. Since the participating television stations were investing time and effort in the selection, creation, and distribution of the news stories, media representatives, such as news editors and reporters, who ultimately made decisions based on what they thought would be most informative and/or appealing to their audience. Thus, Eco-Vida relied on the arbitrary decisions of media personnel rather than through a coherent agenda set through a process involving multi-stakeholder input.

Suggestions

As stated earlier, the purpose of this study was to identify the general environmental behaviors, knowledge, attitudes, values, and behaviors of PDN residents, in order to pinpoint what factors need to be considered and addressed when planning environmental campaigns in this region. While this study had limitations in terms of sample size and representativeness, it produced valuable preliminary data which can inform future research and interventions. Based on study results, I propose the following suggestions for future environmental communication campaigns in the PDN region:

- Since respondents' behaviors were not generally pro-environmental, campaigns need to address negative behaviors towards the environment, and recognize the causes of these behaviors. Primarily, identification of barriers that prevent the adoption of pro-environmental behaviors should be prioritized. McKenzie-Mohr's (2000) proposal of community-based social marketing as a strategy to foster sustainable behavior recognizes the importance of making "an informed decision regarding which behavior(s) to promote" (p. 547). Based on his model, prior to designing strategies to convey the campaign's message, a campaign should identify: the potential impacts of the desired behavior(s), the existent barriers to engaging in those behaviors, and the required resources to overcome identified barriers. Thus, by answering these questions, "an effective social marketing strategy [or communication campaign] removes barriers to the behavior to be promoted" (McKenzie-Mohr, 2000, p. 548).
- Among survey respondents, internet and radio are the most used communication outlets. A campaign (such as Eco-Vida) should attempt to use at least two media outlets for message cultivation in the target audience. McAlister (1991) argues that the usage of mass communication as the only means to convey media messages is limited, because audiences may choose not to receive these messages, or they might not even have access to these messages. Additionally, the use of interpersonal communication can have a higher impact in terms of behavior change. Rogers (1995) states that the employment of interpersonal communication makes persuasion more effective. McAlister (1991) proposes a model of communication where an inclusion of both mass media and interpersonal networks can address this gap.
- If television is the desired medium to convey a campaign's message, television partners should be chosen carefully. For this study, results indicated strong preferences for "Entertainment" and "Cultural" station formats. With this in mind, campaign planners should creatively develop ideas to convey the campaign's message. Entertainment-education (E-

E) approaches to behavioral modification are strategies that meet these requirements. E-E is a relatively recent field that combines education principles with the advantages of the entertainment businesses. Using both traditional and non-traditional entertainment media, E-E seeks to create social changes. Examples of E-E strategies involve soap operas, talk shows, performance activism, and videogames (Singhal & Greiner, 2008; Singhal & Wang, 2009; Singhal, Obregon, & Rogers, 1994; for more information on E-E approaches, see Lacayo & Singhal, 2008).

- Behavioral change messages should be carefully framed to appeal to the target audience. More specifically, Schultz and Zelezny (2003) argue that environmental messages can have a greater impact if they resonate with the audience's values: "reframing the message is more about highlighting the importance of environmental behaviors than it is about persuading people to act for the 'right' reasons" (p. 134). Moreover, McAlister (1991) proposes cognitive/behavioral modeling as a strategy to promote behavior change to audiences, where thoughts and behaviors are presented "with the intent that they be emulated by the audience or observer" (p. 222). McAlister (1991) argues that these models should be "drawn from the community itself, in the form of 'role model stories' that publicize positive behavior of actual community members" (p. 222). If messages are framed in a way in which audiences can relate to, then behavioral change can potentially be achieved more effectively through future environmental communication campaigns in the PDN.

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End Notes:

¹ For studies on international border environmental cooperation initiatives, see Anderson & Gerber, 2008; Hamson, 1996; Liverman, Varady, Chávez, & Sánchez, 1999; Sabet, 2005; Santes, 2002.

² PDN's heavy industrialization was fomented by the Border Industrialization Program (BIP) of 1965 and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1994. The BIP was a program between the U.S. and Mexico, which allowed reduced tariff exports to the U.S. by foreign-owned manufacturing plants, or *maquiladoras* (Liverman et al., 1999). According to Liverman et al. (1999) NAFTA "consolidated long-term trends in industrialization, agricultural intensification, and urbanization of the border region" (p. 608). Anderson & Gerber (2008) state that "Ciudad Juárez is heavily involved in *maquiladora* manufacturing while El Paso also has its share of labor intensive manufacturing" (p. 24).

³ The brick kiln industry in Juárez is the city's worst source of air pollution, since it burns unconventional fuels such as wood scraps, old tires, and used motor oil (Anderson & Gerber, 2008).

⁴ At around 1900 miles long, it is ranked as the fourth longest river in the United States (Kammerer, 1990). Nevertheless, the river water is insufficient to meet population demands, and the water it contains is already allocated

for specific purposes such as agriculture and industries.

⁵ According to Schmandt (2002), 60,000 acre-feet of Río Grande water are allocated to Mexico each year, which constitutes the main source for irrigation in the Juárez municipality.

⁶ Elephant Butte was constructed in 1916, located 125 miles upstream from El Paso. Caballo reservoir was constructed in 1936 as an addition to Elephant Butte, which caused ecological damage. See Schmandt (2002) for further explanation of the history of these dams.

⁷ The Hueco Bolson and Mesilla Bolson aquifers provide 90 percent of water supplies for El Paso and Ciudad Juárez (Liverman et al., 1999).

⁸ With a desalination plant, water pricing, replenishing of underground reservoirs and other prevention measures, El Paso has been able to reduce its dependence on groundwater by 40 percent (Schmandt, 2002). El Paso has also purchased some Río Grande water rights to provide a renewable supply of water. Juárez's municipal supply is entirely groundwater dependent. The 60,000 acre-feet of Río Grande water that Juárez receives is too polluted for municipal use, and, thus, has to be diverted to agriculture.

⁹ *Colonias* are "unplanned, low-income settlements...that have sprung up to house the labor force for the maquiladora industry...on the Mexican side and have been used as cheap, unserved residences on the US side" (Liverman et al., 1999, p. 612). These "informal settlements" lack basic services such as "water, electricity, and/or sewage systems" (Grineski, 2009, p. 288). In the Mexican context, *colonia* simply means neighborhood (Anderson & Gerber, 2008), while *asentamiento* is a more common term for an informal settlement.

¹⁰ "The lack of sewer systems means that more household waste goes untreated and can end up contaminating rivers and the water supply" (Anderson & Gerber, 2008, p. 108).

¹¹ Liverman et al. (1999) discuss the link between *maquiladora* workers' exposure to hazardous chemicals and health problems.

¹² Anderson & Gerber (2008) refer to this as the "pollution haven hypothesis" (p. 109).

¹³ There is abundant evidence that large quantities of hazardous waste are simply being dumped in the desert around Ciudad Juárez.

¹⁴ The Rio Bosque Wetlands Park is a 372 acre park located in the southeast of El Paso County, enclosed by irrigation canals and drains. The park is home to a variety of flora and fauna, including 228 bird species. The park's landscape is changing, but the Center for Environmental Resource Management at the University of Texas at El Paso is working to recreate the pre-settlement landscape (CERM, n.d.).

¹⁵ The Franklin Mountains State Park consists of 24, 247 acres, making it the largest urban park in the nation. According to the Texas Parks and Wildlife (2009) website, birds, reptiles and small mammals abound in the park.

¹⁶ See Kollmuss & Agyeman (2002) for a detailed chronological explanation of environmental behavioral theoretical frameworks. Also, see Mobley, Vagias, and DeWard (2010) for a list of environmentally responsible behavior prediction models.

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II. ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ISSUES IN PERU, KENYA, SURINAME, INDIA, & BRAZIL

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MASS-MEDIA COVERAGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN PERU: FRAMING AND THE ROLE OF FOREIGN VOICES

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Abstract

Media coverage of climate change has been an area of continued research during the last few years, mostly with a focus on developed countries. This study attempts to contribute to this body of work by analyzing the coverage in a developing country. The study presents a content analysis of newspaper coverage of climate change in Peru through the study of frames, geographical focus, and climate change strategies (mitigation/adaptation). Additionally, the role of foreign voices is assessed by comparing news coverage by Peruvian reporters with the news coverage by wire services and by determining the types of sources present in the articles. Results show a prevalence of an effects frame, followed by a politics frame. Also, the study found a significant number of stories originating from wire services. In general, coverage prioritizes mitigation strategies and policies while providing limited attention to adaptation, which can be inadequate for a highly vulnerable country.

Keywords: *Climate Change, Content Analysis, Media, Newspapers, Peru*

Developing nations are the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change. The ecological, economic, and human effects in Peru and most Latin American countries have been widely reported. Decreases in commercial fish catches in both the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans (Chávez, Ryan, Lluch-Cota, & Niquen, 2003), effects on biodiversity in the Amazon rainforest (Laurance, 1998; Miles, Grainger, & Phillips, 2004), melting of tropical glaciers (Vuille, Bradley, Werner, & Keimig, 2003; Vuille et al., 2008) that have an effect on water availability (Barnett, Adam, & Lettenmaier, 2005), decreases in agriculture outputs (Jones & Thornton, 2003), and impacts on human populations via the spread of vector-borne diseases such as malaria (Githeko, Lindsay, Confalonieri, & Patz, 2000) are just some of the main problems that can result from

climate change.

Despite these impacts and the scientific evidence that ascribes most of the responsibility to humans (IPCC, 2007), policy action aimed at mitigating climate change and adapting to its effects have been considered complex to say the least (Selin & VanDeveer, 2009). Part of the challenge is the fluctuating attention by politicians, the public, and the media. Downs (1972) talks about the cyclical nature of these problems, and Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) point to the limited carrying capacity of different policy arenas. Climate change as a policy issue has entered and exited these policy arenas during the last few decades due to factors such as scientific evidence, focusing events (e.g. Hurricane Katrina), and symbolic representations (Kingdon, 2003). Recently, the issue has had to compete for attention with other salient topics such as the world's economic crises and wars in the Middle East, among others. According to a Gallup poll, less than 2% of the U. S. American public mentioned global warming as the most important problem facing the nation (Newport, 2010). Policymakers tend to follow the national mood when prioritizing policy issues (Kingdon, 2003), which partly explains the current state of policy gridlock at the federal level in the United States.

The influence of U. S. policy actions on other countries is clear. Moreover, the U. S. can be considered a hub for information flow. The information disseminated through formal and informal channels can have an effect on public opinion and on policy responses. In the case of climate change, research has shown that the mass media represent the main sources of information for most individuals (Stamm, Clark, & Eblacas, 2000; Wilson, 1995, 2000). Similarly, agenda-setting (see Pralle, 2009) and media effects studies (see Sampei & Aoyagi-Usui, 2008) document and discuss the role of the media in climate change policy discussions. It is then no surprise that the scholarship on climate change communication has gained momentum during recent years. Studies on public perceptions, media coverage, and communication strategies are found across disciplines. However, as with most areas of science and environmental communication, there is a strong focus on developed countries. This apparent bias is not necessarily a function of predetermined neglect for developing nations, but more a response to factors such as data availability. However, researchers are starting to look into media coverage of climate change in developing countries. Previous studies in India (Billett, 2010; Boykoff, 2010), Mexico (Gordon, Deines, & Havice, 2010), and Peru (Takahashi, 2011) demonstrate this trend.

The present study attempts to contribute to this growing body of work on climate change communication by focusing and expanding previous research in Peru. The methodological approach borrows from previous studies, and incorporates new approaches relevant to the specific case study. This research is concerned with assessing the coverage of climate change and the prevalence of foreign voices in such coverage. This is done through a content analysis of newspaper articles that considers their main frames, sources, and geographical focus, among other variables explained in the methods section. The next section briefly discusses the relevant literature on the area of climate change and the media as well as the literature on the role of news agencies.

Climate Change in the Media

Anderson (2009) provides a thorough review of the literature on media coverage of climate change, and suggests that the media in developing nations have provided limited attention to the issue. Furthermore, Shanahan (2009) discusses some case studies in developing countries, and suggests that this coverage has also been limited and inadequate. Additionally, he argues that there has been a lack of research on the coverage in vulnerable countries. Similarly, both Gordon et al. (2010) and Takahashi (2011) argue that no other studies on Latin American media coverage

of climate change were found during their research on Mexico and Peru. These two studies presented methodological constraints in terms of data gathering due to the limited availability of articles in academic databases. The present study attempts to improve this data collection problem.

U. S.-based studies have employed media framing and issue attention cycle analysis (McComas & Shanahan, 1999; Trumbo, 1996). Some articles have discussed the problems in coverage in relationship to journalistic practices. For example, Boykoff and Boykoff analyzed the problems of the norm of balanced reporting (Boykoff, 2008a; Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004, 2007). Similarly, Antilla (2005, 2010) discussed issues of reporting and self-censorship in U. S. press coverage; and Wilkins (1993) identified the main values that drive reporting. Using a different theoretical approach, Kim (2011) analyzed U. S. media perception of climate change using the hostile media perception concept, and found that partisanship had an effect in perceptual differences when using the same news story. Nissani (1999) also compared U. S. media and scientific discourses, and found that the media present shallow reporting and a pro-corporate bias towards environmental issues. Recently, Sonnet (2010) applied the theory of symbolic capital and correspondence analysis to understand the differences between scientific and political discourses in a variety of periodicals from political, scientific, environmental, and industry arenas in the U. S. Neff, Chan, and Smith (2009) found that the topic of food systems and its contribution to climate change has not been a major focus of attention in the U. S. elite media despite the solid scientific evidence of its importance.

Studies in the United Kingdom are also common, focusing on dominant discourses (Doulton & Brown, 2009); misrepresentations of anthropogenic causes in the tabloids (Boykoff, 2008b); political and ideological influence in reporting (Carvalho, 2007; Carvalho & Burgess, 2005); and more recently, on the use of religious metaphors to denigrate anthropogenic climate change (Woods, Fernández, & Coen, forthcoming). Research has also tackled the connection between climate change and weather events. For example, Gavin, Leonard-Milsom, and Montgomery (forthcoming) discuss the coverage of flooding in relation to climate change in the British press, similar to the analysis by Ungar (1999) of the relationship between coverage of extreme weather events and climate change on U. S. television networks. On the other hand, Hulme (2009) provides an event-centered analysis in the U. K. following the release of the fourth IPCC report. The study reports that the media relied mostly on alarmist and fatalistic discourses.

Beyond the U. S. and U. K., other developed nations have also been the focus of media analysis. Analyses similar to the ones presented above have been conducted in Portugal (Carvalho & Pereira, 2008), Finland (Lyytimäki & Tapio, 2009), and Australia (McManus, 2000). In Sweden, Olausson (2009) applied a qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA) to focus on the variations in the use of a mitigation frame in comparison to an adaptation frame. The role of emotional representations of climate change in a news program television and a tabloid in Swedish media was also analyzed by Höijer (2010). Finally, Sampei and Aoyagi-Usui (2008) discussed the influence of newspaper coverage of climate change on public opinion in Japan.

In addition, some comparative studies across countries have been conducted. Brossard, Shanahan, and McComas (2004) compared the coverage between U. S. and French newspapers. Similarly, Dispensa and Brulle (2003) analyzed the newspaper coverage and scientific publications in the U. S., Finland, and New Zealand. New Zealand is also the focus of a study by Kenix (2008) that studied the coverage by alternative and mainstream media. The study found no major differences, suggesting that media ownership, organization-specific routines, and values did not have an effect on the coverage itself.

In summary, the study of mass media and climate change has expanded considerably

using a variety of methodological and conceptual approaches, mostly in developed nations. There are clear gaps that still need to be addressed in order to provide a better understanding of the role of the media on a broader scale.

The Role of International News Flow

The prevalence of news information flows from news agencies to developing nations has been the focus of extensive scholarship in recent decades. This scholarship extends back to initial discussions about cultural imperialism that suggested that information from developed nations, mostly from the U. S., had a direct influence on cultures in developing nations. This thesis was widely debated and challenged by scholars who argued that new cultural identities are formed through resistance to and assimilation of the dominant culture. However, this appropriation was delimited by “first order” meanings, which retain certain traits of the dominant culture (Elteren, 2003).

Despite the debates surrounding cultural imperialism, the fact remains that the flow of information between countries is still widely unbalanced. Wu’s (1998) meta-analysis of the literature suggested that the determinants that influence international news flow and the overreporting about events and issues in developed nations around the world include national GNP, volume of trade, regionalism, population, geographic size, geographic proximity, political/economic interests of the host countries, “eliteness,” communication resources, and cultural affinity.

Boyd-Barrett (2000) considered the role of news agencies in constructing global and national identities, and provided a thorough summary of the scholarship on the type of coverage provided by news agencies. He suggested that:

The content of the news tends to be about topics that privilege elite national institutions or players, or about their relationships at transnational levels, primarily within the spheres of politics, military affairs, business and economics, intergovernmental organizations, and sports. (p. 310)

This dominant content focus has also become prevalent on the internet, a medium that was expected to democratize and decentralize news production (Paterson, 2005). Alleyne and Wagner (1993) surveyed the extent of influence of the main news agencies in the 1990s and their relationships with governments, arguing that the latter were not willing to let the agencies fail despite major financial constraints. This guaranteed their long term status as dominant news organizations, but also raised questions about their reliability as news sources.

The dominance of news agencies in the media landscape has several effects on framing of issues and eventually on people’s understandings. For example, Horvit (2006) analyzed the coverage of the U. S.-Iraq conflict in early 2003 from the perspective of both Western and non-Western news agencies. She found that there was a dramatic difference in the use of non-Western vs. Western news sources. Similarly, from a qualitative perspective, Rauch (2003) analyzed a G77 meeting in Cuba, comparing the coverage between a mainstream and an alternative news agency, AP and IPS. She found that “IPS coverage demonstrates decentralizing and de-Westernizing tendencies that are absent from the AP discourse” (p.100). AP covered the issue in a one-dimensional and “North-centric” perspective.

This discussion has also taken place within Latin American academic circles. In the 1970s, Córdova Claure (1976) critiqued the influence in Latin America of international wire services. He called for an Andean regional agency in order to counter the flagrant errors of international wire services and their influence on social and political affairs. That said, studies focusing on the Latin American press and the prominence of international news agencies have been scarce. On

the other hand, studies of Latin American news in developed nations' media have been relatively frequent (see Hester, 1971; Hester, 1974; Peterson, 1981).

In more recent research, Lozano (2000) conducted a content analysis of eight Latin American and two Spanish newspapers, and found that the dominance of foreign news was not as high as it was in the 1960s and 1970s, but was still largely dependent on a handful of wire services. Moreover, the regional coverage focusing on Latin America was not as positive as expected (Lozano, 2000). Sepúlveda Beltrán and Mayorga Rojel (2005) also discussed the role of news agencies, specially the Big Four (AP, UPI, REUTERS and AFP), as they account for approximately 70% of international news in Latin America. Sepúlveda Beltrán and Mayorga Rojel critiqued the role played by these news agencies in concentrating information flows, suggesting that they serve as a primary function of propagating the false image of a center (developed nations) to the periphery (developing nations).

Finally, specifically on the topic of climate change, Antilla (2005) concluded that the wire service community "is not only an essential but a dominant source of climate science news" (p. 350). This assertion served as a precursor to the present study, following one of the recommendations by Anderson (2009) in respect to future areas of research in climate change communication: "Future studies could also usefully examine the role of global news agencies/wire services since they have been shown to be an important source of information on climate science" (p. 176).

This review, along with the previous discussion on the state of research on climate change media coverage, serves as the justification for the present study of Peruvian media coverage, as well as the focus on information flows and foreign sources as they relate to the policy needs of Peru. Specifically, this study is guided by the following research questions: In what ways does the Peruvian press cover climate change? What role do the wire services play in such coverage?

Methods

Dirikx and Gelders (2010) pointed out that most studies on media coverage of climate change have applied a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach. They argued that although CDA provides a rich textured analysis of texts – something Carvalho (2007) and Anderson (2009) have advocated – the inductive nature of this method does not allow for major comparative efforts. The present study applied a content analysis that borrowed main variables and coding categories from previous studies to determine similarities in reporting. However, recognizing the presence of frames and discourses specific to the Peruvian media, additional coding categories salient to the data were also incorporated through an inductive process.

The archives of Peruvian newspapers are not easily accessible. Databases such as Lexis Nexis do not offer the same kind of access as they do to North American papers. However, the leading Peruvian newspaper, *El Comercio*, has a database of all major Peruvian newspapers (excluding sensationalist publications) in digital form since 2000 in its archival office in Lima. The newspapers cover a range of ideological positions, and include the following: *Correo*, *El Comercio*, *El Peruano* (official government newspaper), *Expreso*, *La Primera*, *La Razón*, *La República*, *Gestión*, *Ojo*, and *Peru21*. *El Comercio* is widely perceived as the most influential newspaper, and in terms of format, along with *El Peruano*, it is the only one that is not considered a tabloid (in terms of size). A search in these ten newspapers using the keywords "climate change," "global warming," "greenhouse effect," and "greenhouse gases" in the headline and the lead was conducted for the period January 2000 to December 2010. A total of 509 articles were retrieved. After a review of all articles to make sure they focused on climate change, a total of 459 were retained. Duplicate and irrelevant articles were discarded. Articles were then categorized by

format (opinion piece, editorial, or news article).

Similar to most studies in this area, the article was considered as the unit of analysis. The articles were first coded by their descriptive information, including the type of author (journalist, commentator, news agency, or unknown), and the origin of the author (Peruvian or foreign). Next, each article was coded based on the degree to which climate change was its focus, either primary or secondary. From the total sample, 409 were coded as primary. The analysis of all variables explained below was conducted only on the articles with a primary focus.

Entman (1993) defined framing as the selection of a perceived reality that is made more salient in a text. Based on this conceptualization, this study followed the work of McComas and Shanahan (1999), Brossard et al. (2004), and Boykoff (2008b). From the latter, the two-tier framing scheme was adopted. In the present study, based on the inductive review of some articles, the main frames and sub-frames were modified accordingly to better fit and more adequately capture the reporting from the Peruvian media. This process produced five main frames: “effects,” “opportunities,” “politics,” “society,” and “science.” Additionally, each frame contained sub-themes that were coded either as present or absent. Under this structure, all sub themes under a

Table 1 – Frames and sub-frames

Main frame	Sub-themes	Definition
Effects	Ecological effects	Climate change has an impact on ecosystems, biodiversity, or extreme weather events (e.g. heat waves, droughts, floods).
	Human effects	Climate change has an impact on the health of human populations, or is responsible for deaths, conflicts, or migration.
	Economic effects	Climate change has an impact on economies, industries’ revenues, etc. Also includes the costs associated to mitigate and/or adapt to climate change (e.g. cost of new infrastructure or damage to existing infrastructure, which does not reference direct human effects). Reference to commodities/products (e.g. mangos, bananas, etc.) are also included.
Opportunities	Technological solutions	New technologies and applied science developed to solve an aspect of climate change (e.g. renewable energy, electric cars, geoengineering, etc.).
	Corporate initiatives	Initiatives of businesses to address some aspect of climate change. Include actions within corporations, and initiatives promoting actions within societies or ecosystems.
Politics	Policies	Policy options at any level of government (local, regional, and national), including international agreements. This could include cap and trade, clean development mechanism, carbon trading, energy taxes, etc.
	Political discussions	Agreements or disagreements about policy options based on political interests (focuses on game-framing instead of issue-framing). Also includes science/policy controversies (e.g. “climategate”).
Society	Popular culture	Focus on celebrities, movies, books, and any other popular culture artifacts.
	Civil society initiatives	Issues about justice, risk, public understanding of climate change, knowledge (e.g. poll results, consumer reports), etc. Social mobilizations, education initiatives, and individual and societal level actions to mitigate or adapt to climate change are also included (e.g. earth hour).
Science	Basic science	Describes basic concepts and ideas related to climate change science, such as definition of the greenhouse effect, greenhouse gases, sources of pollution, ecological sinks, historical trends, etc.
	News studies/discoveries	New studies or upcoming studies revealing a new aspect of climate change or its related impacts.

dominant frame could be coded as present. Table 1 presents this sub-division.

The study used the variable “cause” to determine the level of debate regarding the establishment of climate change as a problem, and the extent to which it can be attributed to anthropogenic sources. Codes used include “anthropogenic source,” “natural source,” “both anthropogenic and natural,” “climate change not happening,” and “no mention.” Additionally, articles were coded by the overall tone of the article towards climate change (“negative,” “positive,” “ambiguous,” or “neutral”), and by the presence or absence of references to mitigation and/or adaptation measures. It was expected that coverage would place a stronger focus on mitigation, following what Anderson (2009) stated: “So far, the emphasis within news media coverage has tended to be on mitigation rather than adaptation” (p. 178).

This study also provides a geographical focus not applied in previous studies. This “geographic focus” variable is also related to the variable mitigation/adaptation, as it captures the relevance of the coverage to the needs of the country. In this respect, the articles were coded using three codes, “strong focus on Peru,” “moderate focus on Peru,” and “no focus on Peru.” Additionally, the articles were coded using a “scale” variable that included the presence or absence of the codes “national,” “regional/state,” and “local.” Although most visible discussions have taken place at the international and national levels (Hempel, 2005), initiatives in the U. S., as reflected by the C40 Cities initiative, show that significant actions are also taking place at the local level (C40 Cities, n.d.).

Finally, all sources, directly quoted or paraphrased, were coded in general categories. Sources were coded as being either Peruvian or foreign, and included “NGO,” “Industry,” “Researcher/Expert,” “Civil society,” “Celebrity,” “National government,” “Regional government,” “Local government,” “Multi-state organization” (e.g. U.N., European Union, World Bank), and “Other.”

Two coders coded 10% (n=40) of the articles to assess inter-coder reliability. Krippendorff’s (2004) alpha levels for the main variables were calculated and are reported in Table 2. Reliability scores for some of the variables were lower than expected, therefore disagreements were discussed among the coders to determine procedural problems and improve

Table 2 – Inter-coder reliability

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Krippendorff’s alpha</i>
Main frame	0.82
Cause	0.46
Geography	0.76
Mitigation	0.96
Adaptation	0.37

coding. After this process, one of the coders coded the rest of the articles.

Significance tests were conducted across the variables and the different categories of authors and origin of the author. From the sample, 109 articles did not include a byline and were coded as “unknown” in terms of authorship and origin of the author. For comparison purposes, unknown-authored articles were not used in tests including the variables “authorship,” and “origin of author.”

Results

Because of the uneven distribution of articles across newspapers, articles not published in *El Comercio* were all recoded in an “others” category for analysis purposes. Based on this categorization, 317 articles (77.5%) were published in *El Comercio*, and 92 (22.5%) in all other

newspapers. Although the archival staff at *El Comercio* argued that all articles from every newspaper are indexed, this disproportion could be due to a difference in the indexing between articles in *El Comercio* and those from all other newspapers. The distribution could also be explained based on the availability of space in *El Comercio* (full newspaper format versus tabloid format from all the others except for *El Peruano*), and/or that *El Comercio* places a relatively higher importance to the issue of climate change.

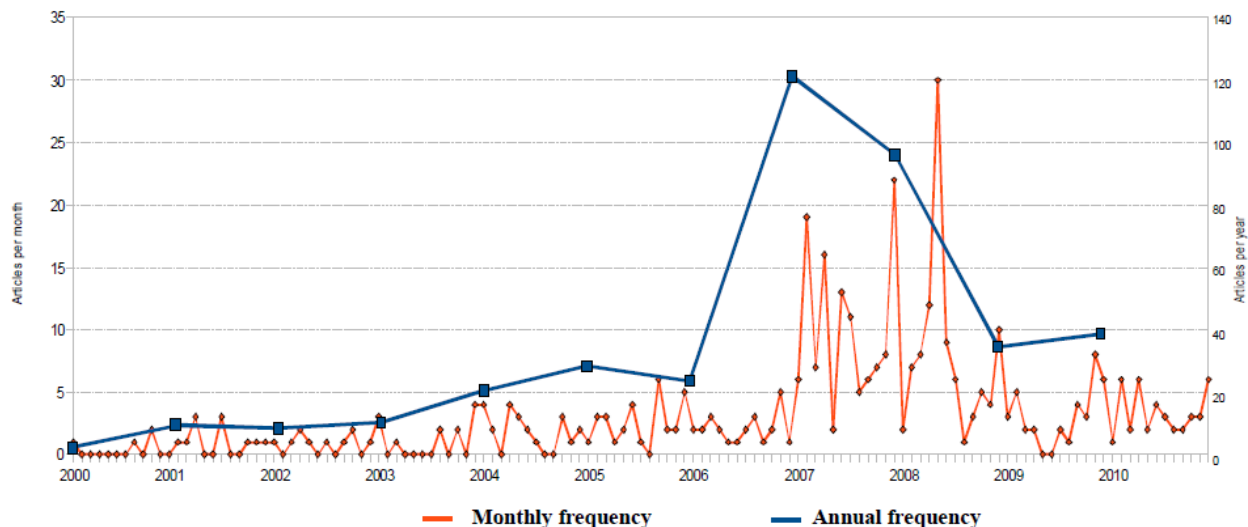
Frequency of the Coverage

The frequency of the coverage by year and month from 2000 to 2010 is presented in Figure 1. Climate change appears to have received limited media attention, accompanied by some punctuations. After limited coverage from 2000 to 2006, the issue received intense coverage in 2007 and 2008, and then decreased in intensity in 2009 and 2010. It is evident that the years 2007 and 2008 contribute disproportionally to the data sample (29% and 26% respectively). This trend loosely reflects the coverage found in previous studies (Boykoff, 2010). However, recent tracking of media coverage worldwide shows that in 2009, coverage spiked, mostly explained by the anticipation of the December 2009 Copenhagen climate summit (Boykoff & Mansfield, 2011).

From the data presented here, the reasons for this difference is unclear, but some speculative arguments might help to explain. In 2008, Peru hosted the Latin America and European Union summit, where the two main topics were poverty and climate change. This is evident by the number of articles published in May 2008, the month the summit took place, which is the highest in the dataset ($n=30$). During the summit, Peruvian President Alan García also announced the creation of the new Ministry of the Environment, which might also explain the amount of coverage. December 2007 is the second highest spike ($n=23$), which coincided with the 2007 COP-13 meeting held in Bali. February and April of 2007 also presented interesting spikes, which coincided with the release of reports by the IPCC that stated that climate change is very likely to be human induced (IPCC, 2007).

Despite the increasing trend building towards 2007-2008 and then the drop for the last two years, it is surprising to see the dramatic drops in coverage after the biggest peaks. Immediately after the peaks of December 2007 and May 2008, the coverage dropped to pre-2007 average levels. This could suggest that coverage was event driven, similar to the results reported in Mexico (Gordon, et al., 2010), although the extent to which competing issues – such as the economic world crisis – affected the coverage is unknown.

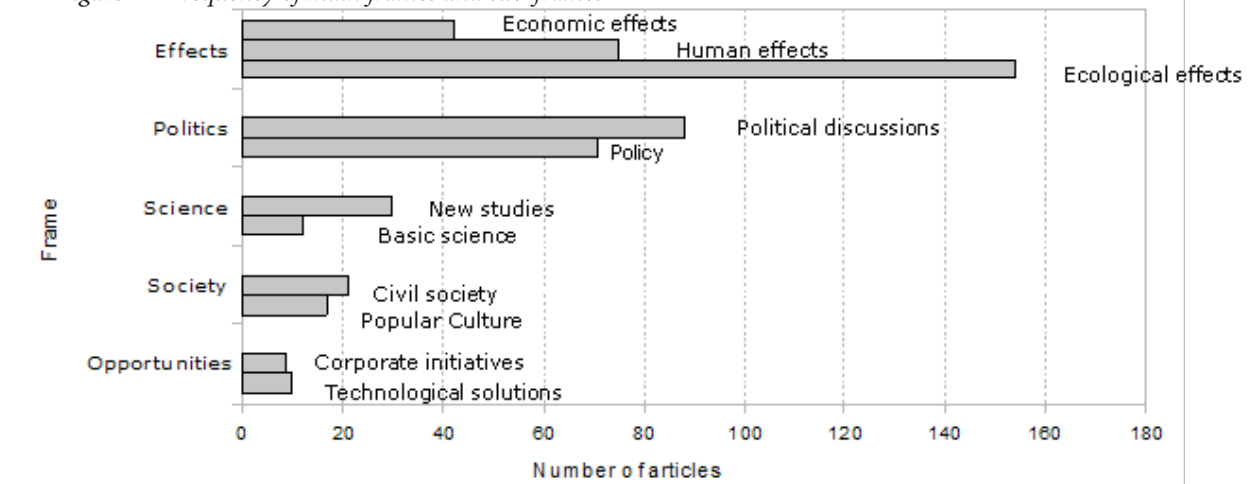
Figure 1 – Frequency of coverage 2000-2010 by month and year



Framing the Issue

The distribution of main frames and sub-frames is presented in Figure 2. The “effects” frame was clearly the most prominent one, with a presence in almost half of the sample (46.7%). In regards to the sub-frames, the “ecological effects” frame was present more than twice as often as the “human effects,” and more than three times as much as the “economic effects” frame.

Figure 2 – Frequency of main frames and sub-frames



A dominant theme frequently discussed within the “ecological frame” refers to the melting of tropical glaciers in the Andes mountains. Headlines such as “Fate of Peruvian glaciers at play in Poznan summit” (La suerte, 2008), “Peruvian Andes lost 22% of their glaciers” (Andes del Perú, 2007) and “Say goodbye to the glaciers” (Díganle adiós, 2007) exemplify the fatalistic view of a problem that is portrayed as inevitable and out of human control. An important number of articles using a human effects sub-frame ($n=75$) discussed issues of water access, vector-borne diseases, food security, migration due to sea level rise, among other known effects. Most articles broadly discussed the effects on vulnerable, rural, and poor populations, but in few cases, personified the threat. The second most used frame was the “politics frame.” In this respect, the sub-frames “political discussions” and “policies” were similarly used. Articles with a science frame discussing new studies mostly came from wire services. Examples include: “Millions of tonnes of methane emerge in the Arctic” (Salen a superficie millones, 2008) and “Global warming advanced more than predicted” (Calentamiento global, 2010). This frame was found mostly in articles not focusing on Peru.

Significance tests were conducted between the “framing” variable and the variables “authorship,” “origin of author,” “geography,” and “strategy” (see Table 3). The authorship variable showed that articles authored by journalists and wire services have a similar use of frames, while commentators tended to use a “politics” frame more often. In terms of origin of the author, there was no significant difference between the use of frames by Peruvian and foreign authors. Although it is not possible to provide evidence from the data presented, it could be that Peruvian journalists and commentators were influenced by the information coming from news agencies. Articles with a strong focus on Peru tended to use an “effects” frame mostly, while articles with a moderate focus or no focus on Peru used the “effects” and “politics” frame more evenly. The analysis also revealed a difference between the uses of frames when discussing mitigation and/or adaptation strategies. While mitigation was mostly discussed in a politics context, adaptation was discussed within an effects frame.

Table 3 – Crosstab frame

		Effects	Opportunities	Politics	Science	Society
Authorship	Commentator	6 (18%)	1 (3%)	24 (73%)	2 (6%)	0
	Journalist	66 (51%)	10 (8%)	29 (22%)	13 (10%)	11 (9%)
	Wire service	63 (46%)	2 (1%)	41 (30%)	20 (15%)	11 (8%)
	$(\chi^2 = 47.222, df=12, p=0.000)$					
Origin author	Foreign	69 (44%)	8 (5%)	50 (32%)	20 (13%)	11 (7%)
	Peruvian	66 (47%)	5 (4%)	44 (31%)	15 (11%)	11 (8%)
	$(\chi^2 = 8.514, df=8, p=0.385)$					
Geography	No_Peru	80 (38%)	13 (6%)	69 (33%)	31 (15%)	19 (9%)
	Peru_moderate	33 (49%)	2 (3%)	23 (34%)	5 (7%)	4 (6%)
	Peru_strong	78 (60%)	3(2%)	29 (22%)	6 (5%)	14 (11%)
	$(\chi^2 = 24.777, df=8, p=0.002)$					
Strategy	Mitigation	21 (17%)	16 (13%)	65 (53%)	7 (6%)	14 (11%)
	Adaptation	32 (65%)	1 (2%)	10 (20%)	3 (6%)	3 (6%)
	Both	15 (38%)	0	24 (60%)	1 (3%)	0

Articles coded as “unknown” in the variables authorship, origin of author, and “none” in the variable strategy are not included. All variables are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$ except for origin of author.

As expected, a considerable number of articles came from wire services (approximately one third, all coded as foreign source). Another third was authored by journalists (90% Peruvian), approximately 8% was authored by a commentator (75% of which were Peruvian), while 27% had no author listed. Additionally, a t-test revealed a significant difference between the mean number of words used by journalists ($M=821.72$, $SD=368.27$) and wire services ($M=341.24$, $SD=209.32$) ($F=43.46$, $p=0.000$, $t=13.18$, $df=264$).

Stories authored by wire services had very limited focus on Peru (91%), while stories authored by journalists had mostly either a moderate or strong focus on Peru (64% combined) ($\chi^2 = 139.29$, $df=6$, $p=0.000$) (see Figure 3). In regards to the type of strategy discussed (mitigation and/or adaptation), figure 4 shows a significant difference ($\chi^2 = 59.684$, $df=9$, $p < 0.01$) between articles authored by wire services, journalists, and commentators. Both wire services and journalists focused mostly on mitigation themes; however, journalists (which were mostly Peruvians), tended to discuss adaptation measures in higher proportions.

Figure 3 – Authorship and geographical focus

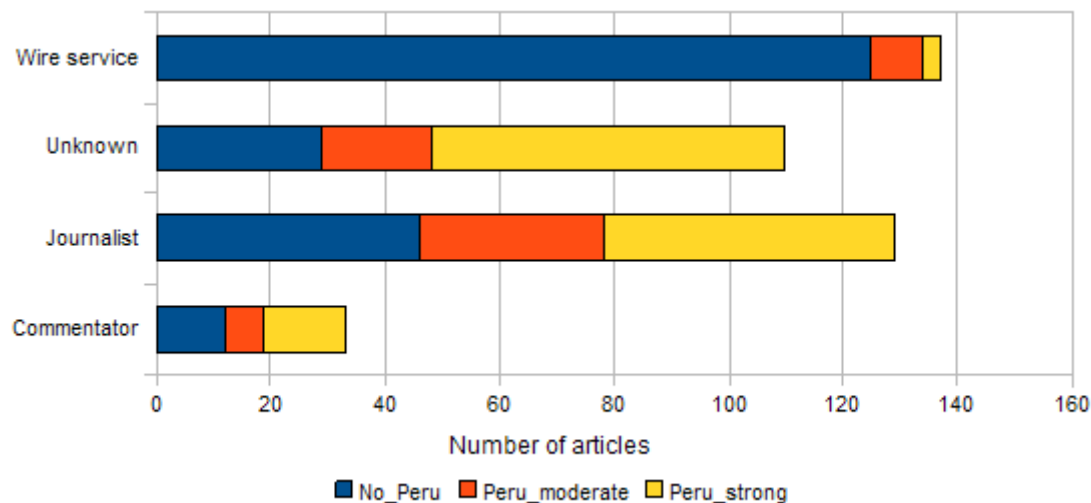
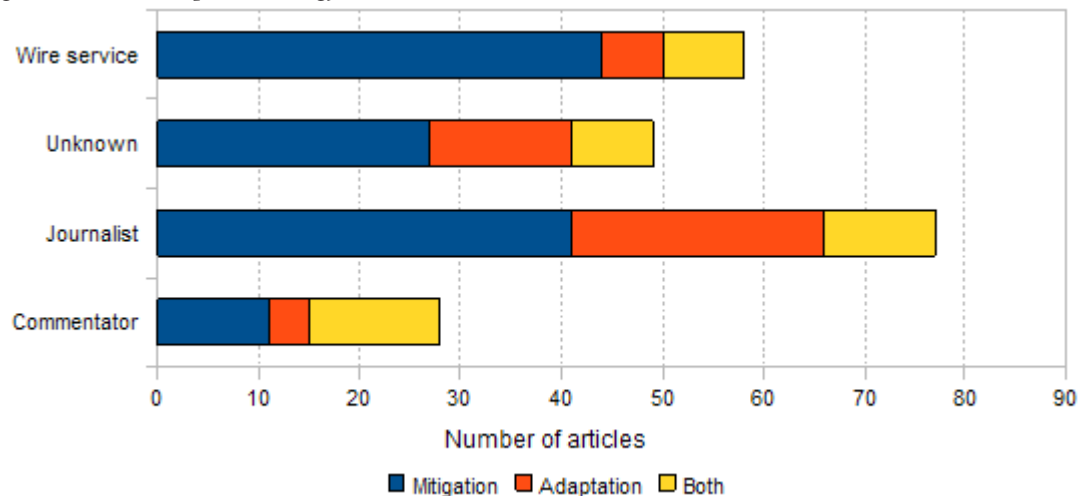


Figure 4 – Authorship and strategy



Half of the articles discussed the issue as a result mostly of human actions. The rest of the articles did not make an explicit mention or it was not possible to deduce a position, with less than 2% suggesting that climate change is only a natural problem, or that it is not happening at all. In terms of the tone, more than 80% of the articles presented climate change in negative terms (e.g. a threat, a problem, a costly issue, etc.). About 14% used a neutral tone, while only 2.4% used an ambiguous tone, and only one article discussed it in a positive light.

In terms of the geographical scale, a focus on a national scale was used in 57% of articles, 16% mentioned regional issues, while 20% discussed local features. After cross-tabulating with the variable “strategy,” it became clear that articles discussing mitigation actions did not usually do so at the national level. Although articles discussing adaptation tended to also discuss such issues mostly at a national level, there was a higher tendency to include the local and regional levels.

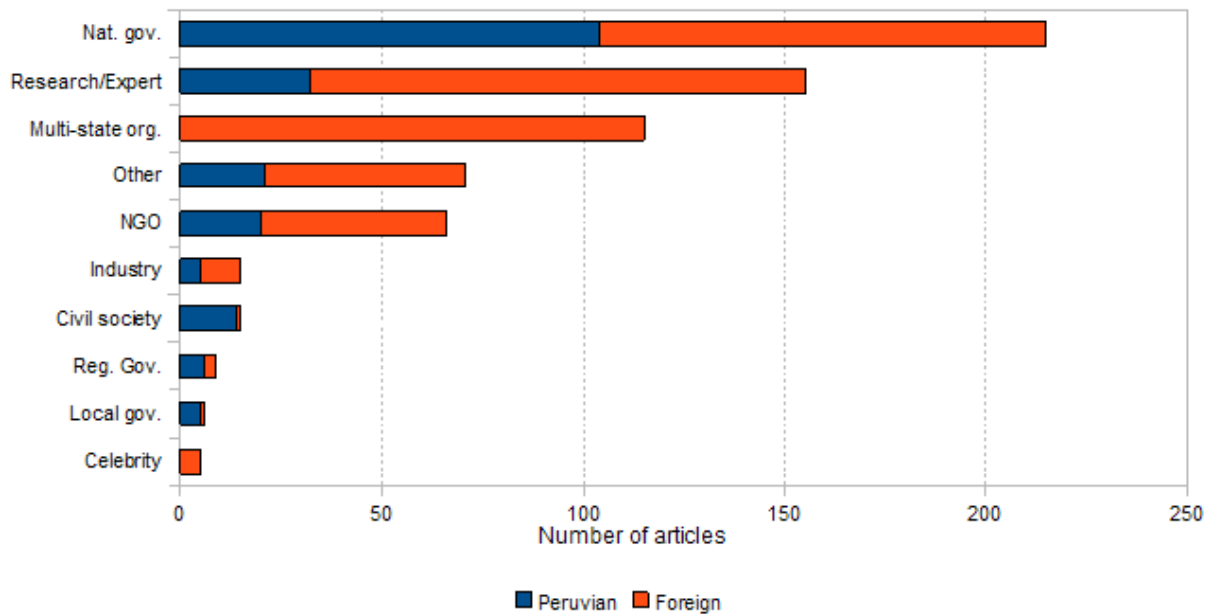
Who Has Media Access?

Figure 5 presents the number of sources by origin (Peruvian or foreign). Consistent with previous studies, “national government” sources (32%) clearly dominated media coverage, with almost an equal split between Peruvian and foreign sources. “Researcher/expert” was the second most prominent source, with foreign sources accounting for almost 80%. These sources were mostly found within the “science” framed articles (55%, $n=23$), while none of the Peruvian sources were found in this type of article. Previous research shows that “reporters who primarily use scientists as sources and who work the environmental beat full-time have the most accurate climate change knowledge” (Wilson, 2000, p.1). Although the number of expert sources used by journalists is important, most of them are not considered climate experts, which can partly be explained by the lack of controversy regarding the existence of the problem, as has been the case in the U. S. (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004).

In relationship to previous studies, there is a very limited use of “business” sources, which were highly prominent in the *New York Times* (Brossard, et al., 2004). In Peru, because of the low number of articles using the “opportunities” frame, it comes as no surprise that there was a low number of “industry” sources. Similarly, there was almost no presence of local and regional government voices or community sources. In this regard, articles with a strong focus on Peru were evenly distributed when applying the variable “scale” (national=66, regional=45, and local=53). This suggests that the coverage at the regional and local levels was not incorporating sources that

were representative of those areas. Finally, local celebrities did not become important actors in the climate change landscape, as opposed to their role in the U. S. and other developed nations (Boykoff & Goodman, 2009).

Figure 5 – Sources by origin



The frequency of sources by authorship is presented in Table 5. Stories by journalists and wire services presented very similar source use. The only differences were that journalists made some use of civil society sources (n=15) and regional government sources (n=9), while wire services stories did not use any of them.

Table 4 – Authorship and sources

	<i>Commentator</i>	<i>Journalist</i>	<i>Wire Service</i>	<i>No author</i>
Nat. Gov.	7(28%)	82(29%)	80(35%)	46(33%)
Research/Expert	4(16%)	65(23%)	61(27%)	25(18%)
Multi-state org.	6(24%)	44(16%)	34(15%)	31(22%)
Other	6(24%)	30(11%)	22(10%)	13(9%)
NGO	2 (8%)	25(9%)	25(11%)	14(10%)
Industry	0	9(3%)	2(1%)	4(3%)
Civil society	0	15(5%)	0	0
Reg. Gov.	0	9(3%)	0	0
Local Gov.	0	2(1%)	1	3 (2%)
Celebrity	0	0	3(1%)	2(1%)
Total	25 (100%)	281(100%)	228(100%)	138(100%)

Discussion

Coverage of climate change in the Peruvian press tended to emphasize the impending effects associated with the issue with no presence of skeptical views. Because of the marginal contribution to greenhouse gases, the coverage had a lesser focus on the country's role in solving the problem, something more prevalent for example in the Indian press (Billett, 2010) and the U. K. tabloids (Boykoff, 2008b). The results most resembled those found in Mexico. Gordon et

al. (2010) argued that in previous studies outside the United States, an international relations frame dominated. In their study, they found that ecology/science and consequences frames were the most popular. Furthermore, this study extends the exploratory work conducted by Takahashi (2011) in Peru for a one-week coverage of climate change during the Latin American and European Union Summit in 2008. The results presented here confirm the dominance of government sources and the limited number of science-framed articles.

The results also revealed that wire services play an important role in the reporting. First, the volume of stories was highly significant. This was consistent with Shanahan's general assertion that coverage in non-industrialized nations have "a reliance on reports from Western news agencies rather than more locally relevant news. This, coupled with sparse coverage of adaptation, has implications for the world's poor, who urgently need information to prepare for the impacts of climate change" (2009, p. 153). Antilla (2005) also suggested that wire services play a critical role in the reporting of the issue in the U. S. Nevertheless, comparative studies would be necessary to assess the extent of these claims. For example, McComas and Shanahan (1999) reported that the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* included 67% of articles by journalists and only 8% from wire services.

Second, there was no major difference in the use of the frames between journalists and wire services. This might be a function of Peruvian journalists mirroring stories from the wire services, or of editorial selection by Peruvian newspapers. A more comprehensive analysis of wire services stories in other contexts would be necessary to determine if this were the case. The significance of the wire services relates to the fact that their stories did not discuss issues directly focusing on Peru. Although the reporting of international politics would be expected to come from wire services, the high volume of articles not directly discussing Peru could provide an ambiguous representation where there are some important effects (i.e. melting glaciers), but also that the problem is something external to the country.

Third, and related to the previous point, discussion of mitigation and/or adaptation strategies showed some differences. From all articles, 123 mentioned only mitigation, 49 mentioned only adaptation, and 40 discussed both (almost half of the articles had no mention of either strategy). Stories from the wire services discussed adaptation significantly less than stories from journalists. This seems consistent with Olausson's assertion that in the Swedish media, the mitigation frames dominate the coverage and that "The two frames exist parallel to each other, in different contexts, hardly ever appearing in the same news items, regardless of the fact that they constitute two sides of the same coin—how to tackle the issue of climate change" (2009, p. 432). As previously discussed, this bias is even more relevant to developing countries such as Peru that are more vulnerable to the effects of climate change.

In conclusion, the Peruvian press in the case of climate change has been highly dependent on international news flow, especially when covering international relations. The heavy focus on the impacts should give way to stronger coverage of solutions and policies in Peru, especially in regards to adaptation. This shift will depend on the availability and accessibility of sources such regional and local governments that have not had significant media access so far. Finally, although this study provides an extensive understanding of the coverage in Peru, a more detailed discourse analysis could provide a better level of detail about dominant discourses. In their study of the U. K. press, Doulton and Brown (2009) suggested the following: "In constructing, reconstructing and presenting these discourses the press accentuates and perpetuates widely held views of developing countries and the poor as hapless victims facing another set of disasters who can only be helped by the rich Western countries" (p. 201). In this respect, wire services may well be contributing to the extension of these views, something consistent with perspectives coming from

the international news flow literature (Sepúlveda Beltrán & Mayorga Rojel, 2005). Additionally, although this is a single case study, it provides a step forward in the need for comparative studies beyond the developed world (Dirikx & Gelders, 2010). For example, future research could analyze the similarities and dissimilarities of media coverage between Andean countries.

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“IT’S MORE THAN PLANTING TREES, IT’S PLANTING IDEAS:” ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AND ECOFEMINISM IN THE GREEN BELT MOVEMENT

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Abstract

The Green Belt Movement (GBM) emerged as a response to environmental degradation in post-colonial Kenya. Three campaigns characterize the movement’s primary thrust: tree planting, civic/environmental engagement seminars, and a political demonstration. Each of these exposed material incongruities as participants argued for environmental and social change. Warren’s (2000) ecofeminist concept of “power-toward” is used to examine how GBM sought “movement away from unhealthy life-denying systems and relationships” (p. 200). The “power-toward” potentiality of each campaign built on that which came before it; taken in aggregate, these actions demonstrate the rhetorical constitution of an environmentally stable, democratic Kenya. As a case study of environmental justice in the Global South, GBM is used to explicate how a marginalized population was able to revision their political consciousness.

Keywords: Environmental Justice, Ecofeminism, Perspective by Incongruity, Green Belt Movement

By the early 1970s, Kenya was largely deforested, causing substantial soil erosion, contamination of streams and rivers, and malnutrition (Maathai, 2006). Against this exigency, the Green Belt Movement (GBM) sought to mobilize “women around tree-planting income-generating activities, consciousness raising, women’s rights, and political empowerment,” connecting environmental degradation to other issues of civic engagement (Nagel, 2005, p. 1). Initiated by Wangari Maathai, Kenya’s first female to receive her doctorate and run for Parliament, the movement “was structured to avoid the urge to work *for* [and work instead] *with*...the people,” characterizing its “empowering approach” (emphasis added, Nagel, 2005, p. 3). As participants connect environmental degradation to political oppression, GBM constitutes an

environmental justice movement.

Analyses of environmental justice (EJ) in the field of communication have been primarily limited to case studies within the United States (DeLuca, 1999; Peeples & DeLuca, 2006; Pezzullo, 2007). This is perhaps because the prevailing narrative surrounding EJ similarly confines the movement (Pezzullo, 2001). Some critical scholarship has examined environmental justice as it is experienced in non-Western contexts rearticulating EJ to include communities previously ignored (Sandler & Pezzullo, 2007). For the field of environmental communication to fully exercise its ethical duty as Cox (2007) suggests, it behooves us to maintain this momentum. Cases and contexts to which scholars attune are imbued with a certain degree of power. By limiting this attention to the Global North, “we are missing out on, and writing ‘out of history,’ important texts that gird and influence local cultures” (Ono & Sloop, 1995, p. 19). Indeed, oppressive environmental practices occur worldwide, and broadening our analytical scope may challenge us to re-think Environmental Justice as the movement has been, or continues to be, experienced across communities.

My examination of GBM as a case study of environmental justice also demonstrates the applicability of an ecofeminist framework. I argue that what is behind GBM’s approach is the ecofeminist conception of “power-toward.” Warren (2000) submits that a system of power that seeks “movement away from unhealthy life-denying systems and relationships” represents “power-toward” (p. 200). I argue that “power-toward” facilitated an alternative conception of political agency for GBM activists. As the rhetorical agency afforded by embodied participation in GBM campaigns grew across the movement, an alternative conception of Kenya’s identity was articulated.

The time at which GBM was initiated represents a context of global environmental and feminist awareness as many programs and social movements addressing the intersection of these concerns were introduced. The United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) was established in 1972 with the “guiding principle” to “safeguard and enhance the environment for the benefit of present and future generations” (UNEP, 1979). 1975 was designated International Women’s Year with the first UN Conference on Women in Mexico City, launching the UN Decade for Women. Several environmental justice movements were initiated around this time as well. Women of Himalayan villages organized the Chipko movement to protest commercial forest management through non-violent action; by 1980 the Chipko movement counted a 15-year injunction on commercial tree felling as their success (Shiva & Bandyopadhyay, 1986). In the United States, struggles in Warren County, North Carolina and at Love Canal raised awareness of toxic waste dumpsites (Gibbs, 1982; Pezzullo, 2001).

This essay examines three campaigns that constitute the primary thrust of GBM: a tree-planting initiative, civic and environmental education seminars, and a demonstration in Kenya’s Uhuru Park. The aim of my analysis is to characterize a rhetorical theme across the movement’s most intense periods of demonstration, 1977-1993. Well after her acceptance of the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize, Maathai continued to organize GBM events worldwide until her death in September, 2011. The issues for which the Green Belt Movement works have expanded from the immediate exigency of Kenya to include climate change and environmental education around the world (Kirkscey, 2007; Maathai, 2006). Limiting my analysis to early campaigns allows for a greater understanding of the rhetorical strategies used to mobilize and empower rural Kenyan women seeking environmental and political change at a key point in the movement’s history. This also allows for a better understanding of environmental justice movements in this context.

I contend that embodied participation in GBM campaigns empowered rural Kenyan women to revise their political consciousness; individually, each of these acts rhetorically exposed

material incongruities, opening the space to reconstruct identity. As the movement progressed, I argue, the “power-toward” potentiality of each action built on that which came before it; thus, taken in aggregate, these actions demonstrate the rhetorical constitution of an environmentally stable and democratic Kenya.

Ecofeminism, Embodied Social Movement Tactics, and Rhetorical Agency

Ecofeminism, with its critical ideological orientation to power, seeks to uncover and dismantle discourses of oppression (Rogers & Schutten, 2004). While there are many foci in ecofeminist literature (for example spirituality, animals, activism, and ethics among others), the primary principle uniting them is the critique of multiple, nested oppressions affecting the environment and the lives of women around the world (Gaard, 1993; Mellor, 1997; Vakoch, 2011; Warren, 2000). Specifically, Birkeland (1993) defines ecofeminism as a form of political analysis that is especially attuned to “deeply rooted patterns and structural relationships” that lead to environmental and social injustice (p. 14). From this perspective, patriarchy is viewed as the key framework for “authorizing oppressions” and constructing a self/other dualism fundamental to the Othering of nature (Plumwood, 1993). Thus, it is through ecofeminist critique that naturalized systems of oppression can be exposed and transformed.

As ecofeminism functions as a theoretical framework, it is also a practice. Ecofeminism is rooted in philosophy and environmental ethics, and social transformation is its ultimate aim. It follows that ecofeminism cannot only be a lens for critique, but must also be performed. Indeed, Mellor (1997) finds ecofeminists’ starting point as “the importance of human *embodiment*... and embeddedness (within the surrounding ecosystem)” (emphasis added, p. 68.). First, Mellor models the paradigmatic shift from a patriarchal dualism that distances humans from that which is non-human in her acknowledgement of humans’ biological existence within not just a social context, but an ecological one. Her statement also recognizes that as systems of oppression are actively practiced, the efforts to resist them are as well. Avenues of ecofeminist practice ripe for analysis include nuclear and toxic waste activism, international development, and labor struggles (O’Loughlin, 1993).

Indeed, an ecofeminist critique can “lay out the preconditions for transformation within a set of social relations” (McKerrow, 1989, p. 103), and as ecofeminists working on the ground actively perform theoretical concepts, ecofeminism, as a set of principles and theoretical constructs, embodies the same sense of praxis as critical rhetoric. Ecofeminist critique operates like a “prism that de-forms our attitude toward non-human nature” (Birkeland, 1993, p. 16) in a way that is similar to critical rhetoric’s critiques of domination and freedom (McKerrow, 1989). Thus, it is the emphasis on practice and transformation that makes ecofeminism a viable analytical tool for critical rhetoricians.

Karen Warren (2000) devised a theoretical framework for understanding how different forms of power are practiced; I contend this framework offers a useful mechanism for critical rhetoricians who “deal in concrete terms with those relations which are ‘real’- which do in fact constrain discourse, and do so in ways that are seldom seen without analysis” (McKerrow, 1989, p. 103). Warren’s typology consists of five forms of power: “power-over,” that which creates Up/Down relationships, characterized by “restriction of liberties” and coercion; “power-with,” creating “relatively equalizing” coalitions of shared power, seeking solidarity; “power-within,” characterized by empowerment and the mobilizing of “inner resources;” “power-against,” typically expressed when Downs rebel against Ups; and “power-toward,” characterized by change

from one belief system to another (p. 200).

The final type, “power-toward,” can enhance the analysis of social movements from a rhetorical perspective. As “power-toward” is “the sort of power individuals or groups of individuals *exercise* when they make changes in their lives, when...they *move from* something *to* something else” (emphasis added, Warren, 1994, p. 183), it can inform the analysis of social movement tactics, particularly those characterizing the discourse of marginalized peoples. Inasmuch as “power-toward” represents one way a group can “put [their] own ideas of an emancipatory society into practice” (Kelly, 1997, p. 114), analysis of rhetorical agency in social movements is also remiss to neglect this theoretical construct.

Social movement tactics can also be viewed as “rhetorical performances of resistance” (Pezzullo, 2007, p. 3). The critical function of embodied tactics is their ability to illuminate inconsistencies in the system to which the movement is responding. In this way, body rhetoric articulates rhetorical agency especially when mobilized by oppressed and marginalized groups. By “provid[ing] a set of practical resources for enacting...[a rearticulated political] consciousness,” body rhetoric can “constitute new forms of agency in the face of lived... oppression” (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 176). Body rhetoric often serves a constitutive function in social movements because it allows for the opening of a “discursive space” altering “people’s consciousness about their relationship to ‘the system’ and the possibilities for their futures” (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 189). Thus, my aim is to understand “the ways in which a discourse represents a shift away from or challenge to a dominant social imaginary” (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 177). The use of the phrase “shift away from” suggests Warren’s “power-toward.”

Ecofeminist constructs, like Warren’s (2000) power typology, can inform the rhetorical analysis of social movements. Rogers and Schutten (2004) submit that ecofeminism is not “a singular ideology, theory, or method” and can be understood, therefore, as both an ontology and an epistemology (p. 263), indeed its amorphous nature may make this framework particularly valuable. However, with several notable exceptions (DeLuca, 1999, Rogers & Schutten, 2004; Vakoch, 2011), little rhetorical scholarship has engaged it as either method or theory.

It may be that this apparent lack of rhetorical ecofeminist scholarship is the result of the criticism most commonly levied against it. That is, essentialist assumptions of an intrinsic linkage between women/the “feminine” with nature (O’Loughlin, 1993; Plumwood, 1993). DeLuca (1999) summarizes this critique by noting that this form of ecofeminist theorizing “perpetuates a modern nature that limits what can be considered as an environment deserving of protection, narrows what can be counted as environmental politics, [and] blocks necessary coalitions across gender, race, and class lines” (p. 68). Negligence in rhetorical scholarship leaves the valuable contributions of ecofeminist critique (and its potentiality in rhetoric) marginalized, rendering it invisible within rhetorical literature. As rhetorical critics, it behooves us to flesh out theoretical kinks so that we may best understand “symbolic transformation” (McGee, 1983). Ecofeminism, particularly its conceptions of power, can inform our understanding of rhetoric and social movements generally, and environmental justice specifically. Greater scrutiny of ecofeminist literature/forms is needed to parse out inconsistencies. In what follows, I offer my analysis of three campaigns performed by the Green Belt Movement. For each of these actions, the capacity for “power-toward” is examined with emphasis placed on the rhetorical agency afforded to GBM participants and the way this is characterized across the movement.

GBM’s Body Rhetoric and Rhetorical Agency

Although British colonial rule in Kenya ended in 1963, the legacies of imperialism posed political, economic, and environmental challenges that persisted well after independence was

gained. Deforestation and malnutrition resulted from a dependence on a cash-crop economy. Nyang'oro (2001) submits: "In many instances, cash crop production has led to misguided government policies that lead to environmental deterioration while yielding few benefits economically" (p. 233). One GBM participant reflects on Kenya's dependence on crops like timber, tea and coffee: "Sadly, I think the government made the decision, maybe mistakenly, that they continue with the Colonial practice of exploiting the forest and not recovering forested lands" (Merton & Dater, 2008). In her memoir, Wangari Maathai (2006) explains how this economic system rendered Kenya's ecosystems and landscapes diminished and unhealthy: "I saw rivers silted with topsoil... much of the land that had been covered by trees, bushes, and grasses when I was growing up had been replaced by tea and coffee" (p. 121).

When President Daniel Arap Moi rose to power in 1978, it was clear that "Kenya had become a dictatorship, ruled...by a president who kept an iron grip on power" (Maathai, 2006, p. 181). The Kenyan political system was rife with corruption and tribal conflict such that, according to Maathai, "corruption became the culture of those in power.... In addition, the atmosphere became increasingly repressive as the regime ignored the needs of the people" (p. 181). One GBM participant remembers the Moi regime: "It was brutal. It was very, very powerful. It had the country in its grip and it had the power and the willingness to use that power to crush any opposition" (Merton & Dater, 2008). One way the Moi regime made "people fear authority" (Merton & Dater, 2008), was by imprisoning those who spoke against it. It was widely known that those suspected of democratic sympathies were arrested under erroneous charges and detained for indefinite periods of time; it was later revealed that the police employed methods of torture on those imprisoned (Maathai, 2006).

This is the immediate context in which GBM was formed. In the documentary, *Taking Root*, Maathai summarizes this material exigency as follows:

...we are faced with a challenge that calls for a shift in our thinking so that humanity stops threatening its life-support system. We are called to assist the earth to heal her wounds, and in the process heal our own. (Merton & Dater, 2008)

Even from the movement's infancy, concerns of environmental responsibility were linked to issues of fair governance. Yet the statement suggests an incongruity in the lived experience of Kenyan citizens: an ecosystem that should be life sustaining is instead dying, and a government that should protect its people is instead brutally oppressing them.

Burke (1989) offers the concept of perspective by incongruity as a method that questions a current system of practice, exposing ideological inconsistencies. Burke explains that humans use "schema of orientation" that organize our "sense of what properties go with what" (p. 74). When we are "pious" to these schema, that is when they go unquestioned, they act as "system builder[s]" informing our view of "what ought to be" (p. 71). Perspective by incongruity rests on a rhetor's "impiety" to an existing vocabulary, rearticulating the meaning of an experience through their "piety" to a new set of meanings. That is, a rhetor may "attempt to *reorganize* one's orientations" thereby offering new meanings (emphasis in original, Burke, 1989, p. 80). Indeed, in situations in which ideologies are oppressive, "where the accepted linkages have been an imposing sort," Burke suggests intentionally reordering accepted categories (p. 120). The process of reorganization creates "new linkages of vocabulary...generat[ing] new orientations" such that it simultaneously represents "a break in the continuity of an ideology and a transition from one conception of self to another" (Whedbee, 2001, p. 49). Thus, perspective by incongruity can function as a transformative argument, re-constituting identity.

As a form of argument, perspective by incongruity is utilized to dismantle a previous

conception as well as to offer a new one. Thus, my analysis of GBM proceeds from the following assumption: perspective by incongruity “generates a kind of identity crisis” inasmuch as the “process of destroying and recreating values is intimately related to the process of destroying and recreating the self” (Whedbee, 2001, p. 48). Through the action of planting trees, engaging in civic educational seminars, and baring their naked bodies in protest, GBM participants perform the function of perspective by incongruity: “redefinition that re-evaluates, and gives new meaning to, an existing set of circumstances” (Dow, 1994, p. 323).

Although Burke (1989) names Medieval gargoyles as one non-verbal example of perspective by incongruity, treatment of this concept has largely focused on its function in written text (Foss, 1979; Dow, 1994) and public address (Whedbee, 2001). Paystrup’s (1996) analysis of advertisements represents one point of departure from this trend; her analysis demonstrates the viability of Burke’s perspective for a non-verbal argument. I propose that perspective by incongruity can be rhetorically invoked through embodied practice—that even without the use of spoken word, actions can construct new symbolic *associations* that, in this case, perform “power-toward” and re-constitute Kenyan identities.

Foresters Without Diplomas

In the early 1970s, Maathai began working with a local civic organization, the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK). As NCWK prepared for the 1975 UN Conference on Women in Mexico City, Maathai organized seminars at which women from various rural Kenyan communities discussed their experiences of environmental and economic injustice. For Maathai, it became apparent that “everything [rural women] lacked depended on the environment” (Maathai, 2006, p. 124). One GBM participant explains that “to improve the environment, all that we need, and we can do it, is just to plant trees” (Merton & Dater, 2008); so the tree-planting initiative was conceived.

For each tree seedling planted and successfully matured for six months, participants earned the equivalent of 4 US cents. Educational seminars were held to teach participants about planting and germinating seeds. Representatives from the Kenyan Department of Forests met with GBM participants to teach them about planting trees and running nurseries. Maathai (2006) reports that “these were difficult encounters” as “nearly all of [the women] were poor and illiterate” —the forestry professionals were too technical in their explanations, and even patronized participants by telling them “you need people with diplomas to plant trees” (Merton & Dater, 2008). Instead, Maathai held her own seminars, encouraging participants to draw on their experience as farmers, teaching them how to plant seeds in their own terms. As the women gained experience and confidence in their tree planting, they “started showing one another, and before we knew it tree nurseries were springing up...around the country” (Maathai, 2006, p. 136). One participant reflects on the meaning of this experience:

Ours was the first community group to begin a tree nursery.... Nobody thought we could plant trees. It was not a Kikuyu custom for women to plant trees. So when we planted, we felt we had made a breakthrough to be associated with trees. (Merton & Dater, 2008)

Over time, Maathai and other GBM organizers realized the need for rural communities to devise their own tree-planting strategy based on local needs. Maathai (2006) recalls: “I learned that if you do not have local people who are committed to the process and willing to work with their communities, the process will not survive” (p. 132). Further, it was important that “local people feel invested in the projects so they would mobilize themselves and their neighbors to take responsibility for sustaining [the trees]” (p. 133). This organic approach to facilitating the tree-

planting initiative demonstrates an instantiation of ecofeminism by GBM participants.

As evidenced by the reflections offered by GBM participants, the tree-planting campaign empowered rural Kenyan women by “inform[ing] them, and mak[ing] them understand that the [depleted] resources are their own resources, they must protect them” (Merton & Dater, 2008), acknowledging participants’ embodiment and embeddedness in their own ecosystem (Mellor, 1997). The immediate exigency from which GBM emerged—extreme environmental degradation, repressive government, and ethnic conflict—characterizes a pious acceptance of domination, patriarchy, and colonialism. That the reigning economic policy of this period required the depletion of indigenous forest in favor of planting non-native cash crops (Nyang’oro, 2001), demonstrates an unquestioned “sense of what property goes with what” (Burke, 1989, p. 74).

These female “foresters without diplomas” (Maathai, 2006) enacted their impiety to the dominant colonial and patriarchal vocabulary in an “attempt to *reorganize*.... orientations from the past” (emphasis original, Burke, 1989, p. 80). By planting native tree seedlings, the practice of deforestation is resisted. This action connects, for Maathai, the environmental goals of GBM to pre-colonial Kenyan values and practices: “People who are colonized lose a lot of knowledge accumulated through the ages—in the food they eat, in the way they prepare it, in the way they pass the art of agriculture to the next generation” (Merton & Dater, 2008). By defying the Department of Forests officials’ comments, these women “violat[ed] common sense assumptions” (Whedbee, 2001) about their ability and worthiness to mobilize themselves and take responsibility for sustaining their own future. They performatively reordered the schema of their gender and their land. Rather than creating verbally “incongruent word combinations,” GBM responded to the “ironic image” of the environmental effects of a cash-crop economy and poor malnourished people through the action of planting tree seedlings. Their embodied performance unearthed “deeply rooted behavior patterns and structural relationships that led to the environmental crisis” that Kenya was experiencing at that time (Birkeland, 1993, p. 14).

Participation in this campaign represents a key initial step for Kenyan women to move “away from life-denying systems and relationships,” enacting Warren’s (2000) “power-toward” concept (p. 200). Deforestation is necessarily life denying as it destroyed robust forest and has left Kenya’s land horribly eroded and malnourished. By resisting this practice, GBM participants enacted a new vocabulary, redefining their role in Kenyan society. Life is given back to the soil by the physical planting of trees, and political life is given to the rural women as they practice rhetorical agency. Thus, GBM’s tree-planting initiative made present the voices of rural Kenyan women.

Riding/Righting the Wrong Bus

Maathai notes that while “the movement started as a tree planting campaign...it’s a little more than just the planting of trees... it’s giving people reasons why they should stand for their rights...it’s the planting of ideas” (Merton & Dater, 2008). To uproot the “reasons” needed to facilitate greater political and economic change in Kenya, GBM began holding community engagement seminars in which participants were “encouraged...to identify their problems” (Maathai, 2006, p. 173). Through a dialogic process, communities worked to “identify the roots of the disempowerment that plagued the Kenyan people” (p. 173).

Facilitated by GBM staff, the interactive seminars “ensured that the experiences and concerns of the participants formed the basis for discussion and recommendations” (Maathai, 2006, p. 47). Because of the environmental exigency that initially spurred the movement’s activities and the recognition of unjust government practices by those attending the seminars, these “[d]iscussions were...focused on the linkages between poor governance and environmental

degradation” (p. 47). With original footage and English subtitles, Merton and Dater’s (2008) documentary, *Taking Root: The Vision of Wangari Maathai*, offers a rare glimpse into the generative processes of these seminars.

In a small room, a group of more than ten people are gathered, sitting in rows of folding chairs. Kinyanjui Kluno, GBM staff member and discussion facilitator, stands at the front of the room with the question, “How does a person lose their way?” written on the board behind him. Kluno engages the community in this discussion through a metaphor that symbolizes Kenya’s current state of oppression: “What would make you get on a bus that’s going somewhere else?” he asks the group. The seminar participants generate answers: “confusion,” “confusing thoughts,” “not asking questions,” and “fear.” Kluno asks: “Did you get on the wrong bus?” One participant answers, “We could have.” Kluno continues to ask the participants to parse out reasons why. Several participants answer: “We have nobody to ask” and “If we ask, we’re always given the runaround.” As the discussion continues, participants reflect on their own responsibility for the problems they currently face. With Kluno, they come to realize that they “didn’t ask questions because of fear” and that they “just sit there” (Merton & Dater, 2008) rather than “standing up for what they strongly believed in and demanding that the government provide it” (Maathai, 2006, p. 173).

These discussion seminars revealed to GBM participants that “[c]itizens, too, played a part in the problems” (Maathai, 2006, p. 173). Through the act of public conversation, GBM participants “would come to the conclusion, we need stop the bus... let us educate each other” and decide they are “ready to confront the driver” (Merton & Dater, 2008). One participant even mentions taking the “wrong bus” message “to women here and there,” to “have groups” with those unable to attend the GBM meetings (Merton & Dater, 2008).

The “wrong bus” metaphor exposes an incongruity the GBM seminar participants weren’t otherwise aware of in their conceptions of their own political agency. Recognizing their own agency in contributing to the problems they currently face, this metaphor acts as an “essential disruption” (Dow, 1994, p. 323) in how these people view their subject position. In this way, GBM participants can “*be observers of themselves while acting*,” bringing with it the critical awareness of “*maximum consciousness*” (emphasis in original, Burke, 1959, p. 171). Thus, through an interactive dialogue, the “wrong bus” metaphor “re-evaluates, and gives new meaning” to what it means to be Kenyan, reconstituting Kenya’s history of colonial rule (Dow, 1994, p. 323). The piety of the passive-poor-degraded-Kenyan is disrupted, offering instead images of a responsible-accountable-empowered Kenyan identity. It is the practice of the dialogue, not the metaphor itself that achieves this rhetorical effect.

In this way, the seminars themselves articulate impiety to an existing vocabulary that excludes a nation’s people from engaging with their elected leaders. One GBM participant interviewed for Merton and Dater’s (2008) documentary, explains the significance of educational seminars promoting civic engagement: “What the government of that particular time did not want is anybody who is trying to educate the common people.” Thus, GBM participants gathering at these seminars were not supposed to be anything but passive actors in President Moi’s political drama. Of the three campaigns examined here, these seminars perhaps most directly demonstrate not only a “breaking down [of] old schemas of orientation,” but GBM’s “offer [of a] replacement” (Burke, 1989, p. 111). Indeed, while the metaphor revealed the participants’ misguided agency in contributing to their own plight, the seminars made available a space to expose their capacity for political consciousness and rhetorical agency to question unjust practices of their government.

An embodied perspective by incongruity offers GBM participants an avenue for transition from a once oppressive orientation, what Warren (2000) would call an “unhealthy system,” to one

that is healthy and creates power-toward. Clearly, the system of oppressive political rule facing Kenya is one “unhealthy relationship” that the movement is seeking to change. But there is also a personal, interpersonal, and inter-tribal relationship that is being impiously rearticulated here. Referring to the ethnic conflicts prevalent in Kenya at the time, one GBM participant explains the significance of the civic engagement seminars: “we started the seminars so that we really could see what are the causes of these tribal clashes.... Why are people, people who have been going to the same church, killing each other?” (Merton & Dater, 2008).

The community dialogue represents an exercise through which the underlying causes of Kenya’s tribal conflict can be examined. Indeed, it is the *process* of engaging in the dialogue that demonstrates a GBM ecofeminist practice. Birkeland (1993) finds “process...as important as goals” in ecofeminism as it is through progressive clarification that the goals of social transformation can be realized. This dialogue offered participants a way to move from the “unhealthy” and literally “life-denying relationship” (Warren, 2000, p. 200) of violence to a healthier relationship typical of community members. Recalling her experience in these seminars, Maathai (2006) writes of how “wonderful” it was “to see ordinary women and men speaking confidently... and so honestly and openly” (p. 174). This statement recognizes participants’ ability to “make changes in their lives” (Warren, 1994, p. 183). In this way, the civic engagement seminars create a discursive space in which “people’s consciousness about their relationship to ‘the system’ and the possibilities for their futures” can be at once challenged and re-articulated (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 189).

Freedom Corner

Maathai (2006) explains that by 1992 “it was no longer a crime to advocate for multipartism” in Kenya (p. 216). It was evident, however, that the Moi regime was arresting and detaining pro-democracy activists. It later became known that these political detainees were being held indefinitely and tortured, many of them dying in prison (Maathai, 2006). Several women, mothers of many of the political prisoners, formed the group Release Political Prisoners (RPP) and appealed to Maathai to form a coalition with GBM. Recognizing that along with being “an environmental, women’s, and human rights movement,” GBM “was also part of the broader movement for democracy,” the two groups agreed to work together (Maathai, 2006, p. 182).

Allied participants petitioned Kenya’s Attorney General and demonstrated in Nairobi’s Uhuru (“Freedom”) National Park. What began as a nonviolent three-day sit-in, candlelight vigil, and hunger strike in the corner of the park—immediately adjacent to Nairobi’s federal building (named “Freedom Corner” by the demonstrators)—became a yearlong battle between GBM/RPP participants and Kenyan police (Maathai, 2006). On the fourth day of non-violent demonstrations, police arrived with tear gas and “began charging us from behind and in front, beating us with their batons” with “the sound of gunshots fill[ing] the air” soon thereafter (Maathai, 2006, p. 220). Maathai was sent to the hospital after being injured in the struggle.

Several of the protesters remained in the park; resisting the violent actions of the police, they chose to enact “[o]ne of the most powerful of African traditions” (Maathai, 2006, p. 221). Original footage shows several women, wearing long skirts and t-shirts, suddenly stripping themselves “stark naked,” gesticulating with their naked bodies, arms raised in the air, shaking their breasts in front of the male police officers (Merton & Dater, 2008). One of these women recalls her experience: “We were attacked brutally... Luckily I was able to help by quickly undressing. Naked, I fought the police and made them leave. And that’s how we saved the women” (Merton & Dater, 2008).

In her memoir (2006), Maathai describes the significance in Kenyan tradition of the act of

baring one's breasts:

Every woman old enough to be your mother is considered like your own mother and expects to be treated with considerable respect. As they bared their breasts, what the mothers were saying to the policemen...was 'By showing you my nakedness, I curse you as I would my son for the way you are abusing me.' (p. 221)

While this particular demonstration ended with the GBM/RPP protestors being forced to vacate Uhuru Park and having Freedom Corner barricaded, many women continued advocating on behalf of their unjustly imprisoned sons by seeking sanctuary in a nearby Catholic church. Eleven months later, nearly all of the 52 prisoners were released.

The Freedom Corner demonstration rhetorically exposed the unjust actions of the Moi regime. That the abuse, symbolized by the protestors' bare and shaking breasts, occurred in Freedom Corner represents an "ironic image" (Whedbee, 2001). The violence levied against the demonstrators performs an analogy: the mothers bearing the violence of the police are linked to their sons' experience of state-sanctioned torture. In this way, the brutality of Moi's dictatorship, the most violent of which is enacted secretly, is brought to light in the public square. On the rhetorical significance of body rhetoric, Pezzullo (2007) submits that "bodies act on the world as the world acts on bodies" (p. 67). That police bodies brutally acted on naked protestor bodies in Freedom Park that day is a literal demonstration of Pezzullo's point. The presence of the women's bare breasts represents an embodied way to "re-describe familiar surroundings in unfamiliar terms;" the performed analogy acts to "create unlikely connections between evidence and claim" (Levasseur, 1993, p. 202). In this way, GBM demonstrators give new meanings to the practices of the Moi regime, exposing its brutality. Thus, this performed juxtaposition represents an embodied form of perspective by incongruity.

In her memoir, Maathai (2006) writes, "I knew that we could not live with a political system that killed creativity, nurtured corruption, and produced people who were afraid of their own leaders" (p. 183). The Freedom Corner campaign demonstrates the ultimate embodiment of GBM/RPP participants' "movement *from* something [a repressive government] *to* something [democracy, freedom from oppression]" (emphasis original, Warren, 1994, p. 183). That is, Freedom Corner represents the participants' performance of their rhetorical and political agency. By "just being there" and stripping naked, these women use their bodies to "enact a...message of dissent" (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 189). Thus, it is "their very presence, their body rhetoric" (DeLuca, 1999) that exposes the injustices that have occurred behind the closed doors and in the underground offices of Kenya's federal building. By resisting the oppression of Kenya's violent dictatorship, these women enact a "new form of agency in the face of lived oppression" (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 176).

Vertistine Mbaya, Maathai's close personal friend and GBM participant, described the Freedom Corner campaign as "demonstrating the potential power of a civil society" (Merton & Dater, 2008). Thus, the Freedom Corner demonstration represents GBM's fullest realization of "power-toward" (Warren, 2000). Compared to Freedom Corner, the previous campaigns represent relatively indirect appeals for change. That this protest was staged in a public space directly in front of Nairobi's federal building, the demonstration was GBM's literal "fight for a better government" (Merton & Dater, 2008). Birkeland (1993) submits that social transformation (and, thereby, ecofeminism) is processual, "because *how* we go about things determines where we go" (emphasis added, p. 20). Without tree-planting and civic engagement seminars earlier in the movement, GBM perhaps may not have gotten to Freedom Corner; rather, each campaign was built on the rearticulated political agency afforded by previous campaigns.

The protesters at Freedom Corner synecdochally represent the wider Kenyan constituency and their embodied performance exposes the need for their country to “put [its] own ideas of an emancipatory society into practice” (Kelly, 1997, p. 114). In this way, the emancipatory function of GBM’s perspective by incongruity, as it was guided by “power-toward,” re-constitutes not only the participants’ collective consciousness, but also Kenya’s consciousness as a nation.

Conclusion and Theoretical Implications

Kenya’s Green Belt Movement began with a handful of concerned rural women and grew to more than 50,000 activists by the time of the Freedom Corner demonstration; more than 10 million trees were planted across Kenya through GBM campaigns between 1977 and 1991 (French, 1992). In 2006, Maathai was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. GBM has since expanded its efforts beyond Kenya, and now includes climate change and food security in its agenda.

Along with other analyses of embodied social movement tactics (DeLuca, 1999; Enck-Wanzer, 2006; Pezzullo, 2007) the Green Belt Movement serves as a case study for the examination of “rhetorical performances of resistance” (Pezzullo, 2007, p. 3). Further, my analysis demonstrates the applicability of an ecofeminist framework of power in a rhetorical analysis. The embodied nature of the three campaigns examined here represent performances that rhetorically exposed incongruities and advocated piety to a new discursive vocabulary; I have also expanded Burke’s (1989) perspective by incongruity beyond its traditional treatment (Foss, 1979; Dow, 1994; Whedbee, 2001).

My analysis of GBM demonstrates the applicability of an ecofeminist theoretical construct to a rhetorical analysis of social movement tactics. Ecofeminism is both a theoretical framework and a set of practices (Birkeland, 1993); GBM participants performed ecofeminism through perspective by incongruity. That many of the early contributors to social movement research implicitly refer to Warren’s (1994) typology demonstrates its merit. So that we may best come to understand modes of “symbolic transformation” (McGee, 1983), critics must have available all means of critique. That any one tool has its flaws is no reason to throw it away, rather it is a call for sharpening and refinement.

Burke (1989) describes perspective by incongruity as “taking a word usually applied to one setting and transferring its use to another setting...violating the properties of the word in its previous linkages” (p. 90). Foss (1979) submits that perspective by incongruity “can be used to accurately name a situation that is believed as inaccurate or false and to introduce change into the environment” (p. 7). This is accomplished by rhetorically “wrench[ing] loose a word belonging to a category and appl[ying] it to...different categor[ies]” (Blankenship, Murphy, & Rosenwasser, 1974, p. 3). Through non-verbal argument, such as embodied performance, GBM participants accomplished these ends. Incongruities in several nested systems of oppression were rhetorically exposed by GBM’s tree-planting, civic engagement seminars, and Freedom Corner campaigns. While traditional analyses of perspective by incongruity have examined its use in written text (Dow, 1994) and public address (Whedbee, 2001), my analysis demonstrates that bodies can also perform this method of argument. It is the actions themselves that expose the impiety of Kenya’s then current practices while simultaneously enacting a piety to a new vocabulary of personal and collective responsibility, justice, and sustainability (Rosteck & Leff, 1989).

That GBM “was structured to avoid the urge to work *for* rather than *with*...the people,” (emphasis added, Nagel, 2005, p. 3) demonstrates its commitment to empowering those who, prior to their experience with GBM, may not have fully realized their political agency. By participating in the embodied performances that rhetorically questioned and exposed injustices, GBM demonstrators already seeking “to make changes in their lives” were able to rearticulate and

move away from “life-denying systems” of oppression (Warren, 2000, p. 200). The “power-toward” afforded by each campaign also built on that which came before it, ultimately culminating in the performance of “ordinary” people’s “ideas of an emancipatory society” (Kelly, 1997, p. 114) in Freedom Park, through which the entirety of the Moi regime’s unjust system was exposed.

End Note:

¹The conference concluding the Decade was held in Nairobi, Kenya.

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TRANSFORMING A RESOURCE EXTRACTION CONFLICT IN SURINAME: THE PROMISE OF THE WORLD CAFÉ

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Abstract

Resource extraction on lands inhabited by native people in Suriname is causing irreparable damage to the forests and the people living in them. A complex dynamic among stakeholders has festered due to a lack of communication. Lack of free, prior and informed consent from local people concerning developments in the forests has resulted in unsustainable use of the land and degradation of trust. To manage this conflict, I recommend the use of transformative, collaborative, and communication-based tools. Specifically, I propose utilizing conflict mediation and the World Café model as an appropriate strategy to manage this conflict. An atmosphere where all parties feel heard, trust the facilitator, and are willing to be open should be created. Sharing ideas, listening, and speaking in an intimate atmosphere will facilitate a sustainable strategy for sustainable forest management.

Keywords: *Conflict Mediation, World Café, Human Rights, Suriname*

An unsettling trend is becoming apparent in developing countries around the world with valuable natural resources. When discovered by companies that are interested in the profits of resource extraction, they can frequently easily take what they want. These actions occur despite the often negative effect on indigenous and tribal people that have inhabited those areas for many generations. The social and environmental impacts that resource extraction, such as mining and logging, have on the lifestyles of local peoples are often irreparable; from the destruction of forests they use for food and shelter, to the pollution of water sources, to the destruction of culturally sacred sites (World Health Organization, 2010). Often governments offer little to no help to local peoples because of the benefits they reap from taxes and royalties from the resources extracted. Although this is an issue that is pertinent in many countries, in this essay, I focus on the logging of rainforest and mining of bauxite taking place in Suriname to illustrate this conflict between local people and resource extraction companies (Tebtebba Foundation, 2006).

Suriname is a small country on the northeast coast of South America. Originally colonized by the Dutch in 1667, Suriname gained independence in 1975. Its population is around 400,000 drawn from eight different ethnic groups including Creoles and Maroons, East Indians, Javanese, indigenous peoples, Chinese, Lebanese, and a small group of Europeans. The native people of Suriname consist of indigenous peoples including the Kalinya, Lokono, Trio, and Wayana. This group makes up about five percent of the population which translates to roughly 20,000 people. Another population consists of tribal peoples known as the Maroons who belong to several tribes: Saramaka, N'djuka, Paramaka, Aluku, Kwinti, and Matawai, and make up around 15 percent of the population. The Maroons are descendents of African slaves who have established their freedom with treaties and maintained internal balance by governing themselves with their own laws and customs (Forest Peoples Programme, 2007).

As such, these people qualify as tribal peoples and have similar rights as the indigenous peoples based on international law, which affords rights to:

(a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations (International Labour Organization, 1989, p. 6).

However, according to Kambel and McKay (1999), the Surinamese government refuses to acknowledge the rights of the Maroons or their tribal laws (International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs; Forest Peoples Programme). Because of their lack of rights, these tribes sought help in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in 2006, which determined these peoples' rights had been "grossly violated and the lack of support from the government was unacceptable when mining and logging companies entered the country and began extraction of resources without requirement of permit or justification" (Forest Peoples Programme, 2006, p. 7).

The same conclusion was reached by the Inter-American Commission later that year in a case regarding land conceded on the territory of the indigenous Saramaka people. The Commission stated that "the indigenous peoples' consent to natural resource exploitation activities on their traditional territories is always required by law" (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2007, p. 7). Recent actions in Suriname have further reduced the lands of the indigenous people without their informed consent and without an Environmental Social Impact Statement (Forest Peoples Programme, 2007). The first major logging on lands inhabited by the indigenous people of Suriname took place around 1997: "When challenged by Saramaka community members, Tacoba Logging explained that it had permission from the government and any attempt to interfere with or challenge its operations would be punished by imprisonment" (Forest Peoples Programme, 2007, p.12). Logging has not ceased since and with support of military forces to prevent any intervention by the Saramaka people, has continued to log in this area (Forest Peoples Programme, 2007).

The people of Suriname are also facing the presence of bauxite mining entities. Mining began in earnest in 2003 when the BHP/Billiton and Alcoa companies were awarded permits for 2,800 square kilometers of bauxite exploration on land inhabited by the Lokono people (Goodland, 2006). The concessions were granted without prior notification to or agreement with the affected communities. An Environmental and Social Impact Assessment was never conducted for the exploration work (Goodland, 2006). The Forest Peoples Programme contends that the total area visited for bauxite exploration is estimated at 52,800 hectares (Weitzner, 2003).

Bauxite is a metal found close to the earth's surface, therefore open pit mining is the cheapest and most common method of extraction. This requires the area to be cleared completely

of anything interfering with the process of bauxite removal. Deforestation is an enormous problem in Suriname because of the demands on the forest posed by land clearing for mining and access roads for logging companies. The quality of wood in more remote areas of the rainforest motivates the timber companies to utilize the roads built and abandoned by mining companies in areas of forest where the mining is poor. This means that the roads will both continue to be used and their condition degraded with more traffic, resulting in a huge increase in the area of land impacted (Goodland, 2006).

Resistance to these logging and mining practices has proven difficult because “Almost all of these activities have taken place without informing affected communities and without their participation or consent” (Forest Peoples Programme, 2007, p. 8). Because of the loss and degradation of resources that the people who inhabit the forest depend on, some tribes are experiencing serious health concerns including malaria and chronic malnutrition because of loss of subsistence food sources and increased mosquito breeding grounds. In addition, social problems are occurring, such as the destruction of religious and cultural sites (Forest Peoples Programme, 2007).

The Surinamese government does not legally recognize traditional rights to land and resources complicated by indigenous structure which does not designate land-ownership to one specific person (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2006). This structure makes translation of land rights to a system the government utilizes a challenge. The government recognizes that indigenous peoples “are entitled, but not by right, to use and enjoy their villages, settlements and current agricultural plots....should the state decide that these areas are required for other activities, indigenous and tribal ‘privileges’ are negated as a matter of law” (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2006, p. 7).

There are benefits for the indigenous people of Suriname who are employed by mining and logging companies since salaries are higher than for other kinds of employment. However, employment is usually temporary and leaves the people unemployed after a short period of time while also disrupting cultural patterns of the tribes. Some indigenous people have stated that they are not entirely against development; however, they demand that their traditional way of life and indigenous economy should be taken seriously by resource extraction companies (Goodland, 2006).

The Saramaka peoples’ economy is based almost entirely on hunting, fishing, gathering, and agriculture which is carefully rotated to maintain the rainforest soils that are nutrient poor and can easily be over farmed (Forest Peoples Programme, 2007). The village chief of Apura stated: “We are already no longer allowed to hunt in the Bakhuis territory and we cannot go to the supermarket like the people in the city because we live from the forest” (De Ware Tijd, as cited in Forest Peoples Programme & Tebtebba, 2006, p.17). Suriname’s Minister of Natural Resources, Gregory Rusland, has conceded that “if Suriname is pushing for greater economic development the country has to pay a price and that this price is to sacrifice part of its environment and biodiversity” (Rusland, 2006, para. 3).

The World Café Process

By using the situation in Suriname as a case study and offering conflict mediation through the World Café model as a means to alleviate the tension of these disagreements, I hope to provide a model which can be used in this and other environmental conflicts around the world.

Literature on similar case studies in other countries in South America as well as other continents abounds. The following examples are not inclusive of all human rights issues observed in South America, but they illustrate scenarios comparable to Suriname and offer insight and hope to

conflict resolution. The cases of *Aguinda v. Texaco* and *Jota v. Texaco* from 1993 show the power the oil industry can have. Despite pollution and degradation of indigenous peoples' health, through courts and lawsuits, Texaco/Chevron has avoided paying the \$18+ billion they owe the Ecuadorian citizens (Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, 2011). In Chile, the Mapuche tribes are facing encroachment on their lands by forestry and hydroelectric power development (Carruthers & Rodríguez, 2009). This story illustrates alliances forged between indigenous people and activists quashed by governmental overruling but providing hope for the future.

Despite the anecdotes of government and corporations acting without concern for indigenous people, there are examples of successful collaboration to find solutions. Rival (2003) explores the effects deforestation has on indigenous communities in Ecuador. She argues that although there have been attempts to govern the international trade of timber to eliminate unsustainable timber harvesting, there is no enforcement of violations; rather "a list of questions to be considered in order to move towards 'sustainable forest management'" (Rival, 2003, p. 480). The approach taken by the Ecuadorian logging companies, lawmakers, and NGOs has led to a community-based forest management system that could be an appealing alternative to the present situation for logging companies in Suriname.

Hope for indigenous rights has been reinvigorated by cases such as the Peruvian government creating reserves for Amazonian peoples who prefer to live in isolation (Amazon Watch, 2007). The government has launched an investigation of all oil companies in Peru to ensure no infringement on these lands exists (Amazon Watch, 2007). In Bolivia the Bolivarian Alliance for the People of our America (ALBA) treaty is taking steps toward indigenous rights in the country's government (Al Attar & Miller, 2010) as well as declaring that "Mother Earth" has equal rights as do the human beings inhabiting her lands and should be treated as such (Vidal, 2011).

Another possible solution stems from my proposal in this essay, using conflict mediation and a World Café-style meeting between indigenous people and the mining and logging companies in Suriname. Using a professional mediator to set the stage for successful dialogue, the Café could facilitate a shared agreement through meaningful conversation. In this situation the stakeholders meet each other, build relationships, and become more likely to agree on solutions.

Analysis of Conflict

I will now illustrate the causes, the core problem, and the effects concerning resource extraction and consent of stakeholders in Suriname. There are many causes of this conflict that are diverse in nature and exacerbate the issue. The most important dilemma is lack of rights as well as free, prior, and informed consent for the local people. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights (2005, 2006) determined: "Although individual members of indigenous and tribal communities are considered natural persons by Suriname's Constitution, the State's legal framework does not recognize such communities as legal entities. Similarly, national legislation does not provide for collective property rights" (para. 230, 241–242). Suriname's Minister of Natural Resources Gregory Rusland spoke at the Commission for Sustainable Development in New York in May, 2006. He said:

The Government of Suriname is trying to solve the energy questions before us in such a way that would enable us to meet the demands for sustainable development. Our efforts include the responsible use of the environment and we also pay special consideration to the situation of the local population in areas of activities. We are convinced that in cooperation with the international community we will be able to take those decisions that will

enable us to reach the desired goals. (Rusland, 2006, p. 3)

This statement can be sharply contrasted with that of the case of the Twelve Saramaka Clans, when during the exploration phase the Lokono, who are entirely dependent on the forest, were excluded from the concession area (Rusland, 2006).

Modern communication utilized by many political structures is different than that of the tribal people of Suriname. The power structures and decision-making processes within the tribes and indigenous peoples are focused on a collective agreement while the mining and logging companies developed into a hierarchical format. For example, the Saramaka are divided into twelve matrilineal clans known as *lö*, with a *gaama* as an autonomous leader chosen by lineage and divination (Price, 1975). All 12 *lö* share territories collectively, although boundaries are well known between the clans and other Maroon tribes. Although the *gaama* is a leader within the clans, it is known that the *lö* owns the land; therefore a *gaama* cannot make a decision about land use alone. Permission to mine or log would likely be sought from a *gaama* as they would be seen as a leader to outsiders. This would have no meaning to the Saramaka as the *gaama* are not the sole decision-makers; the clans own the traditional rights to the land and hold authority regarding verdicts over resources (Forest Peoples Programme, 2007). Several captains and *baisas*, leaders of different indigenous clans, wrote to the President of Suriname in 1998 explaining their position on logging activities in their territories:

[For two hundred years] our ancestors regulated who had rights to fell trees, to make agriculture plots and to hunt game... Somebody who is not a member must ask permission from that clan before he can work in their forest. We ask permission from the clan, we do not ask permission from the Government in the city, we don't ask permission from the Gaama, because the Saamaka law was already made before they gave us a Gaama. Until now all Saamaka live according to that law (Forest Peoples Program, 2007, p. 7).

Over half of the approximately 200 indigenous and Maroon communities are directly affected by resource extraction as their livelihood depends almost entirely on an intact forest. Tree removal also increases erosion as there is no vegetation to hold soils in place during the heavy rains that are frequent at such latitudes. These endeavors contribute to severe degradation of the water quality that the tribal people depend on. The Pan American Health Organization reported on water quality in these areas and found that because of an increase in mining, high levels of mercury have been found in the surface water causing it to be “in danger of becoming unusable in areas” (2000, as cited in Forest Peoples Programme, 2007, p. 4). The contamination levels of mercury in the Suriname River are 2.97 milligrams per liter, some 2,970 times higher than the World Health Organization limit (Pan American Health Organization, 2000, as cited in Forest Peoples Programme, 2007).

Although there is a great opportunity for economic development in Suriname, with the increase of resource extraction if fully realized, the losses would also be devastating. Many species would be lost as well as the traditional ways of life of people inhabiting the forest if this extraction continues unregulated. The consequences of action or no action must be examined and decisions made based on what is most beneficial to everyone. While there is tension between the different stakeholders, coming to a solution about how to balance interests and needs is crucial. At the core of this issue is the lack of communication between the involved extraction companies and the local people. Because of the severe impacts on the land, people must be given free, prior, and informed consent regarding development and extraction of resources on or near their land if they are to continue to be able to survive. In the next section of this paper, I offer a process to improve communication and build trust among these stakeholders so that Surinamers are more

empowered to make decisions about the land and resources they inhabit.

Recommendations to Transform the Surinamese Resource Conflict

In this complex conflict between diverse stakeholders, a management technique is needed that facilitates mutual understanding, create equal opportunities to share ideas, and provides a comfortable atmosphere conducive to negotiations. Because the communication styles between Surinamers and the foreign-owned resource extraction companies in Suriname are so different, a management technique that “draws on the quintessential processes by which people around the world naturally think together, create shared meaning, strengthen community, and ignite innovation” is desirable (Brown & Isaacs, 2007, p.181). These ideals cannot overlook the high tensions surrounding this environmental conflict nor oversimplify them into a day-long workshop; however, sometimes a simple process can trigger the most powerful changes (Stewart, 2005). Using a fusion of professional conflict mediation and the World Café model would be an effective process in analyzing key issues and formulating ideas on how to develop a solution to these conflicts.

According to Douglas Amy (1983), “environmental mediation is a process in which representatives of environmental groups, business groups, and government agencies sit down together with a neutral mediator to negotiate a binding resolution to a particular environmental dispute” (p. 346). This is precisely what the situation in Suriname requires. Having representatives from the resource extraction companies and indigenous people explaining their perspectives and needs first privately with a trusted mediator from the group Mediators Beyond Borders, then with the other party present, can set the stage for a productive dialogue. After both sides have been heard by the mediators, and rapport and a sense of trust have been developed, they would then meet together to describe the World Café process to everyone and decide upon a date for the workshop. In addition, stakeholders would be presented with the opportunity to help create the questions they would like to discuss. Possible questions will be offered to provide guidance but will be subject to change to what all stakeholders see as most appropriate for this conflict. Creating the questions will instill a sense of ownership of the process within the entire group and foster deeper engagement during the World Café process.

The World Café was developed by Juanita Brown and David Isaacs in 1995 largely through an improvisation on conversations people were having while waiting for the “real” Intellectual Capital Pioneers workshop to begin (Brown & Isaacs, 2001). The founders answer the question of what makes conversations so powerful: “[they] offer us the opportunity to notice the possibilities for mutual insight, innovation, and action that are already present in any group, if we only knew how to access them” (Brown & Isaacs, 2001 p. 2). Brown and Isaacs (2001) have found that “...when people come to a shared understanding about real-life issues, they want to make a difference. When participants return from Café conversations they often see additional action choices they didn’t know existed before” (p. 4). Founded on the basics of systems theory, the World Café can create a living solution to environmental conflicts buzzing with “palpable” energy (Stewart, 2005, p. 9).

The World Café method is a straightforward technique which can be extremely effective in facilitating dialogue between diverse groups. It is conversation-based and takes place in a welcoming setting to help the stakeholders feel more comfortable. In the United States, coffee shops have been not only an inspiration, but are often popular places to hold these workshops. Any locale with pleasant lighting, comfortable chairs, many small, circular tables, and access to refreshments is suitable. Each table is covered in a bright tablecloth, which is then partially covered by a large piece of paper. A variety of colored markers, fresh flowers, large sticky notes,

a talking object – something that signifies who has the right to speak by holding an agreed-upon object, and small candies favored by stakeholders are placed on the table for participants to use. Even a standard meeting room or ballroom is a space that can be transformed through bright colors, flowers, posters on the walls with quotations, and rules of the World Café, and unobtrusive music playing in the background as participants join the meeting and begin conversing with one another. Choosing a location that is familiar to the participants, such as a tribal meeting space in the Bakhuis region, brings the meeting closer to the conflict being mediated.

In this situation, creating an environment that is acceptable to the indigenous stakeholders is integral to the success of the process. If they are feeling uncomfortable in a foreign and westernized meeting it is unlikely that productive conversations will be feasible. Holding this meeting somewhere near their lands or even on indigenous lands in a central building would be ideal.

A host plays the role of a traditional facilitator with a warm, welcoming air. The host explains that the tables are set up with four chairs to invite an inclusive conversation where participants can comfortably express themselves to the other members of their table. They define the World Café etiquette, which includes the following: “Focus on what matters; contribute your thinking; speak your mind and heart; listen to understand; link and connect ideas; listen together for insights, patterns and deeper questions; play, doodle, draw – writing on the tablecloths is encouraged; have fun” (Brown, 2002, p. 23). This etiquette sets the mood and gently encourages participants who may be apprehensive to embrace their creative sides in this Café. The host then explains that there will be several rounds of conversation regarding specific questions, and the host also keeps time. For this conflict, I propose the following questions: a) What is your vision for Suriname’s forests in the next 20-30 years? b) What should be our guiding principles for collaborative forest management? c) What would be the best strategy for facilitating collaborative forest management? d) How can we make resource extraction sustainable for Suriname? The responses prompted by the dialogue will help to better understand how to move this entrenched conflict to a more productive and mutually respectful space.

The host proceeds to introduce the first question and invites all stakeholders to mingle while four people sit around each small table to explore and discuss the question. The entire room is filled with groups seated near each other conversing about the same topic. As conversations develop, people are encouraged to write down their ideas on sticky notes or on paper tablecloths spread on the top of each table for that reason. After about 15 minutes, the host invites each table to select one person to remain at the table as a table host and the other three participants to move to a different table as an ambassador bringing key points from their discussion to the next group. The table host explains to new group members the ideas previously discussed at that table, often using the drawings, phrases, and words that have been drawn on the paper tablecloth to help emphasize key ideas. As everyone finds a new table, the host introduces a new question or invites the group to dig deeper into the previous question to distill the key ideas that are viable to implement. This changing of tables is normally repeated three times; however, it can happen as many or few times as needed to gather all the ideas the group has or to keep within the time constraints. Next, everyone comes together and key ideas from the small group discussions are harvested and shared with everyone. Brown, Isaacs, & the World Café Community (2005) describe the importance of the harvest: “This is the one essential way that everyone who participates can contribute to weaving together the bits and pieces of their merging collective intelligence into a coherent whole” (p. 143).

The harvest can take many forms: participants volunteering to share their best ideas aloud and someone recording these popcorn style offerings, having each group write their top two ideas

on sticky notes, then posting them by theme or all together and inviting everyone to share their ideas, or having groups post their sticky notes around the room and asking everyone to walk around and share their ideas as a gallery tour. After these items are recorded on a board or paper that everyone can see, they can be discussed with the objective of examining the different ways the conflict can be managed, and possibly choosing the best ideas to implement (World Café Resource Guide). Using small sticky dots, each person can vote by placing a dot by the idea they think is best. This method can be invaluable in creating a visual representation of the most viable and popular solutions generated by the group (Sibbet, 2010).

A technique that can be used to help participants understand the content of the discussions and the harvest is use of a graphic recorder or graphic facilitator. This person uses large pieces of paper that are approximately four feet tall and anywhere from six to twelve feet long to express the ideas gathered in an artistic form. This person combines the use of bright colors, relevant images, and text to succinctly summarize the ideas proposed during the World Café harvests or informational presentations included in the workshop. This approach, in concert with the facilitation of the Café host, can help participants understand complex ideas and form visual connections. Additionally, the use of pictures by the graphic recorder can aid participants who may not be literate to understand and summarize all the ideas put forth by the group. Because the World Café process is flexible, it can happen in a very short time or can last several days, and can even be used as a part of a longer meeting.

Evaluation of the success of this technique could take on several forms. Before the conversations begin, participants would take a pre-workshop evaluation describing their attitudes about the situation and their personal ideas for the best management strategy. When the meeting is finished, the participants would then be asked to take a post-workshop evaluation with the same questions to see if their attitudes or ideas were affected by the process. Another way to evaluate the success of the World Café would be to contact one or more participants from each stakeholder group periodically following the process to see if any changes had actually occurred in the actions of each group.

In the past, it has been reported that participants using these tools have “an unexpected lean in their collective capacity to establish trust, nurture relationships, expand effective knowledge, and create new possibilities for action, even among people with no previous history of working together” (Holman, et. al., 2007, p.181). Direct observation of this phenomenon would be a measure that the process had been extremely successful. Brown and Isaacs (2007) explain: “As people and ideas become ever more richly connected during progressive rounds of conversation, latent, collective knowledge becomes visible” (p. 181). This expresses a theory reminiscent of Gestalt: the sum of the parts is greater than the whole. This could be especially helpful initially to establish open space for all participants to give voice to their thoughts. In other words, “A growing sense of the larger whole transforms how participants see themselves and their relationships. Collective intelligence grows and evolves, and innovative possibilities for action are brought forward” (Brown & Isaacs, 2007, p.181). By using this process, different points of view can bring forth new ideas and face-to-face meetings with each other may evoke insights on possibilities that would not have been imagined or accepted previous to this process.

One of the largest challenges will be getting all stakeholders to agree to come together in order to discuss the issue of resource extraction and indigenous people's rights. As previously stated, the first step to persuade the stakeholders to be involved would be to make individual visits to each group to discuss the issue. The visits would be made by someone who the group trusts and respects. Members of advocacy groups such as the Forest Peoples' Programme, USAID, the World Bank, or Mediators Beyond Borders could approach the mining and logging companies and local

people to convince them to participate. Using public relations and the companies' articulated values would be integral in eliciting their participation. A professional environmental conflict mediator would ideally be present in these initial visits and throughout the process to explain how these companies can continue being profitable through alternative forest management techniques.

The goal of the first visit would be simply to introduce representatives and a description of the goal: a shared vision and implementation of forest management. A conversation about the conflict, other outcomes of past visits that have been successful— such as Peru— and inquiries into what each group wants would be objectives of this visit. The conflict mediator would explain how the discussion and process takes place and how goals would be identified. The stakeholders' perspectives would be requested using a situation map so that all aspects of each group's perspective and goals of the conflict are clearly written. Situation mapping consists of creating a visual map with the core issue written in the center of the paper, and ideas, feelings, and connections to the issue are written around it and connected by lines. Use of different colored markers can show importance or groupings of concepts. Having these things clearly illustrated would make the workshop's use of time as effective as possible by constructing the conversations and goals around the needs of the participants.

This technique would be used particularly to convince the resource extraction companies that this process is a worthwhile endeavor. Incentives would also likely be required in order to pique their interest, along with an in-depth analysis of benefits and costs of the resource extraction. Based on values statements made by each company regarding their presence in Suriname, it would be expected that both organizations would participate in a process to improve all relationships in the Bakhuis region, given that BHP/Billiton has stated that they are "fully committed to a formal engagement program with the local communities" (BHP/Billiton, 2006, para. 1). Additionally, their revised corporate policy "mandated they will be seeking consent of the stakeholders" (Goodland, 2006, p. 11). Likewise, Alcoa has promised that they are learning from "early engagement with stakeholders" to create a "more robust and inclusive formal engagement process...with local communities" (Alcoa, 2007, para. 1). Based on these encouraging statements, both companies would be expected to participate in a process to improve communication between all parties involved in the World Café.

This process lends itself to removing hierarchies and power structures and focuses all the participants' energy on listening effectively to one another and collaborating to find solutions to problems. All participants are mixed among each other discussing aspects of the conflict that are most important to them and hearing the core issues of other stakeholders to ultimately combine these key challenges and come to a mutual understanding and hopefully, agreement. The setting is an integral part to the success of these tools for this conflict. It is important for stakeholders to see each other as real people. Getting these groups together will ideally enable them "to create generative networks of conversation focused on the questions that are critical to the real work of their community" (Brown & Isaacs, 2007, p. 181).

A relaxed atmosphere with food defines the "café" aspect of the World Café and impresses upon participants immediately that this is not like a normal meeting. Food often gives people something they can share with others and relate to on a human level, rather than a potentially aggressive business manner. This easy way to connect with each other over food, a topic that is not related to the conflict, should make them feel at ease and therefore more likely to want to negotiate with each other. Meeting face-to-face without political jargon or with the opportunity for the host to give meaning to technical terms can give everyone the opportunity to think and communicate on the same level.

This method has been used by "thousands of people on six continents" (Holman, et. al.,

2007, p. 181). It has already been proven to work in other countries, not only in the United States and Western culture. In New Zealand, Maori leaders used the World Café in conjunction with their traditional methods when deciding to sign national treaties (Brown & Isaacs, 2001). The Café process was also used by the Mexican government in a scenario planning workshop (Brown & Isaacs, 2001). In June, 2011, the World Café was used to work with local people in Mongolia to create a community-based land management strategy as their landscapes change with a rapidly changing climate. Using headsets to instantaneously translate from English to Mongolian and bilingual table hosts, the workshop was successfully facilitated and a new vision created. According to Brown and Isaacs, this process “Evokes the collective intelligence of any group,” which is something that can help this diverse group of stakeholders communicate effectively (p. 181).

Summary

Logging and mining companies have practically unchecked freedom to extract any resources they want without having to develop a Social and Environmental Impact Statement or providing any plan to restore the areas they are utilizing. The impact this has upon the tribal people of the region such as the Lokono and Saramaka is tremendous. Because these people rely entirely on the forest to feed and shelter themselves, the existence of their traditional way of life is in danger of extinction as the presence of resource extraction grows.

A conflict with such irrevocable consequences needs to be managed soon— and as effectively—as possible. Based on the communication styles of the stakeholders involved and the nature of the issue, conflict mediation and the World Café would be useful management tools to transform this issue. By providing a mediated situation in which stakeholders can express themselves and their needs, a baseline of information can be created. Following this situation with a comfortable atmosphere for the people from all groups of stakeholders to mingle, meet each other, and talk face-to-face can provide opportunities for productive conversation. Initially, it may be difficult to get all the key stakeholders from the groups involved to participate. However, once everyone is together and exchanging ideas and information, the collective creativity will produce management strategies to alleviate the current feelings of disregard for each other and replace them with a sense of commitment to one another as human beings.

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MESSAGE IN A BOTTLE: HOW COCA-COLA INDIA PRESENTS ITSELF AS ENVIRONMENTALLY SUSTAINABLE

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Abstract

With the rise of globalization, the impact of multi-national corporations' (MNC) social and environmental performance is becoming an area of scrutiny. "Greenwashing" is increasingly being used by skeptics to describe an organization's environmental policies which lack verification and/or are misleading about an organization's performance. Coca-Cola India (CCI) has come under such criticism for extensive water usage in a country that is already water-stressed. However, CCI's web pages and Towards Sustainability Environmental Report 2008 present a company deeply committed to environmental sustainability and the well being of stakeholders. The goal of this research is to examine the discursive strategies and greenwashing strategies that CCI undertakes with the company's social responsibility statements and to draw insight into how CCI discourse is shaped by social structures and power systems to present itself as an environmental sustainable company.

Keywords: *Coca Cola India, Greenwashing, Corporate Responsibility*

With the rise of corporate globalization, more multi-national corporations (MNC) are reporting publicly their social and environmental performance through corporate sustainability reports, websites, and the media. With this increase in reporting and communication comes increased scrutiny on an organization's social and environmental impact (Lyon & Maxwell, 2006). The term "greenwashing" is increasingly being used by skeptics to describe an organization's environmental policies and performance which lack verification (Ramus & Montiel, 2005). In Ivey's (2008) view, greenwashing goes beyond a lack of verification and is about creating a misleading impression about an organization's environmental performance, exaggerating good practices while downplaying more harmful practices, and ultimately deflecting criticism and building an organization's reputation. Some organizations are undertaking complex strategies to

create confusion, deflect blame, and posture on environmental and social issues while building “corporate deception imbedded with fiery rhetoric” (Laufer, 2003, p. 255). Statements such as “we protect the environment” or “we are a caring company” may convey an impression of intent, but are they deliberately deceptive or an exercise in public relations (Lewis, 2003).

Regardless of an organization’s approach to communicating environmental sustainability, the pressure for organizations to provide information about their environmental impact is growing, and the Coca-Cola Company, with its operations in India and around the world, is subject to the same scrutiny. As a subsidiary company of the Coca-Cola Company based in Atlanta, Georgia, Coca-Cola India (CCI) employs nearly 5,500 people, has 7,000 distributors, and 1.3 million retailers (“Towards sustainability,” 2008). However, CCI has come under criticism in the media, from non-governmental organizations and Indians for its poor business practices and extensive water usage in a country that is already water-stressed. For example, villagers from Plachimada in the state of Kerala shut down CCI’s bottling plant in March 2004, maintaining that the plant contributed to water pollution and shortages. At least five other communities near CCI plants are experiencing similar issues; most of the people impacted are poor, rural-based, and dependent on ground water irrigation for farming (Holcomb, 2008). Perhaps in response to criticism,¹ CCI has published a number of articles and reports on social and environmental impacts on its web pages (<http://www.coca-colaindia.com>) and produced a stand-alone report entitled *Towards Sustainability Environmental Report 2008* which includes extensive discourse on CCI’s environmental initiatives. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA), this study will examine specific environmental content of CCI’s web pages and the environmental report.

The goal of this research is two-fold: (a) to examine the discursive strategies and greenwashing themes that CCI undertakes with the company’s social responsibility statements; and (b) to draw insight into how CCI discourse is shaped by social structures and power systems. My research is not concerned with whether or not CCI should undertake CSR activities as part of a business strategy, nor is it about providing an audit of the validity or truthfulness of statements made by CCI, though extensive scholarship exists on measurement or validation by credible third party organizations such as the Global Reporting Initiative or AA1000 (Gulbrandsen, 2008; Laufer, 2003; Livesey & Kearins, 2002). Rather, I focus on what is being said or written as CCI responds to these environmental criticisms. Researchers are interested in “how discourse (re)produces social domination” (van Dijk, 2002) and the inherent power disconnects that CDA uncovers. Through the lens of legitimacy theory, I consider how discourse can contribute to reputation and brand (Livesey & Kearins, 2002). Postcolonial and legitimacy theory can uncover negative social interactions, but also elucidate contradictions and delve into the complexity of the social interaction between CCI and its audiences through the ideology of domination (Wodak, 2000). The objective of my research is to create increased understanding on how CCI uses discourse to not only protect its reputation and brand as well as to satisfy Western interests, but also how this discourse is indicative of greenwashing, which validates critics and marginalizes those who are most impacted by their operations and who CCI is claiming to support and protect. As van Dijk (1993) notes, the value of CDA is in exploring the structures, strategies and properties of texts; through this study I will explore how CCI uses texts and what role they play in reproductions of power. This essay draws from and contributes to research on corporate sustainability communication (Lewis, 2003; Livesey & Kearins, 2002; Signitzer & Prexl, 2008) and corporate greenwashing (Harré, Brockmeier, & Mühlhäusler, 1999; Laufer, 2003; Munshi & Kurian, 2005; Ramus & Montiel, 2005) in order to examine how CCI positions itself as environmentally sustainable through presentations in the company’s website.

Corporate Social Responsibility Reporting (CSR) and Communication

Though the idea that organizations should practice Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has been around for decades, it has enjoyed a recent revival in recent years (Signitzer & Prexl, 2008). With the proliferation of corporate activities, communication of those activities follows and not surprisingly, CCI is no different. Terminology such as “social responsibility,” “sustainable development,” “corporate responsibility” is common in corporate discourse, even becoming buzzwords, though the values attached to these terms remains inconsistent. Definitions of exactly what constitutes corporate social responsibility vary; terms such as corporate responsibility, social performance, corporate citizenship, or corporate governance are often used interchangeably (Livesey & Kearins, 2002; Munshi & Kurian, 2005). Signitzer and Prexl (2008) suggest using corporate sustainability as a more appropriate umbrella term “for concepts that, in one way or the other, all refer to the role of business in society” (p. 3). A lack of common ground within the industry creates issues for practitioners and researchers as it creates difficulty in making comparisons between CSR communication. By keeping terminology vague, CSR communication can appeal to a broad range of groups (Burchell & Cook, 2006) and make it difficult to develop consistent communication strategies in terms of genres, media, rhetorical strategies, etc. (Ellerup Nielsen & Thomsen, 2007).

Regardless of how CSR is defined, communication about CSR activities is extensive; but *why* an organization might communicate their CSR activities bears examination. Pressure can come from outside—through customers, interest groups, investors, employees—but some organizations see the power of a strong brand which derives from non-traditional marketing which ultimately, enhances profit (Lewis, 2003; Signitzer & Prexl, 2008). Communicating CSR can give an organization the chance to engage with their publics, create dialogue, and build eroding trust between the consumer and business (Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2010; Lewis, 2003). Others may report in response to an issue (such as hampering social development or accusations of colonialism), intending to fend off public outrage, anti-capitalist protests or threats of consumer backlash (Burchell & Cook, 2006; Calvano, 2008; Lyon & Maxwell, 2006). However, an organization which is willing to go public with CSR are opening themselves to criticism more than those who make none, as claims of virtuosity can lead to claims of greenwashing (Lyon & Maxwell, 2006). This is the delicate nature of CSR communication. Beyond building awareness, minimizing stakeholder skepticism is a key challenge as CSR motives may be viewed as extrinsic (maximizing profits) or intrinsic (a genuine concern for the issues) but the key challenge of how to minimize stakeholder skepticism of CSR communication remains (Du et al., 2010).

No examination of CSR communication is complete without acknowledging the standards and guidelines created by non-state standards organizations such as the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI), AccountAbility’s AA1000, the International Standards Organization (ISO), and Eco-Management and Audit Scheme (EMAS), among others (Reynolds & Yuthas, 2008). These standards, should an organization choose to use them, can drive what and how social and environmental performance is disclosed. While use of these frameworks is widespread, with 60% of the Global 1000 corporations using GRI (Reynolds & Yuthas, 2008), so far no consensus on a worldwide standard yet exists and reporting remains voluntary (Ellerup Nielsen & Thomsen, 2007; Gulbrandsen, 2008). While standards and governance may provide evidence of truthfulness, sincerity, understandability, and appropriateness (see study by Reynolds & Yuthas, 2008), the standards offer little insight into discourse as power. As Burchell and Cook (2006) state, the use of CSR allows corporations to adopt a persona of the global “corporate citizen,” enabling them to interact with an agenda from a position of strength and control. Rather, the

discourse used by companies in CSR communication can reinforce this strength and control and ultimately, further the corporation's agenda.

Greenwashing and Environmental Discourse

Activists have raised issues about corporate greenwashing as a form of deception to “hide deviance, deflect attributions of fault, obscure the nature of the problem or allegation, reattribute blame, ensure an entity's reputation, and finally, and to seek to appear in a leadership position” (Laufer, 2003, p. 255). Greenwashing, in Laufer's (2003) view, uses three elements of deception: confusion, fronting, and posturing. Confusion may be achieved by careful document control and strict limits on the flow of information made available. Fronting may cast doubt on the severity of the problem, use exaggerated claims, or question sources used. Posturing may use “front groups” to oppose solutions or legislation, use data to suggest that front groups have public support, and employ front groups to examine and redefine industrial standards (Laufer, 2003, pp. 256-257). Additionally, the mere presence of an environmental policy does not necessarily translate into implementation, as noted by Ramus and Montiel (2005). External stakeholders should be skeptical of environmental claims unless the organization has an economic incentive for doing so, and “one only needs to look at the lack of commitment to environmental subpolicies necessary to implement environmental change to see that environmental policy commitment may often be a form of greenwashing” (Ramus & Montiel, 2005, p. 409). Beyond lack of adherence to a self-proclaimed policy, greenwashing can also be the promotion of partial truths to disinform. Lyon and Maxwell (2006) describe this as presenting positive environmental messages out of context that could be misleading. One example is touting an organization's implementation of a new environmental wastewater technology, but in reality, this technology is only used at a fraction of its manufacturing facilities. Greenwashing practices help maintain legitimacy within the social context because it misleads consumers and stakeholders (Holcomb, 2008).

How greenwashing concepts are presented requires examination of how this discourse is produced as a new “lingua franca” (Harré et al., 1999, p. 15). Environmental discourse can take many forms and cross temporal space, build narratives, and use many discursive strategies from semantic vagueness, to misleading coding, to use of metaphor, or application of a science as the voice of authority (Harré et al., 1999).

Critical Discourse Analysis as Analytical Framework

If a corporation operates within a social context, it has a social contract with stakeholders, which implicates corporations to take and maintain accountability for their social and environmental actions to maintain this contract (Reynolds & Yuthas, 2008, p. 50). Perhaps in the desire to maintain this social contract, companies have appropriated the language of social responsibility, creating a hybridity of discourse, which creates the impression that CSR is connected to core business values (Burchell & Cook, 2006, p. 125). By examining the social structures behind this discourse, we can disassemble this hybridity of discourse, uncover greenwashing tactics, and bring new understanding to the discourse used in environmental sustainability communication undertaken by CCI. In the critical realm, simply exposing the inequities of social dimensions of language use is not adequate. Critical evaluation and critical analysis should have effects in society which “empowers the powerless, gives voices to the voiceless, exposes power abuse, and mobilizes people to remedy social wrongs” (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 449). CDA critically investigates social practices with a goal toward changing power imbalances and hegemonic ideologies, with a “strong commitment to ... empowerment and

practice-orientedness” (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 449).

Scholars continue to develop theory and apply a number of existing theories to explain CSR practices (Reynolds & Yuthas, 2008). In this essay, I critically analyze CCI’s texts through the lens of legitimacy theory, an antecedent to political economy theory and closely related to stakeholder theory (Deegan, 2002). Freeman’s stakeholder theory (as cited by Ellerup Nielson & Thomsen, 2007; Signitzer & Prexl, 2008) outlines that various groups or stakeholders have an interest in an organization’s activities and can ultimately influence the organization. When examining any organization’s CSR communication, a key consideration is the perspective of the stakeholder—employees, suppliers, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), customers, local and national governments, or industry regulators—and the role they play in an organization’s communication strategy. However, because CCI does not outline who the stakeholders are nor make explicit statements that address stakeholder groups, stakeholder theory alone is not sufficient to lend insight into social constructs of power. Also grounded in political economy theory is legitimacy theory (Deegan, 2002), which, in the case of CCI and the pressures it faces on water usage, is more appropriate, though stakeholder and legitimacy theories overlap. Legitimacy theory expands upon the idea of a social contract between a society and an organization, and if the society perceives the social contract is breeched (perhaps through misappropriation of resources such as water), then society may revoke the organization’s legitimacy (Deegan, 2002). CCI requires legitimacy from Indian society because it requires water to produce its products; without it, CCI cannot continue to operate, and thus, the organization aims to shift social perceptions (O’Donovan, 2002). As my findings demonstrate, CCI aims to maintain legitimacy by labeling its operations as sustainable and attempting to silence critics and dissenters in Indian society, in media, and other critics of its practices.

Examining the operations of the world’s largest beverage company within a formerly colonized state such as India, bears consideration of globalization and postcolonial concepts as well as how the corporation functions as an economic and social actor. Gupta and Sharma (2006) note that through globalization, the state function in India has embraced the neoliberal agenda and as such, has had an impact on the Indian economy with the creation of jobs associated with globalization. CCI claims an output multiplier effect of 2.1, which means that for every unit of product, the direct and indirect economic effect is twice that (“Towards Sustainability, 2008). However globalization, within the neoliberal economy, is not beneficial to all. The “marginalized and the disposed—are pitted against the forces of big business, high-handed government, and (Westernized) reductionist science” (Williams & Mawdsley, 2006, p. 662). The advent of the new middle class in India and their new consumerism has resulted in exploitation of the poor and the environment, and lack of sustainable use of resources (such as water) are creating ecological refugees (Williams & Mawdsley, 2006). Through globalization, Coca-Cola in India has been able to operate and thrive. This strategy of creation of new consumers and importation of U. S. products (and values) into new markets has even created new vocabulary: “coca-colonization.”²

An Approach to Understanding

CCI’s web page includes a wide variety of information on CSR issues; for this study I specifically used texts under the page heading of “environment & society” and “water management” (<http://www.coca-colaindia.com/>). This includes Coca Cola India’s 2008 environmental report, as well as any links to the CCI home page or media release pages appearing from 2008 – 2010. Data have been sorted and analyzed through a methodology outlined by Bogren (2010) which refers “to interpretation that starts out with the researcher’s initial and immediate, common sense-based understanding of what a text means” as “meanings may seem

unquestionable and self-evident, but lead the researcher to consider whether configurations of hegemonic power are involved” (p. 75). Three macro-structures were identified in the texts. Through these macro-structures, I identified the discursive strategies used to create reproductions of power with analysis focusing on the social context and intended meaning behind these statements, and the power structure they reinforce or dominance they enact (van Dijk, 1993). The analysis of text production and distribution process examines the formal features of the text presentation, which could include texts such as CCI’s responses to criticisms, alliances or endorsements of environmental non-governmental organizations, or performance targets. I use this critical social analysis to demonstrate the role that CCI’s discourse makes in the reproduction of dominance and inequality in India (van Dijk, 1993).

CDA is not restricted by any one method or theory; with CDA, the methodology should fit the data (Wodak, 2002). As van Dijk (2002) notes, some forms of text and talk may be unjust and CDA studies how norms that define “discursive injustice” are formulated (p. 63). This differs from non-critical discourse analysis because CDA goes beyond just describing discursive practices by demonstrating how the discourse is shaped by social structures and relations of power (Fairclough, 1992, p. 12), which is of particular interest when examining a multi-national company operating in postcolonial India. By applying CDA, I employ the Foucauldian tradition, as it relates to how CCI “makes itself known” as a sustainable organization, as profiled in Livesey and Kearin’s (2002, p. 236) study.

Decoding the Message

Dozens of web pages at www.cocacola-india.com and the 30-page *Towards Sustainability Environmental Report 2008* (a downloadable PDF file) espouse CCI’s commitment to environmental sustainability. External parties are referenced extensively, as are expressions of partnership, guiding vision, commitments, compliance, stewardship, and sustainability. Fairclough (2000) references these as the genres of neoliberal globalization. Narratives with color photographs and imagery—dignitaries, award ceremonies, community water projects—abound. In *Towards Sustainability*, a message from the President and CEO of CCI addresses the reader as “Dear Friend” and through a first-person narrative, relates CCI’s beliefs and efforts in becoming a sustainable growth company and invites readers to join them in the journey “towards sustainability.”³ Also included in the report are data charts, maps, and photographs of CCI products. On the CCI website, the section of “Water Conversation” lists 55 media releases alone (mostly undated) outlining a multitude of water-related topics, from celebrations for World Water Day, awards CCI has received, and rain water harvesting projects. Through this analysis of data, I identified three dominant macro-structures, or themes, of the discourse: Separation of CCI and Publics; Presentations of Validation; and Diffusion and Obfuscation. A number of discursive strategies to enact these ideological positions were identified, including use of narrative, references, and connections to external authorities, choices in terminology, and expressions of intent. I also explored what was explicitly *not* said in the texts.

Diffusion and Obfuscation

The text in “water management” (http://www.coca-colaindia.com/water_management/water_management_approach2water.aspx) focuses specifically on outright denial of the water misuse issue and aims to position CCI as the victim of unfounded criticism. Headlines of “Allegations against Coca-Cola India don’t hold water” and “Countering malicious propaganda against us” are decidedly defensive—clearly a response to external criticisms, in CCI’s words, that

are “not supported by government authorities, academics, and local communities” (Coca-Cola India, n.d.). CCI goes as far as to blame others, specifically those who CCI has termed politically motivated groups that are interested in furthering their own anti-multinational, anti-globalization agenda. This statement alone, as presented by work of Williams & Mawdsley (2006), is evidence of an attempt to silence the voices who might have a legitimate grievance to operations and to dismiss the groups as not having genuine environmental concerns and who may be acting as environmental justice advocates. This discourse itself is a manifestation of power between in and out groups, as it positions the critics’ voices as invalid and unworthy and labels them as “malicious” and their actions as “propaganda,” further marginalizing those critics by reproducing inequalities (van Dijk, 2002). Using external sources as a legitimization tactic is a common and consistent strategy with CCI, as throughout these texts a number of external sources are quoted, not just in the defensive texts listed above. By quoting academics or government authorities, for example, CCI is drawing upon experts within established, power-based social structures to support its position, of which stakeholders directly impacted by operations may or may not be part.

Employing the voice of the expert is a common strategy in environmental discourse (Harré et al., 1999). Using scientific data without context can create confusion, a common greenwashing tactic (Laufer, 2003). Without a scientific perspective, the reader cannot determine whether the data change is an appropriate measure; however within the CCI discourse it is presented as a success and measure of pride for CCI.

Deflection is another discursive strategy used as CCI positions its operations in the context of industry, such as countering CCI’s use of water against other industries like textile manufacturing or farming. Through these statements, CCI removes the voice of its critics and employs legitimacy from government sources as justification for CCI’s actions. Gupta and Sharma (2006) note that through the neoliberal state, “multiple sites for regulation and domination through the creation of autonomous entities of government that are not part of the formal state apparatus... are guided by enterprise logic” (p. 277). When considering the neoliberal state, CCI’s presentation of partnership with government (e.g., “we partnered with the Nidukummala Village Committee”) and its discourse around compliance with government policies (e.g., “Operations management is responsible for ensuring compliance with applicable environmental legal requirements”) sheds new light into the strength CCI has as a dominant corporation in India.

Separation of Publics

CCI does not directly address who the audience for its environmental communication is, but how specific publics are referenced, particularly in the 2008 *Towards Sustainability Environment Report*, differs. Some publics—employees, bottling partners, NGOs, customers, and consumers—are referenced positively, while those struggling over natural-resource based livelihoods are either not referenced at all or are presented as beneficiaries of CCI’s goodwill gestures and environmental project funding. This is manifested by CCI’s statements of working in “economically underdeveloped areas” and “actively responding to local needs” (Coca-Cola India, n.d.). This could be interpreted that CCI is reinforcing the colonial state and the power differential as the benefactor/recipient role is maintained as a social structure. As Calvano (2006) notes, the funds involved in philanthropic projects are quite small for the corporation, but can be significant for poor communities. The downside is that corporate philanthropy can be used to pit individuals against each other within communities and can instead be used to focus on building a positive reputation in the shadow of contentious situations.

Foucault’s scholarship of power and knowledge lends insight into issues of what was *not*

included in CCI's communication (Tregidga, Milne, & Kearins, 2007). Without characteristics of power, legitimacy, and urgency (Calvano, 2006), stakeholders who are impacted by corporate operations are hampered in their ability to push for corporate change. In CCI's communication, much is devoted to outlining frameworks, principles, guidelines, and policies to address environmental and water issues, but little is said to the actual compliance to these statements, nor are stakeholders' views reflected in the discourse. Stakeholders are invited to provide feedback on the report via email but this assumes those prepared to read the report and give feedback have readily available internet access to do so. Lack of opportunity for publics and stakeholders to engage on issues creates asymmetrical communication which in itself is a manifestation of hegemony (Munshi & Kurian, 2005). The organization manages the image through Munshi and Kurian's (2005) hierarchy:

1) The predominantly Western shareholders; 2) the Western consumer public/global middle-class consumer; 3) the Western activist public; 4) the vast numbers of Third World workers who produce the goods for consumption by others; and 5) even greater numbers of Third World citizens too poor to consume. The first are obsessive about profits and share values, the second consumes blindly, and the third provides resistance from within the West, while the last two fall below the corporate radar. (p. 514)

If we apply this hierarchy of publics to CCI's sustainability communication, then the discourse is focused on protecting the Western shareholders and enacting the legitimacy required to support the existing hierarchical structure. As CCI does not explicitly address the lower-economic or differing cultural publics, then Munshi and Kurian's (2005) structure applies. Reynolds and Yuthas (2006) note that allowing stakeholders to fully participate in the discussion is required for meaningful consensus. Had CCI followed an international standard of reporting guidelines (such as GRI or AA1000) which required stakeholder consultation in sustainability reporting, CCI could have built a public participation model to break down hierarchy and build consensus. CCI has not yet published any follow up sustainability reports for 2009 or 2010 on its website, nor provided any explanation as to when subsequent reports might be available.⁴ Also, CCI further enacts existing power structures by publishing on the website in English only, despite the variety of languages used by stakeholders. While making such communication available in a multitude of languages and formats may be logistically difficult and cost prohibitive, by using English, CCI is reinforcing its separation of publics and leaves itself open to criticism for hegemonic affects. Transparency of goals, positions, and interests from all parties can contribute to building a moral discourse on sustainability issues (Reynolds & Yuthas, 2006).

Presentations of Validation

As a social actor, CCI needs to maintain its legitimacy within India to continue selling products, retain employees, and operate with proper licenses (Deegan, 2002). One discursive strategy to building legitimacy—and thus, building brand and reputation—that CCI uses is including third party validators and NGO partners in the discourse, a “fronting” strategy (Laufer, 2003, pp. 256-7). Narratives espouse partnerships and joint initiatives (e.g., “in partnership with farmers and Krishi Vigyan Kendra” and “Coca-Cola India partnered with Confederation of Indian Industry”) to create patterns of legitimacy to counter perceptions of how an organization is operating and to deflect incongruence between the activity and social values and norms (O'Donovan, 2002). The inference that the world's largest beverage company is also the greatest steward of water seems incongruous, at best, as not only did CCI's total water usage increase in 2008 by 24.68% (“Towards Sustainability”, 2008), but CCI claims that in India, the

beverage industry is responsible for not even a fraction of 1% of water usage (Coca-Cola India Environment Report, 2008).

Since CSR terminology is vague and as yet undefined to a specific standard, CCI can play upon the hybridity of language and appropriate the discourse of social responsibility, ethics, and citizenship (Burchell & Cook, 2006). Burchell and Cook (2006) note that CSR discourse, in its evolution, must do more than simply provide information, but must also address the validity and extent of information published, and critically examine what has not been published and why. Much of the text uses euphemisms for terms which might be viewed negatively by critics that are repurposed into friendlier terms. "Cheap" becomes "cost-effectively sourced," "sugar" becomes "sweetener," and "market and sell" becomes "make our products available." Additionally CCI uses what Harré et al., (1999) term as semantic vagueness (unclear terms or phrasing) and semantic underdifferentiation (unclassified terms or phrasing), whereas certain linguistic terms carry either little meaning (e.g. "protect," "growth") or have qualitatively different meanings depending on the context and whose context (e.g. "grow sustainably," "strengthen the community") (p. 29). Certain linguistic turns of language can take simple terminology and translate it into "misleading coding," a sort of uncontrolled linguistic development which results in language that may carry validity in the sector, but little information for the casual reader (Harré et al., 1999, p. 29). Examples of this show up in CCI's texts in the form of statements such as "recycling value chain," "our operations catalyse growth," and "refresh the market." All the CCI texts reviewed include consistent expressions of intent (e.g. "we aim to ...," "we are working towards ...," "we have the potential to ...") which further employs greenwashing strategies and are the best examples of CCI's intent, through choices of language, to reinforce its ideology of a green and sustainable company to allow CCI to play in the growing CSR realm.

Conclusion

Taking a discursive approach to corporate presentation of greenwashing is challenging, but has considerable potential in developing social and environmental scholarship (Tregidga et al., 2007). In examining the inherent power struggles that are uncovered in CDA, postcolonialism, neoliberalism, and globalization, I uncovered the role CSR language plays in CCI's strategies of diffusion and obfuscation, separation of publics, and presentations of validation (Fairclough, 2000). Many more themes could be interpreted, and future research could examine more fully, through an audit of CCI's social and environmental performance, whether the presentations were deliberately misleading, a result of less advanced communication practice, or an accepted standard within the cultural context of India. Any organization that takes a close look at their own environmental practices could uncover potential future issues and put mitigating strategies in place to offset risk, be it economic or reputational risk. This is what Coca-Cola India has endeavoured to do, not only to address the risk of increased criticism from stakeholders, but also to greenwash its activities and ultimately maintain its legitimacy to continue its operations and position.

End Notes:

¹ The first news reports of the water use issue appeared in the mid-2000s; Coca-cola India published its first sustainability report entitled "Towards Sustainability" covering 2004-2008.

² This term has been put into more common use by Reinhold Wagnleitner in his book, *Coca-colonization and the Cold War*.

³ In the text of 229 words, the term "sustainability" is used five times.

⁴ As of May 2011.

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CAN TRADITIONAL PEOPLES AND COMMUNITIES IN THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON CONCILIATE INSTRUMENTAL AND DIALOGIC FORMS OF COMMUNICATION?

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Abstract

During the military dictatorship in Brazil (1964 – 1985), the political trend for the Amazon region was to provide entrepreneurs of the southern middle part of the country with credits to develop the forest. Forest dwellers, who were threatened by this trend, organized themselves into a union of rubber tappers and indigenous peoples (that became the Alliance of the Forest Peoples) in order to protect their territory. The main achievement of this movement was the creation of communitarian protected lands (called Reservas Extrativistas). Since 2005, the Alliance has been recommenced in order to fight for Payments for Environmental Services (PES). Now, the alliance seeks the difficult balance between tactics and strategy: to obtain visibility in mass media guided by instrumental logic and to strengthen respect for diversity supporting more dialogic forms of communication.

Keywords: *Traditional Peoples and Communities; Amazon Region; the Alliance of the Forest Peoples; Communication Rights; Environmental Justice*

This essay is the result of collective research, based on two years of readings and a study group on dialogue and community. It focuses on the Alliance of the Forest Peoples, a movement that brought together traditional peoples, rubber tappers, and communities in the Brazilian Amazon. In its inception during the 1980s, the main demand was the creation of communitarian protected lands (the so-called *Reservas Extrativistas*, or Extractive Reserves). Nowadays, in an emergent scenario of global climate change, the Alliance's largest claim is the Payment for Environmental Services (PES). The core questions dealt with here are whether it is possible to gain visibility and political power without making use of communication practices that transform one's audience into mere objects.

The Alliance of the Forest Peoples

According to Boaventura de Souza Santos (2003), we live in a period of paradigmatic transition from modernity to a stage still properly unnamed, which has been referred to as post-modernity. Its most visible signal would be an epistemological crisis: the questioning of science caused by complex global social and environmental problems. The relationship between modern and so-called postmodern ideals is full of apparent contradictions, disruptions, and discontinuities. While we live in a globalizing expansion of the market culture with people losing meaningful references to their territories, we also witness the emergence of new localisms, based on real and ideal territories. Traditions and habits considered old return to be celebrated, although not without resistance (Santos, 2003).

In this sense, since the 1970s, indigenous groups' and traditional communities' knowledge about nature has been valued as essential to biodiversity conservation. However, the concept of traditional communities has been a source for numerous criticisms. Some argue that this concept hides involuntary isolation and plunges "forest people" into poverty, because it idealizes life in the forest and hides the fact that many of these residents are low-income people who cannot work and live in cities (Almeida, 2004). In fact, the so-called traditional communities are seen by many preservationists essentially as protectors of natural resources, more than as subjects with dynamic culture (Diegues, 1996).

Edna Castro (2000) observed that the term "traditional communities" is inaccurate and generic, but also reminded us that it has been used as a self-denomination, that brings political identification and elements of reaffirmation of rights. Forest dwellers have adopted the denomination "community" consciously. Not incidentally, public policy created in 2007 by the Brazilian federal government, with forest dwellers' intense participation, was named the "National Policy for Sustainable Development of the Traditional Peoples and Communities" (Almeida, 2007). For the first time in Brazilian history, a federal law used the words "traditional peoples and communities" instead of "traditional populations," giving emphasis to a more political vocabulary, appropriated by the environmental justice movement in the Amazon Region, than to a term originated in the field of demography (Almeida, 2007).

During the period of Brazilian military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985, the policy trend of the federal government for the Amazon region was to provide the country's southern middle region entrepreneurs with credit to exploit the forest, which put at risk the survival of many traditional peoples and communities in the region. Threatened, the forest dwellers organized themselves to fight for their territory in a union of rubber tappers and indigenous peoples that was named the Alliance of the Forest Peoples. It became internationally known because of Chico Mendes, a rubber tapper leader murdered at the behest of ranchers in December, 1988.

The main achievement of this movement was the creation of communitarian protected

lands, called *Reservas Extrativistas*. The first one, created in 1989, was called Chico Mendes, in honor of the social leader murdered a few months prior. These reservas are a type of conservation unit that also fulfill the role of agrarian reform and providing land to forest dwellers. The establishment of the Alliance of the Forest Peoples represented a politicization of explanatory patterns about the Amazon and brought together the typical environmental movement that was more related to ecology as well as the movement for human rights, engaging the region in the broad environmental justice movement (Almeida, 2008).

For a while after the murder of Chico Mendes, the Alliance of the Forest Peoples stopped acting and was referred to only as a historical record. During the 1990s, the traditional peoples and communities' movement in the Brazilian Amazon lived on through a process of institutionalization. Still in 1988, in the context of the re-democratization of Brazil, after 21 years of military dictatorship, the rubber workers created the *Conselho Nacional dos Seringueiros* (CNS, National Council of Rubber Tappers) and, after only a year, the *Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira* (COIAB, Coordination of the Brazilian Amazon Indigenous Organization). COIAB is currently the largest indigenous umbrella organization in Brazil, with 75 organizations that assemble 165 ethnicities. In 1992, as a result of the mobilization of the civil society during the United Nations Summit on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, the *Grupo de Trabalho Amazônico* (GTA, Amazon Working Group) was created as a network organization comprised of 18 regional offices representing more than 600 unions, groups, and organizations of the Brazilian Amazon region (including CNS and COIAB) (Aliança dos Povos da Floresta, 2007).

The opportunity to value the role of indigenous peoples and traditional communities in forest conservation, particularly in a context of global climate change, led the GTA, CNS and COIAB to recommence the Alliance of the Forest Peoples. In 2007, the three organizations coordinated the Second National Forest Peoples Meeting, held in Brasília (the political capital of Brazil). Since then, the Alliance members have faced the challenge of gaining greater visibility in national and international scenes without giving up their sense of community spirit and communication practices based on dialogue.

Dialogue and Communications Rights

In the context of discussing the Alliance of the Forest Peoples, however, dialogue has a different meaning from the usual lay definition, when it is seen as a way of conversation which happens between two people (Yankelovich, 2001). According to Bohm, the word dialogue comes from the Greek word *dialogos* and means “a flow of meaning” between us and through us (2005, p. 34). It is through this flow of meaning that new, more coherent senses emerge, both individually and collectively.

Issacs (1993) points out that one important philosophical reference for the meaning of dialogue in the twentieth century is the philosopher Martin Buber, who in his book *I and Thou* (1979) qualifies dialogue as a process that happens when participants are able to acknowledge one another beyond the social roles they play, which are objectifying and utilitarian. He calls this relationship, characterized by the meeting of the essence of beings, I-Thou, and is opposed to the I-It encounter, a kind of relationship permeated by hidden interests.

To reach dialogue, participants must be willing to loosen the grip over their certainties and inquiry into what Bohm calls basic assumptions: “assumptions about the meaning of life; about your own self-interest, your country's interest, or your religious interest; about what you really think is important” (1990, p. 2). According to Bohm (1990), those basic assumptions have an enormous weight on the quality of a conversation as they normally hide the origins of

conflicts among participants. To inquiry into those basic assumptions means to try to locate and understand them and the influences they cause upon people. To such an end, it is necessary to “suspend” them, that is, neither carry nor suppress them.

When one suspends their assumptions, they are able to listen to what others have to say entirely, having more control over the agree/disagree automatism, which is a kind of defense mechanism we activate as we listen to someone, instantaneously comparing what is being said to our own suppositions, rendering it impossible for someone to listen fully. Also, when suppositions are suspended, the influences of another defense mechanism, the habit of selecting what is being listened to, including what is agreed upon and excluding the disagreed, is also reduced (Isaacs, 1999).

Nonetheless, it is clear that one fundamental aspect for a dialogue to happen is that all of those involved are willing to take part in it, that is, that they are able to endure the frustrations that might emerge and overcome them. However, as demonstrated by Yanchelovich (2001), in many cases such obstacles hinder or even halt the entire process. It is thus important to acknowledge and face those challenges, personal and collective, that may get in the way and prevent a real dialogue from taking place: self-righteousness, the roles people play or represent, hierarchies (Bohm, 2005), excessive politeness (Schein, 1993), fragmentation of thought (Isaacs, 1993) and so on. All of them end up creating defensiveness and entrenchment of one's own worldview.

By allowing the acknowledgement of existing conflicts, dialogue does not aim at sorting them out in such a way that all agree upon in the end, but to create a condition so that real understanding can be reached among participants, where meanings can be shared. As a result, some sense of trust, familiarity, easiness, and identity (Yankelovich, 2001) among those who share a community is built, an invisible condition without which no real community exists.

The dialogue among people with different kinds of knowledge and more democratic forms of knowledge production and sharing are required in the process of constructing an environmental rationality. In the field of communication, it involves not only greater diversity of content in relation to the monotony of hegemonic discourses, but also more interactive processes based on dialogue and the promotion of collective learning.

To understand communication as a fundamental human right means to oppose its transformation into a product and to acknowledge that it is essential to the attainment of citizenship. It also implies seeing communication as a public field of social struggles, in opposition to the private, technocratic vision, as an arena of owners and experts. In this sense, the right to communication goes beyond the right to freedom of expression and the dissemination of information, covering also the spheres of production and sharing of information (Intervozes, 2005).

The mechanistic paradigm describes communication as a unilateral process in which an issuer, through a device, transmits a message to be decoded by a receiver. This reductionist vision justified the “Free Flow of Information” doctrine, which dominated the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Expression, held in Geneva in 1948 (Mattellart, 2009). Two decades later, in the 1970s, thanks to the influence of cultural studies and the theory of reception (Costa, 2006), a new paradigm of communication was strengthened as more “dialogic and reciprocal, in which the access and the participation have become key factors” (Mattellart, 2009, p. 38). Given this background, the human right to communicate has been recognized in a wider vision; in 1977, the MacBride Report, as result of the work done by a committee established by the General-Director of United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), stated that there is no guarantee for communication rights without public policies for communication

and culture (MacBride, 1980).

The Two Acts of Delegation

Pierre Bourdieu (1989) stated that communication relations are always relations of power as they depend on, in frame and in content, material and symbolic power accumulated by the agents. If for interpersonal relationships, this statement already brings complex implications, it is even more significant when considering the challenge of network communication in social movements. According to Bourdieu (1990), individuals only constitute a group with greater potential to gain visibility and symbolic power when a spokesperson speaks on behalf of them. Oppressed people only have a voice if they are united; it is only with the constitution of a professional representative that they manage to move from serial to collective existence, designed in a movement and/or organization. The constitution of a group from the definition of a spokesperson is what Bourdieu (1990) called the first act of delegation. The second one is the process of institutionalization of the movement, that is, the creation of a bureaucratic apparatus. To gain greater visibility and political voice, the group would tend to feel the need for formal existence and for establishing rules and proceedings. It is then that the representative begins to depart from those represented, because the institutional dynamic of the party, union, or association becomes more demanding than the people for whom it exists. In other words, the institutionalization tends to demobilize the movement, creating professional militants who have a routine and a language that are difficult to be followed by the rest of the group.

Bourdieu's (1990) theory about the process of constitution of a social group sheds new light on the theory of dialogue. According to David Bohm (1990), the greatest difficulty in building spaces of dialogue is to create a collective that works without leaders. As already seen above, in dialogue people are open to question their basic assumptions. For dialogue to happen in full, it is essential that there is no authority or hierarchy. Bohm stressed, however, that "to put things into practice" it was necessary for "some kind of authority" and that, therefore, the dialogue that he proposed had no predefined purpose or agenda (1990, p. 23).

The establishment of the Alliance of the Forest Peoples followed the dynamic of delegation and institutionalization proposed by Bourdieu (1990). The Alliance has emerged from the constitution of its two main spokesmen (the rubber tapper Chico Mendes and the indigenous leader Aírton Krenak) and, in a later step, from the creation of three organizations legally constituted (CNS, COIAB, and GTA). The Alliance's mobilization potential comes precisely from a common political agenda; initially, the constitution of communitarian protected lands (Reservas Extrativistas) and, now, the fight for Payment for Environmental Services provided to traditional communities and peoples of the Amazon (Brianezi, 2010). The question emerges: Is it possible to conciliate more dialogic forms of organization with the defense of a political agenda? Is it possible to gain visibility and political power with communication practices that do not transform one's audience into a mere target? We explore the answers to these questions in the following sections.

Communication Practices

Associative networks, such as the Alliance of the Forest Peoples, exist not just as social and environmental movements to pressure governments, but also as processes that redefine and develop civil society itself (Vieira, 2001). The main networks' theoretical and empirical fields to question the status quo may be through policy making and communication. Manuel Castells (1999) pointed out that the general characteristics of policy making in the contemporary period, which he called the "Information Society" — exacerbated leadership personalization, simplified

messages in dichotomous terms (e.g., good and evil), established religious and moral values as parameters to both public and personal lives, created important markers of language, images and symbols, and developed instability in public preferences and financial dependency. Castells (2007) also noted that the media consumption in urban societies is what, after work, takes up people's time the most, and that electronic media are currently the privileged space of politics, without which there is no way to acquire or exert power.

The Alliance of the Forest Peoples lives within this double and contradictory movement, as the Alliance has to deal with the communication scenario the way it is and, at the same time, to fight to transform it. The popular and communitarian communication workshops promoted in 2004 and in 2005 by GTA, funded by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, fall within the second movement. The overall objective of these meetings was to strengthen the network communication (horizontal and decentralized) and to exchange practical experiences about the right to communicate in the Amazon region. The discussions focused on the need to promote digital inclusion and, mainly, to support the creation and operation of community radios, historically criminalized (Brianezi, 2005).

In Brazil, radio and TV channels are public concessions, given by the federal government, with the endorsement of the National Congress, to individuals and firms. During the military dictatorship and the democratization period, these public concessions served as bargaining chips for the approval of priority projects and for the retribution of campaign funds. Meanwhile, social organizations and communities cannot even enforce the national law that ensures that each municipality should have at least one community, non-profit radio channel. According to the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters, Amarc, in Brazil there are around 7,000 applications for the opening of community radios awaiting authorization from the Ministry of Communications. The government's response time has been, on average, seven years, which forces many of these radios to operate unofficially and be pursued by the Federal Police (Intervozes, 2005). This affront to the right to communicate is even more acute in the Amazon region, where in many villages the radio is still the main (if not the only) means of communication. It is easy to understand why the Alliance of the Forest Peoples has promoted in the last decade many meetings and training courses to support the community radio broadcasters of Amazonia, the latest of which occurred in July 2011, with funds from the European Union.

Within the first movement (to deal with the communication scenario the way it is), a good example is the realization of the Second National Forest Peoples Meeting in 2007. This event occurred in the capital of Brazil, Brasilia, a good choice to achieve attention in national media, because it is where all the national radios, TVs, newspapers and magazines have offices or at least, a correspondent. But Brasilia is not in the Amazon region and to be there, the forest dwellers would have to face an expensive and long journey. The result is that the location, which was strategic from a broadcast perspective, prevented the participation of many Amazonian residents. The Second National Forest Peoples Meeting prioritized the instrumental logic also in its organizational format. A sequence of lectures of renowned guests such as important artists, journalists, economists and politicians, including the president Lula, was scheduled, but left little time for questions and comments from the audience.

The result was that in this Second National Meeting, only the directors of the three organizations that comprise the Alliance of the Forest Peoples had a voice. The representatives of GTA, COIAB, and CNS adopted a diplomatic tone, avoiding direct conflict with the federal government, the main sponsor of the event and, in most cases, using technical language. The issue of PES was far from the reality of the forest dwellers in the audience. Reports of serious situations, such as deforestation of protected areas, were restricted to parallel protests which were not

included in the official program.

Conclusion

It is important to go back to the question posed by the title of the paper: can traditional peoples and communities in the Brazilian Amazon conciliate instrumental and dialogic forms of communication? Our goal is not to present definitive conclusions, but to bring reflections that contribute to the scientific and empirical debates. The Alliance of the Forest Peoples was created in the 1980s to address the increase of deforestation and loss of traditional territories in the Brazilian Amazon, promoted by the national military government. During the 1990s, following the murder of Chico Mendes, there was a process of institutionalization and also segmentation of the social movement in the region – each group creating its own formal organization and fighting for its own demands.

Since 2005, however, the Alliance of the Forest Peoples has been recommenced. If in the 1980s the common struggle was for the creation of communitarian protected lands, what now puts the movement of the so-called traditional peoples and communities together is the Payment for Environmental Services. Oppressed people such as the rubber tappers only have a voice if they are united. It is only with the constitution of a leader that they manage to move from individual existence to a collective one.

The definition of a representative is what Bourdieu (1990) called the first act of delegation. The second one would be the process of institutionalization, the creation of a bureaucratic apparatus. The problem is that, although important, the institutionalization tends to demobilize the movement. It creates professional militants who have a routine and a language that are difficult to follow by the rest of the group. Institutionalization, therefore, favors more authoritarian communication practices. The example cited in this essay was the realization of the Second National Meeting of the Forest Peoples in 2007. The event followed an instrumental logic in its organization as a strategy to achieve larger spaces in commercial media. It was a legitimate choice, in the face of tough competition for visibility, essential to increase the power of influence over the government and society. But it brought the risk of opposing the real strength of the networks of traditional peoples and communities, which is their openness for dialogue and their respect for diversity, enforced by the task of democratizing the communication arena in Brazil in actions such as community radio development. For community and movement members, it is important to understand this contradiction and the pros and cons of each possibility in an attempt to reach the best result from their actions as well as to be prepared for the side effects they may face.

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End Note:

¹Environmental services are the conditions and processes through which natural ecosystems sustain and fulfill human life. Some examples include carbon sequestration, watershed management, and biodiversity conservation. To qualify for payment, services rendered should ideally be measurable (Hall, 2008; Wunder 2006).

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III. GENDER & ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

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“LOOKING BOTH WAYS:” THE INTERSECTION OF CLIMATE JUSTICE AND REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF RHETORICAL ALIGNMENT OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT CONCERNS

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Abstract

This essay explores Looking Both Ways: Women’s Lives at the Crossroads of Reproductive Justice and Climate Justice, a publication released by Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice. The text employs the metaphor of “looking both ways” to argue that agenda-setting for climate justice and reproductive justice should be aligned to simultaneously mitigate climate change and advance women’s reproductive freedom. Based on my analysis, “looking both ways” offers an innovative epistemological framework for understanding climate change and reproductive freedom, resulting in both beneficial and limiting constitutive implications for climate justice and reproductive justice. While the text successfully “looks both ways” when discussing the aftermath of hurricanes and hazardous substances in the electronics industry, its discussion of nail salons fails to adequately address climate justice by privileging reproductive freedom concerns. Further, the metaphor precludes consideration of other social movements, thus narrowing the support-base for these causes. Ultimately, despite the production of both progressive and problematic rhetorical outcomes, I argue the text’s call to align climate justice and reproductive justice efforts should be embraced with the acknowledgement that the metaphor obscures a comprehensive understanding of potential cross-movement-building effects.

Keywords: *Climate Justice, Coalition-Building, Metaphor, Reproductive Justice, Social Movements*

From Al Gore’s documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* to news reports commemorating its anniversary, Hurricane Katrina and its aftermath have received widespread attention in the public sphere (Pezzullo, 2007; Rosteck & Frentz, 2009). Through this event, the deadly intersection of

global warming and social injustice in the United States was exposed, revealing a planet and people in crisis. This reality—far more than “an inconvenient truth”—illuminates the necessity to explore how climate change and other forms of environmental degradation impact marginalized communities comprised of low-income individuals and people of color (Cox, 2010; Heinz, 2005; Pezzullo, 2007; Sandler & Pezzullo, 2007). The precarious intersectional positioning of these individuals is recognized by advocates of climate justice, who seek to mitigate the effects of global warming on their communities through empowerment at the grass-roots level (Cox, 2010; Sandler & Pezzullo, 2007). Movement members demand that the political and social issues surrounding global warming be exposed and addressed, as “the greatest brunt of climate change’s effects will be felt (and are being felt by) the world’s poorest people” (Roberts, 2007, p. 295). This emphasis on addressing the political and social concerns confronting marginalized communities echoes the agenda of another movement—reproductive justice—which seeks to combat the various forms of oppression encountered by women and their families by achieving reproductive freedom and social justice (Gerber Fried, 1990).

Calls made for comprehensive, systemic change by reproductive justice activists share considerable overlap with the mission of climate justice proponents, as both groups emphasize the salience of securing liberation from oppression for all people (Cox, 2010; Gerber Fried, 1990). Given this commonality, recognition of the intersecting issues inhibiting both the mitigation of environmental degradation and the advancement of women’s rights is growing, as climate change disproportionately impacts women living on the margins (Cox, 2010; Goldberg, 2009; Sandler & Pezzullo, 2007). Acknowledgment of this intersection is evident in the efforts of Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice (ACRJ), an advocacy group supporting strong women and families (ACRJ, 2010a).

In working to mitigate environmental degradation caused by global warming as well as oppressive practices against women, ACRJ members seek to address the ways in which climate change and reproductive justice concerns overlap. This approach is revealed in the organization’s 2009 publication *Looking Both Ways: Women’s Lives at the Crossroads of Reproductive Justice and Climate Justice*. The text suggests that by “looking both ways” at climate justice and reproductive justice issues, the trajectories of the movements are reoriented toward a more efficacious, collaborative framework for change, if activists acknowledge intersecting concerns shared by both causes.

Based on a rhetorical analysis of this text, I argue that *Looking Both Ways* revitalizes extant climate justice and reproductive justice movement concerns by encouraging activists to consider in what ways and with what effects climate change and reproductive freedom issues intersect. The trope of “looking both ways” serves an epistemological function by assisting readers and movement activists in understanding environmental and reproductive concerns in innovative ways. Based on this observation, I argue the metaphor engenders both beneficial and limiting implications for aligning climate justice and reproductive justice, for while the trope uncovers important, interconnected issues impacting both causes, it also has the potential to obscure unique concerns and to limit consideration of other relevant social movements. Ultimately, despite the production of both progressive and problematic rhetorical outcomes, I argue the text’s call for coalition-building at the grass-roots level within and across these two movements should be embraced not only for its political implications but also for the new epistemological framework it provides movement members.

To bolster my claims, this essay develops in four parts. First, I begin by discussing climate justice, reproductive justice, and ACRJ, followed by a brief overview of the artifact. Second, I outline the theoretical lens of metaphoric criticism and the concept of cultural rationality, both of

which assist in framing my argument. Third, I offer a critical analysis of the text's rhetoric. Fourth and finally, I conclude by "looking both ways" at the implications of my findings vis-à-vis the constitutive possibilities for future activist action and scholarly inquiry.

Looking at the Intersection of Climate Justice and Reproductive Justice

Climate Justice

Climate justice is just one of several efforts subsumed by the environmentalist cause. This nascent movement, which seeks justice for the world's impoverished and indigenous populations amidst a backdrop of climate change, "is growing louder as impacts are being increasingly felt in poor nations" (Roberts, 2007, p. 293). These climate change effects include agricultural volatility, drought, sea level rise, and hurricanes (Roberts, 2007). Because individuals affected by these phenomena represent the world's most marginalized communities, their voices are often excluded from negotiations conducted by those with greater legislative or economic power (Cox, 2010; Pezzullo, 2007). Thus, poor and indigenous individuals must rely on decisions made by others which often fail to account for their lived realities, as they experience disproportionate impacts from climate change.

In response to this injustice, the first Climate Justice Summit was held in 2000 in The Hague, Netherlands. The Summit brought together climate activists and grassroots groups to discuss issues and concerns surrounding the effects of global warming and extreme weather events (Cox, 2010). Two years later, in 2002, another key event in the movement occurred when climate justice activists convened in Bali, Indonesia. During this meeting, the Bali Principles of Climate Change were established, highlighting the interdependence of all species and the salience of revering the planet (Cox, 2010). An important discursive transformation occurred at this conference, whereby the scientific framing of global warming was replaced with a justice and human rights perspective (Cox, 2010). Two months later, the Delhi Climate Justice Declaration was drafted in Delhi, India. In keeping with the principles established in Bali, this manifesto described climate change as "a human rights issue...[which] affects our livelihoods, our health, our children and our natural resources" (Roberts, 2007, p. 296). From these early organizing efforts, a movement seeking climate justice emerged.

A core assumption of the climate justice cause is that climate change issues should be considered both locally and globally; as a result, transnational coalitions composed of diverse stakeholders are necessary (Roberts, 2007). This poses substantial challenges for marginalized communities, since these groups often lack the "time, energy, or resources to fight for justice" (Roberts, 2007, p. 297). In addition to this obstacle, more traditional environmental groups and environmental justice advocates have been slow to incorporate the climate justice agenda in their own efforts (Cox, 2010). As a result, "the coalition for climate justice seems weak and dispersed. This is especially the case when this new movement is compared to the organization and resources of the industrial and government lobbying groups they face" (Roberts, 2007, p. 298). Despite these challenges, however, the movement for climate justice persists, as activists recognize that efforts must be made to mitigate the disproportionate impacts of global warming and extreme weather events experienced by impoverished and indigenous individuals.

Reproductive Justice

Historically, women's reproduction has been framed in terms of abortion by mainstream feminist groups representing the concerns of white, middle-class women; this approach, however,

fails to account for the needs and realities of women of color, who are disproportionately poor (Gerber Fried, 1990). As a result of this oversight, the reproductive justice cause emerged in the 1990s to rearticulate pro-choice movement discourse to better reflect the needs of all women (Gerber Fried, 1990; Silliman, Gerber Fried, Ross, & Gutiérrez, 2004). Reproductive justice activists argue that, in addition to abortion rights, women living on the margins also require access to education and affordable health care, as they confront racism, classism, heterosexism, language barriers, anti-immigration sentiment, environmental injustice, and a host of other discriminatory practices and systemic problems (Hayden, 2009; Silliman et al., 2004).

In 1994, early reproductive justice movement efforts began to unfold after several African American women formed the group Women of African Descent for Reproductive Justice (ACRJ, 2010c). These early activists sought to redefine the limited discourse of pro-choice groups by supplanting the concept of choice with a framework blending human and reproductive rights with social justice (ACRJ, 2010c; Gerber Fried, 1990). From this rearticulation came the terms “reproductive justice” and “reproductive freedom,” which movement members argue better reflect the realities of diverse groups of women who often do not possess the agency to make real choices due to systemic barriers (Gerber Fried, 1990; Silliman et al., 2004). Furthermore, because of past injustice restricting the reproductive freedom of women of color and poor women through coercive sterilization, the right to have children is just as salient as the ability to evade compulsory procreation (Gerber Fried, 1990; Hayden, 2009; Palczewski, 2010; Silliman et al., 2004). Given this framework, reproductive justice advocates believe justice “will be achieved when all people have the social, political and economic power and resources to make healthy decisions about our gender, bodies and sexuality for ourselves, our families and our communities” (ACRJ, 2010a, para. 2).

The reproductive justice movement receives support from several women of color organizations, including Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice (ACRJ), the National Asian Pacific American Women’s Forum, the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, and Black Women for Reproductive Justice. Despite support from diverse groups of women, however, the reproductive justice cause encounters substantial difficulties in countering dominant rhetoric on women’s reproductive freedom as the news media and some pro-choice groups (e.g., NARAL Pro-Choice America) continue to frame women’s issues in terms of abortion rights narrowly defined (Hayden, 2009; Palczewski, 2010). Similarly, many reproductive justice concerns fail to enjoy the same attention in the public sphere as today’s hot topics, such as abortion and global warming. Even with these challenges, however, reproductive justice advocates continue their efforts to ensure that one day reproductive rights will be synonymous with human rights—a central tenet of the movement (ACRJ, 2010a; Gerber Fried, 1990). ACRJ is one of several reproductive justice organizations that embrace this principle.

Looking at ACRJ and its Rhetoric

As an organization guided by the tenets of reproductive justice, ACRJ seeks to achieve social and political change both within the local communities it serves, as well as at the systemic level (ACRJ, 2010a). Based on this framework, the ten staff members of ACRJ support “creating conditions so women of color and their communities can thrive, securing rights for immigrant women workers and youth and pursuing racial and environmental justice” (Bender, 2010, para. 47). One rhetorical means for achieving the goals of ACRJ is the organization’s Momentum Series, which “share[s] organizing tools, models and resources; highlight[s] emerging reproductive justice issues, successes and challenges; and document[s] the contributions that reproductive justice organizations are making to social change” (ACRJ, 2010b, para. 1). The six-volume

series¹ addresses issues ranging from the short- and long-term policy challenges confronted by the reproductive justice movement to a case-study revealing the efforts of reproductive justice advocates in mobilizing people of color to vote in California. Also included in this series is a report linking climate justice and reproductive justice concerns; I analyze this text in the subsequent sections of this essay.

The fifth volume of the Momentum Series, *Looking Both Ways: Women's Lives at the Crossroads of Reproductive Justice and Climate Justice*, elucidates the importance of examining the shared issues impacting both climate justice and reproductive justice efforts. Rojas-Cheatham, Paredes, Griffin, Shah, and Shen (2009)², the principle authors of the volume, suggest that by “looking both ways” (i.e., by considering the intersecting concerns and goals of climate justice and reproductive justice), the effects of climate change will be mitigated and women’s reproductive rights will be advanced. An underlying feature of the text reveals that this linkage is based on the experiences and exigencies of individuals who live at the intersection of both climate change and reproductive justice threats.

In establishing their call for a new paradigm of gender and climate change, the authors incorporate the following content in their report: an introduction linking climate justice with reproductive justice; a brief overview of climate change problems and predictions; a discussion of health and welfare, housing and shelter, and coercive reproductive health policies post-Hurricanes Katrina, Rita, and Gustav; a discussion of healthy workplaces as being essential both for a healthy planet and healthy women; an explanation of the life cycle of chemicals from production to disposal; an overview of the electronics and nail salon industries; a call to mitigate climate change effects through local action; and a framework for aligning the efforts of climate justice and reproductive justice advocates (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009). Through featuring the aforementioned issues, the rhetors reveal their purpose of transforming the existing epistemology guiding movement members.

Looking at Metaphor and Cultural Rationality

Rhetorical inquiry acknowledges rhetoric’s “ability to characterize a set of facts or a condition in the world one way rather than another and therefore to name it as a problem or not” (Cox, 2010, p. 63). Based on this quality, a rhetorical approach facilitates examination of the constitutive role of “looking both ways” in the reviewed text, as information is incorporated to name the concerns and problems confronting members of the climate justice and reproductive justice movements. Furthermore, because “social movements are materially manifest not in groups but in public discourse,” a rhetorical examination of this text is essential to better comprehend the motives and aims of movement participants (DeLuca, 1999, p. 36). Given this rationale, I employ metaphoric criticism and cultural rationality to assist my analysis of the text’s trope of “looking both ways.” These theories serve to elucidate the conceptual connection between the rhetors’ selected metaphor and the lived experiences of marginalized communities affected by climate change and reproductive justice issues.

Metaphor

Metaphor exhibits a persistent presence in our everyday lives (Ivie, 2005; Kuusisto, 2005; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This assertion is the central premise of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who argue “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (p. 3). The prevalence of metaphors has interesting implications, for a given metaphorical concept provides one way of approaching an issue while obscuring other

perspectives revealed through alternative metaphors (Kuusisto, 2005). Thus, this language device plays a significant role in shaping human construction and comprehension of certain issues and concerns to the neglect of others.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also suggest that metaphors can exhibit particular orientational qualities. The theorists explain that metaphors possess “a basis in our physical and cultural experience” by orienting our understanding of certain concepts based on our physical environment and spatial orientation (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 14). Accordingly, they argue that “[a] metaphor can serve as a vehicle for understanding a concept only by virtue of its experiential basis” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 18). In their text, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) offer the following orientational metaphors: “up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, [and] central-peripheral” (p. 14).

Given this theoretical framework, I suggest that “looking both ways” reveals another orientational metaphor based on our physical and social understanding of the world. Although the trope diverges from the orientational metaphors suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in that it lacks an obvious opposing, hierarchical counterpart (i.e., the opposite of “looking both ways” is difficult to discern), the metaphor fulfills the criterion of possessing a clear spatial positioning rooted in our physical and cultural experiences. For example, in the United States, children are warned to “look both ways” before crossing the street. Later in life, when teenagers learn how to drive, they are instructed by parents and others that they must “look both ways” when proceeding through an intersection. These are just two cultural instances where being cognizant of the surrounding environment is emphasized discursively by “looking both ways,” as more than one viewpoint is considered. From a physical perspective, the trope denotes a crossroads, whereby a decision must be made regarding which direction(s) to look and move. The metaphor also places humans in an active position, whereby we must physically look to see what lies on either side of us. Within this positioning, however, what lies ahead or behind us may be obscured when we focus on “looking both ways” rather than looking in all directions (i.e., laterally, as well as front and back). Thus, this orientation risks confining potential action to two directions, whereby consideration of other possibilities for change is downplayed.

Cultural Rationality

While orientational metaphors are rooted in experience, so too is the concept of cultural rationality. This term emphasizes “personal and familiar experiences rather than depersonalized technical calculations” offered by scientists and other experts (Fischer, 2000, p. 132). The cultural rationality perspective “values experiential input, analogy, historical precedent, and democratic processes for decision making” (Hamilton, 2003, p. 293). With regard to the environmentalist cause, rather than solely seeking experts to define and articulate environmental threats caused by climate change, the cultural rationality framework values lay testimony, as the experiences and perceptions of those most directly impacted are included in the decision-making process (Fischer, 2000; Hamilton, 2003). Given this experience-based orientation, cultural rationality emphasizes “case-specific social processes” which influence decision making and form the basis of rationality (Fischer, 2000, p. 123).

This concept is salient in understanding the text reviewed in this investigation, for cultural rationality emphasizes the need to acknowledge the lived experiences of marginalized communities affected by injustices related to both climate change and reproductive freedom. Additionally, cultural rationality illumines the importance of a democratic decision-making process, whereby the voices of women experiencing injustice are heard and included. This perspective is mirrored in the claims presented by the text’s rhetors, as they detail the imperative

of “looking both ways.”

In examining the artifact, I looked for actual instances of the phrase “looking both ways” as well as passages that explicitly made reference to an alteration of perspective or direction to join aspects of climate justice and reproductive justice. I also observed occasions where personal experience and lay testimonies were integrated into the text. Taken together, these critical reading techniques allowed me to recognize both the epistemological and movement-building components of the report.

Looking at the Text

I argue the “looking both ways” trope employed in the artifact serves an epistemological function, whereby the metaphor challenges established ways of knowing for climate justice and reproductive justice advocates. This purpose is illumined in the authors’ introduction to their project. They write, “Our analysis of the intersection of reproductive justice and climate justice reflects the importance of developing new understandings of issues rooted in the lived experiences of our communities” (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, para. 2). The articulation of “new understandings” via cultural rationality is employed in the text to link climate justice and reproductive justice regarding the following issues: occurrences of rape and sexual violence during and after climate change disasters; legal threats of coercive sterilization following these events; and effects of hazardous chemical production and exposure in the electronics and nail salon industries.

The first issue addressed in the text aligning climate change mitigation with reproductive freedom is sexual injustice against women. Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) explain that women are more vulnerable to rape and other sexual violence during natural crises, particularly “disasters that cause mass displacement, such as those caused by climate change” (p. 4). To substantiate their claim, the authors utilize data from Hurricanes Katrina and Rita to elucidate the connection between natural disasters spurred by climate change and the corresponding injustice encountered by the female sex.

While incidents of gender-based violence are often not reported due to chaos and stigma, an online database for sexual assaults reports 47 cases of rape during and after Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, with 93% of victims being women and girls. Additionally, rape crisis centers reported more than 100 calls regarding sexual assaults from Katrina evacuees from Texas to Mississippi to Louisiana. (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 4)

Aside from being appalling, inexcusable, and unjust, these figures uncover how occurrences of sexual violence during extreme weather events involve both climate justice and reproductive justice concerns.

In utilizing the exemplars of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) reveal a not-so-obvious linkage between extreme weather events and sexual violence against women. While incidences of rape need not be accompanied by climate change disasters, reports of sexual assaults during and after these hurricanes are arguably not coincidental. In clarifying this connection, the authors explain that “climate change disasters frequently result in increased attacks on women’s bodies that take advantage of the social, political, and economic instability created by the disaster to further degrade women” (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 4). Given this explanation, the authors effectively create a new epistemological framework for both climate justice and reproductive justice advocates to base their efforts, as they “look both ways” to elucidate the intersection between advancing climate change mitigation and women’s rights in the face of extreme weather events. Notably, the rhetors’ presented way of knowing for understanding

climate change is reduced to disasters, not everyday situations or processes.

Another means for revitalizing the existing epistemology of both movements in the artifact is through exposing a legislative proposal to sterilize women on welfare following Hurricane Gustav. Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) reveal that in 2008, one of Louisiana's state representatives, John LaBruzzo, used poor women as scapegoats for the government's negligence during Hurricane Gustav and the earlier disasters of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. LaBruzzo blamed these women for having too many children and claimed they were responsible for hindering the government's response to the disasters because of their alleged role in contributing to overpopulation in the area. As such, the lawmaker proposed legislation that targeted women on welfare by offering them \$1,000 in exchange for undergoing sterilization; meanwhile, LaBruzzo suggested tax incentives to encourage higher-income individuals to procreate (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009). The authors explain:

Fearing Louisiana was headed toward an economic crisis if it didn't decrease the number of people "having babies they could not take care of" and dependent on the government, he [LaBruzzo] proposed a solution to sterilize low-income people to stop them from having children. (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 7)

By detailing LaBruzzo's so-called solution to restrict the reproductive freedom of women through coercive sterilization, Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) reveal the vulnerability of low-income women and women of color when they are deployed as scapegoats and blamed for government officials' inability to respond adequately to climate disasters.

Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) elucidate that by linking government failures to respond to the exigencies which emerged following Hurricane Gustav with careless procreation by low-income communities, "LaBruzzo's solution targeted African American and poor women's bodies, sexuality, fertility, and motherhood" (p. 8). As a result, the Louisiana lawmaker obscured the need to address environmental degradation caused by climate change by placing blame on easy targets rather than seeking more difficult, systemic solutions. This incident reveals a clear overlap between climate change and reproductive health concerns, as the threat of coercive sterilization following climate disasters necessitates that members of the climate justice and reproductive justice movements "look both ways" to foster climate change mitigation while simultaneously ensuring women's reproductive freedom. Consequently, the trope functions epistemologically to associate issues that previously were considered discrete entities by demonstrating their connection and significance in achieving the aims of both movements.

Yet another area of epistemological alteration is visible in the text's discussion of the Life Cycle Assessment (LCA) of chemicals, which calls activists to reconsider the ways in which they seek to combat environmental and reproductive health threats posed by toxins; the rhetors utilize the electronics and nail salon industries to elucidate this connection. The artifact reveals that the dangerous effects of chemicals extend beyond their production and use, for a whole cycle of harmful processes occurs: extraction, production, distribution, use, and disposal. The authors explain that given this chemical cycle, "[w]hen 'looking both ways' at reproductive justice and climate change in the U.S., it is clear that several of the same corporations that most contribute to global warming also greatly impede on women's reproductive justice" (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 11). As such, "looking both ways" becomes a new way of knowing about the life cycle of chemicals, for workplace hazards can be reduced and the health of the planet can also benefit when the full impact of chemicals in the industries where marginalized women work are considered.

In the case of the electronics industry, the authors explain that "looking both ways"

provides a holistic framework that is better equipped to address both climate justice and reproductive justice concerns associated with this sector: “The electronics industry demonstrates the opportunity to take action and to improve reproductive justice for women through workplace change and at the same time reduce emissions that directly impact global warming” (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 13). This passage suggests that a perspective which “looks both ways” at the electronics industry can address multiple, related problems (i.e., carbon emissions and workplace injustice); in so doing, the agendas of climate justice and reproductive justice are revitalized and advanced.

The specific ways in which the industry contributes to global warming and threatens women’s reproductive health is revealed through the text’s discussion of perfluoro-compounds (PFCs), which are used in the production of microchips. These compounds have been found to produce high levels of greenhouse gases (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009). In addition to contributing to environmental degradation, preliminary research suggests that PFCs and other electronics industry chemicals jeopardize the reproductive health of women who work in this sector. As a result of the hazardous substances used in their work environment, female employees “suffer from high rates of miscarriage, fertility problems, children with birth defects, vision impairments, and cancer” (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 14). Through the authors’ description of “looking both ways” at the greenhouse gas emissions and health problems caused by these substances, it is clear that PFCs not only contribute to global warming but also hinder positive reproductive health outcomes for women.

Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) provide further justification for linking these social justice movements when discussing “looking both ways” at the manufacturing of electronics to achieve synergistic, comprehensive reform:

If we solely focus on women’s reproductive justice we come up with different solutions than when we also consider the [electronics] industry’s contribution to global warming. If we were to only look at reproductive justice we might decide that a better ventilation system is needed to decrease workers’ exposure to chemicals. By “looking both ways” and taking into account the electronics industry’s contribution to global warming, a more comprehensive solution that eliminates or reduces the hazardous chemicals that are harmful to women workers and contribute to global warming emerges. (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 14)

Based on this excerpt, an understanding of climate justice and reproductive justice beyond the discrete, traditional focus of each movement is imperative in mitigating climate change and advancing reproductive freedom. Through this articulation, the epistemological framework of movement members is shifted to embody a more inclusive approach that is interested in systemic change, as concerns with workers’ exposure to toxic chemicals are expanded to advocate banning the production of hazardous materials in the first place. As a result, the authors’ employment of “looking both ways” demonstrates the need to reorient the agenda setting of climate justice and reproductive justice supporters based on intersectional issues, thus revitalizing existing ways of knowing in each movement.

In addition to the electronics industry, Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) also highlight the intersection of climate justice and reproductive justice for low-income women of color who work in nail salons. They argue that the nail salon industry offers “opportunities to examine the potential benefits of strategies that utilize a reproductive justice approach to addressing climate change” (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 13). In so doing, they explain that not only does this industry contribute substantially to greenhouse gas emissions via the life cycle of chemicals used

in nail salons, but it also creates a hazardous work environment whereby workers are exposed to several cleaners and disinfectants which cause debilitating reproductive health effects (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009). In conjunction with this claim, the authors suggest that

[a] reproductive justice analysis of working conditions in nail salons directs improvements not only to making the nail salon environment one that is conducive to good health, but also to increasing wages, improving benefits, reducing working hours, reducing harassment and discrimination, and creating more educational opportunities for workers. (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 17)

This more holistic approach exposes several other problems confronting women of color in the workplace, revealing their tenuous intersectional positioning and the need to not only address health concerns linked with toxic chemicals and global warming but other systemic issues of discrimination and labor abuses. As such, in “looking both ways,” the passage seeks to associate environmental and workplace health with several other issues traditionally associated with the reproductive justice movement (e.g., reducing hours worked and discriminatory practices). Although Rojas-Cheatham et al. are right to expose the many inadequacies of the industry, I argue their use of “looking both ways” in this instance is problematic, for reproductive justice issues are privileged without sufficiently looking the other way at how climate change mitigation efforts may also be affected by these concerns. Also a potential pitfall of the rhetors’ reliance on “looking both ways” is that the metaphor risks concealing alliance-building opportunities with other social movements, which limits the support base for addressing the issues raised in the aforementioned passage; in the case of the nail salon industry, these other social movements include immigrant and worker rights.

Looking at the Implications

The constitutive function of “looking both ways” outlined in the previous section reveals how Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) establish a revitalized epistemological framework for climate justice and reproductive justice, as they address the multi-faceted concerns of marginalized communities confronted with the dangerous effects of climate change. Based on my analysis of the text, I argue the authors’ employment of the metaphor results in both beneficial and limiting implications for agenda setting within and across the climate justice and reproductive justice movements. As I noted, Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) effectively “look both ways” in their discussion associating sexual violence and coercive sterilization with hurricanes, as well as in their description of the hazardous substances produced in the electronics industry. However, when detailing the nail salon industry, the rhetors fail to give equal attention to climate justice, by framing the detrimental practices of the sector via a reproductive justice lens. Further, they obscure the opportunity to highlight other social movements beyond climate justice and reproductive justice which may prove helpful in mitigating the negative effects of the nail salon industry on both the health of humans and the planet.

In exploring the implications of the text’s discussion of incidences of rape and sexual violence during and following extreme weather events, the rhetors effectively outline an innovative approach acknowledging issues relevant to both the climate justice and reproductive justice movements. While concerns regarding hurricanes and other climate change disasters have an evident connection with climate justice (Cox, 2010) and efforts to reduce sexual violence against women possess an obvious linkage with reproductive justice (Gerber Fried, 1990), the association of climate disasters with sexual assaults is not immediately clear. However, by employing the trope of “looking both ways,” the rhetors demonstrate how climate change events

and occurrences of rape are correlated. This elucidates the need to amalgamate movement efforts to mitigate both global warming and women's oppression. Operating within this epistemological rearticulation, climate justice and reproductive justice are no longer perceived as discrete entities, for if activists from both movements wish to fulfill their missions, then they must acknowledge the goals of their social justice counterparts. This is a significant recognition, for it is through collaborative efforts that synergistic effects may occur, bolstering the progress of both movements.

I also have highlighted how Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) successfully employ the metaphor of "looking both ways" regarding coercive sterilization threats during the aftermath of hurricanes. If only climate justice or if only reproductive justice concerns had been emphasized by the rhetors, they arguably would have overlooked the opportunity to alter perceptions which conceptualize these movements as isolated endeavors. However, by illustrating the complex and interactional manifestations of climate disasters and social injustice through LaBruzzo's call to sterilize women on welfare following Hurricane Gustav, the authors elucidate that climate justice is not only about mitigating global warming, but also concerns altering how various stakeholders respond to severe weather events and the effects of that response on reproductive justice issues and the lives of women. In this instance, the reproductive justice platform, too, must broaden its focus to not only confront coercive sterilization practices but also to mitigate the extreme weather events provoking such injustice. While coercive sterilization has been a long time concern of reproductive justice advocates (Gerber Fried, 1990; Silliman et al., 2004), the rhetors illumine that new challenges require that activists acknowledge the reemergence of this practice in response to climate catastrophes, as marginalized individuals are unjustly targeted by government officials. Consequently, Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) depict a key intersection that offers a new epistemological framework from which advocates from both movements can realign their goals.

The rhetors also effectively highlight how the toxic substances used and produced in the electronics industry are hazardous to both the health of the environment and women. For example, when Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) discuss the need to reduce the production of toxic chemicals in the first place rather than center attention on a better ventilation system for workers, their argument reveals how "looking both ways" redirects efforts toward a more systemic focus, instead of addressing isolated incidents of worker health dangers and complaints. As such, if the presence of the chemicals can be eliminated, then both the climate justice and reproductive justice agendas are advanced, as carbon emissions are reduced and women's reproductive health is fostered. This discursive move echoes the anti-toxics position, whereby environmental justice activists seek to stop pollution where it starts (Cox, 2010; Di Chiro, 1996; Hofrichter, 1993; Pezzullo, 2007; Sandler & Pezzullo, 2007). Consequently, although the framework suggested by the authors may not be new to the environmental movement, it is a way of knowing that advances the interests of both climate justice and reproductive justice advocates by "looking both ways."

Ultimately, based on these illustrations, the metaphor is advantageous in that it reaffirms members' focus on cultural rationality by highlighting the experiences and needs of individuals who live at the intersection of both climate change and reproductive rights threats (Fischer, 2000; Hamilton, 2003). Furthermore, the authors' utilization of a recognizable orientational metaphor rooted firmly in both our physical and cultural experiences facilitates activists' understanding of the intersecting elements of climate justice and reproductive justice. In acknowledging that human rights and detrimental climate change effects are often impacted by the same issues, the possibility for coalition-building arises, prompting "new and innovative strategies, partnerships, and leaders to emerge" (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009, p. 2). To achieve these aims, the rhetors suggest that climate justice and reproductive justice activists identify opportunities in the workplace to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions and advance reproductive freedom. Also, they

recommend that members of both causes engage in movement-building to construct cross-sector alliances among low-wage workers (Rojas-Cheatham et al., 2009).

Despite the notable benefits engendered by “looking both ways,” the rhetorical alignment of these causes in the text is not without its disadvantages. One key limitation is Rojas-Cheatham et al.’s discussion of nail salons and the numerous reproductive justice issues that are brought to light, while relevant climate change concerns are downplayed. For example, the rhetors explain how acknowledgment of workplace health hazards elucidates a host of other concerns pertaining to the reproductive freedom of women who work in nail salons, such as increasing wages and reducing harassment. If the authors are to “look both ways,” however, then they must also address a wide range of climate justice concerns and clarify the connection between the two movements in this specific instance. Accordingly, in addition to explaining how reducing the use of toxic chemicals in the work environment enhances women’s reproductive freedom, Rojas-Cheatham et al. (2009) should describe how addressing workplace injustice, beyond worker exposure to hazardous substances, furthers climate justice efforts. As such, the rhetors must ensure they heed their own advice by acknowledging both climate justice and reproductive justice concerns in their rhetoric, even though they are writing for an organization focused on advancing women’s reproductive freedom. This elucidates a potential weakness of the “looking both ways” metaphor, for it risks encouraging the reader to look in opposite directions where, in the case of the rhetors’ discussion of nail salons, one movement is featured over the other. As a consequence, the metaphor may suggest different traditions that activists may turn to rather than issues of intersectionality. In addition, “looking both ways” implies there are only two dimensions to climate change and reproductive freedom threats which, as I previously suggested, narrows the support-base for these issues by overlooking immigrant and labor rights groups.

Regarding additional detrimental effects of the metaphor, I argue the approach potentially limits consideration of the past and future trajectories of climate justice and reproductive justice. The metaphorical concept, when taken literally, prompts actors to look in two directions, likely to the left and right sides, but not necessarily ahead or behind. This oversimplifies and overlooks the positioning of climate justice and reproductive justice issues by failing to consider past successes, challenges, and obstacles as well as what may lie ahead in the future. For example, in incorporating climate justice rhetoric in their agenda, the authors fail to recognize that this emerging cause has encountered resistance in receiving legitimacy in the larger environmental movement; environmentalists and environmental justice advocates have largely not incorporated the climate justice agenda in their own frameworks addressing global warming and toxics respectively (Cox, 2010; Sandler & Pezzullo, 2007). This has interesting implications, as the utility of aligning the goals of reproductive justice with climate change concerns, in an attempt to mobilize greater support, may not be as useful for the reproductive justice movement as the authors of the text suggest. Additionally, I argue the trope muddies the future trajectory of these causes, as efforts to recognize the intersection of both movements could risk obscuring the imperative and unique purposes guiding climate justice and reproductive justice advocates. This concern is echoed in extant scholarship centering on the challenge of unifying efforts when “undeniable and irreconcilable differences” exist regarding environmental goals and agenda-setting (Sandler & Pezzullo, 2007, p. 309).

Given this discussion, it is clear that “looking both ways” offers both advantages and disadvantages for addressing the intersecting concerns of climate justice and reproductive justice. Based on my findings in this paper, scholars and activists alike must acknowledge the possibility for unexplored implications of such progressive alignments. That being said, however, continuing to treat these social justice efforts as discrete entities risks overlooking potential opportunities to

galvanize a larger support-base and better understand and confront systemic issues challenging climate change mitigation and reproductive freedom. After all, from a cultural rationality perspective, essential to any “movement’s coalitional activities is an attempt to bring together a wide range of other social movements” (Fischer, 2000, p. 120). As such, I argue that collaborative, community mobilization efforts by climate justice and reproductive justice supporters should be attempted. This claim is substantiated in my analysis of the text, whereby my findings uncover several advantageous rhetorical examples for aligning these movements.

Conclusion

As climate disasters continue to unfold, disproportionately impacting low-income communities where the majority of inhabitants are the poor and people of color, the need to expose and learn from past and present injustice is imperative (Di Chiro, 1996). Furthermore, exploring the rhetorical similarities, differences, and potential strains within these causes is advisable if scholars and advocates wish to better understand the underlying motivations and implications of activists’ symbolic actions toward synergizing and aligning movement goals and concerns. Using the current investigation as a foundation, further rhetorical analysis of ACRJ, other reproductive justice groups, and climate justice organizations is necessary to observe to what extent climate justice and reproductive justice issues are articulated as intersecting concerns. In closing, as marginalized women continue to navigate the barriers that have persistently led to their oppression, their struggle for daily survival is exacerbated as climate change disasters disproportionately impact their communities (Cox, 2010; Di Chiro, 1996; Peeples & DeLuca, 2006; Pezzullo, 2007; Sandler & Pezzullo, 2007). As such, we must not forget that reproductive rights are human rights and the ability to avoid disproportionate impacts from climate crises is also a human right. Ultimately, as environmentalists, feminists, policy makers, everyday citizens, and those living in affected communities debate the issues of climate change and reproductive freedom, the implications of their rhetoric is directly linked with the fate of marginalized individuals and the planet which we all share.

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End Notes:

¹The six volumes in the Momentum Series were written between 2008 and 2010.

²Paredes and Shen are staff members of ACRJ.

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UNEARTHING THE FEMININE: YIN/YANG SPIRALS IN H. RIDER HAGGARD'S KING SOLOMON'S MINES

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Abstract

This paper applies yin/yang theory as a strategic binary framework for analyzing Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, a quest romance released during the 19th century, an era marked by invasions by European nations in Africa. In this paper, the female characters Gagool and Foulata are circumscribed through an ecofeminist lens to show their embodiment of yin and yang, and its relationship to a matriarchal society repressed by the capitalist-patriarchal system of imperialism. As earth mother, Foulata's seemingly submissive role is complex and multifaceted, while Gagool as knowledge-bearer is correlated with the witch hunts of patriarchal science. By juxtaposing these two women with the three white explorers, Captain Good, Sir Curtis and Allan Quartermain, this paper excavates a counter-hegemonic narrative from the two women who become emblematic of the suppression of ecofeminist values.

Keywords: Yin/Yang, Ecofeminism, Imperialism, Orientalism, Hegemony

“But listen, and let all the white men know my words.”

–Ignosi

An empire on which the sun never set, a slogan the British Crown proudly disseminated through its ideological endeavor, signifies an empire which by definition sought to create a false representation of the nature of reality. This imperialist hubris represents an elision of the Eastern concept of bipolar interdependence known as the yin and yang, an elision that rests in H. Rider Haggard's 1885 “quest romance,” *King Solomon's Mines*. No uttered words in *King Solomon's Mines* encircle the yin and yang elision better than that of Foulata's before she (as native woman and one of only two main female characters in the novel), dies: “the sun cannot mate with the darkness” (Haggard, 2007, p. 206). This darkness was reified in the refashioning of Africa as the “dark continent,” a continent “dark” in the sense that it was unknown, unfamiliar, and unmapped, and also “dark” in the more destructive sense in that it was constructed as evil, wild, corrupt, and uncivilized, and hence fit for domination.

Rider Haggard's subsequent novel, *She* (1887), is recognized as presenting an overpowering female ruler of this “dark continent,” known as “She-who-must-be-obeyed,” who threatens the establishment of a male-centric system. She is a version of the New Woman who

the British bourgeoisie discussed as part of the “Woman Question,” feared for her independence and her supposed colonization of typically masculine territories, an anti-yang. *She’s* publication is situated at the *fin de siècle*, a time when imperial self-reflective anxieties were growing (Chrisman, 1990; David, 1995; Libby, 2004; Rodgers, 1999). Set in late nineteenth-century South Africa, Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines* forecasts and fleshes out this ever-approximating yin threat through several polarized representations: Gagool and Foulata; Foulata and the three white men; and Gagool and the three white men. *King Solomon’s Mines* begins with Sir Curtis and Captain Good approaching Allan Quartermain and proposing a search for Sir Curtis’ lost brother, George, in return for payment and keeping his share of any diamonds from the mythical King Solomon’s mines they think they might find in the region. Before departing into Kukuanialand, the three enlist the help of a Zulu guide by the name of Umbopa to direct them through the Kukuanialand terrain that is both in the shape of a woman (e.g., Sheba’s breasts) and inhospitable (downright dangerous), and upon arriving in the capital, Loo, learn of the ruthless King Twala’s usurping the throne by killing his brother and forsaking his brother’s son. The King manages to quell any attempt at insurrection by using the witch known as Gagool and her seemingly supernatural abilities to lead witch hunts. However, with the support of the British trio and their use of Western weapons, Umbopa, who is actually the son (named Ignosi) of the rightful and murdered king, defeats Twala, while Good, injured from the battle, is nursed by the native woman Foulata (before she is killed by Gagool). Ignosi welcomes only the trio and not any other visitor to the land, and the narrative (narrated by Quartermain), ends with Sir Henry finding his brother, and the trio returns to England. Through the Eastern polarity of yin and yang, I analyze Western hegemonies present in Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines*.

Theoretical Roots

This yin/yang critique of Haggard’s novel is influenced by the theories of several cultural critics, including Edward Said’s critique of Orientalism, grounded upon both an epistemological and ontological distinction made between the Orient (the West) and the Occident (the East). At its core, Orientalism is the seemingly ineradicable distinction between Oriental inferiority and Western supremacy. There are two main issues with this Western dichotomy. One issue is that it is highly reductionist, producing a false dichotomy founded on misrepresentations of both the West and the so-called Orient and consequently only produces more conflicts and misunderstanding between peoples. In this sense, it conveniently groups one collective identity into diametrically opposed Others without regard for nuance or even semblances of truth, much less the dire consequences of those groupings. Another issue is that this Western polarity imports a zero-sum relation that precludes the possibility of pluralism and harmony.

To understand the kind of Western power operating in Haggard’s novel, I reiterate Said’s point that Orientalism is a discourse that is disseminated as part of an unequal exchange of power relations. These power relations mean that various epistemologies classified as Oriental would be suppressed in correlation with the distribution of Western modes of knowledge, whether they are cultural, political, social, economic, racial, and so on. In this regard, I apply Gayatri Spivak’s conception of “epistemic violence” as “the remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other... the asymmetrical obliteration of the trace of that Other in its precarious Subject-ivity” (Spivak, 1999a, p. 266). To give an example, one cannot help but note that even through the authorial act by Haggard of naming the Other, Haggard Orientalizes both native women in a similar nomenclature by prefixing their names with English words connoting disgust, “Gag” and “Foul” (adding that no pronunciation guide is given), committing an act of epistemic violence where the literal referent, though subtle, is attached to

the woman. Although Scheick (1991) deduced that in “suggesting a dual response to [Gagool] as someone who is funny and who makes one nauseous,” Haggard expresses interest in “hoaxes;” I would ascribe the more serious charge that Haggard expresses interests in the larger British interests of imperialism and its corollaries (forms of oppression of the Other, manifested at times through veiled discourse practices) (Scheick, 1991, pp. 21-22). Spivak documented this systematic destruction of any vestiges of the Other done through naming, noting that the “graphematic structure” of writing where “hidden agendas” might be passed off, and ultimately lead to, “essentialist historical generalizations” that disenfranchise the Other, precluding them from assigning themselves their own identity (Spivak, 1999b, pp. 130-135). Conversely, the white men’s names either denote benevolence and status (Captain Good) or connote the British gentleman (Sir Henry Curtis and Allan Quartermain). Intentional or not, Orientalizing the feminine name dislocates from the discourse the genuine portrait of woman, native and other, oppressed just as much as it promotes and keeps afloat the positive memes of the West.

Another theoretical frame for my argument comes from ecofeminism, an ecocentric philosophy combining environmentalist and feminist values. Ecofeminism, which according to Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva is a “new term for an ancient wisdom” that is grounded on several premises (1993, p. 13). In general, ecofeminism is a form of environmentalism that recognizes “the relationship of exploitative dominance between man and nature... and the exploitative and oppressive relationship between men and women that prevails in most patriarchal societies” (Mies & Shiva, 1993, p. 3). These patriarchal and capitalist societies in turn form part of the “world system [which is] built upon and maintains itself through the colonization of women, of ‘foreign’ peoples and their lands; and of nature, which it is gradually destroying” (Mies & Shiva, 1993, p. 2). In this sense, patriarchal and capitalist ideology sustains itself through an Orientalizing mode of living. The symbiosis called for in ecofeminism to combat this dichotomous Western ideology is grounded in “a new cosmology and a new anthropology which recognizes that life in nature... is maintained by means of co-operation,” not divisive hierarchy (Mies & Shiva, 1993, p. 6). This worldview is only new insofar as it reintroduces an ecocentric, and hence, prehistorical and ancient philosophy—the recognition of such a centrism is what is new (because of the ultradominance of anthropocentric and Eurocentric ideas), not the philosophy per se. Ecofeminism integrates the view that nature is seen as *a hegemonized and Orientalized Other*, linked to the capitalist enterprise.

One historical point in keeping with the need for this symbiosis, the need for mutual coexistence despite differences, is that “women were the first to protest against environmental destruction,” which is why a capitalist society is simultaneously patriarchal and not matriarchal (Mies & Shiva, 1993, p. 3). Hence, the feminine and its matriarchal values planted the seeds of environmental awareness and defense of the Earth, a matter that will be of particular relevance when considering the often-romanticized views of Foulata. But the larger thematic point is that ecofeminism is akin to the Eastern yin and yang philosophy in that it is cognizant of the dualism in human nature and of the cooperation, co-understanding, and co-respect that is sorely needed for human society to flourish. It embraces our differing needs and desires, both of the self and each other, instead of resorting to the essentialist zero-sum dichotomies that stem from Orientalism, that often resorts to solipsism and criticizing difference.

One of the relevancies this yin/yang model offers is a stern reminder of the various ways (some subtle, some not so subtle) in which the West *continues* to Orientalize and subjugate the East. In this regard, the role of ecofeminist critics is not only one to lift the veil of a patriarchal history realized both in action and thought, as well as to show how present manifestations of Orientalism are formulated and circulated, but simultaneously putting forth the right language

with which to lift the veil in the first place, in part to avoid any further Orientalizing. This can be seen as a kind of literary activism in that the literary critic provides a globalizing criticism toolkit for addressing current Orientalisms outside the text proper, and localizing Orientalisms at work within the text. Consequently, the critic becomes an actor in addition to an analyst, thus making the practice not only interdisciplinary, but more applicable to other disciplines in doing so. Spivak referred to this strategy as self-positioning, and in conjunction with the yin/yang, is not unlike the “strategic use of a positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest” (emphasis in original, Spivak, 1999, pp. 3-5).

An Overview to Yin and Yang

In order to understand the argumentative framework, I will briefly explain what I mean by yin and yang. The yin and yang polarities stem from Chinese philosophy, specifically, the *I Ching*, signifying the underlying forces of the universe, according to Charles Osgood and Meredith Richards (1973). There are several dualities from this concept worth highlighting. Yang is identified with light, the sun, the masculine, the high, the unyielding, birth, fire, and the sky. Yin, conversely, is identified with darkness, the moon, the feminine, the low, the yielding, water, death, and the earth. Even with these ostensibly stark binary oppositions, it is important to note that yin and yang are not recognized as being unable to coexist, but rather, as fundamentally intertwined in shaping the circular nature of life. Their symbolic nature correlates with Said’s point that Oriental depictions are not the actual realities but “representations” (emphasis in original, Said, 1994, p. 21).

To illustrate this harmonious binary extant in Eastern thinking, the Hindu Goddess Kali, who represents the “collapse of typically ‘Western’ binary thinking” in that as wife and mother she self-consciously embodies the “paradoxical dyads: passivity/aggressiveness; traditionality/unconventionality; beautiful/grotesque; tender/terrifying” that in the Western view would be incompatible and self-contradictory (Dalmiya, 2000, pp. 126-127). Another interesting example from polytheism is the Aztec fertility goddess Coatlicue (serpent skirt), who is an all-encompassing deity of the cycles of life, death, and rebirth with a serpent’s head and a necklace of human hearts (Anzaldúa, 1999). By applying an Eastern binary, I critique the Western binary through which Haggard’s romance is commonly seen.

The Archeological Surround

The term “archeological surround” is apt for a yin/yang framework, a borrowed term from Michael Ondaatje’s *Anil’s Ghost* when the archeologist Sarath remarks about the need to “understand the archeological surround of a fact,” or the need to comprehend the context to uncover a more nuanced understanding of the truth or, at least, come close to it (Ondaatje, 2001, p. 44). *King Solomon’s Mines* was released during the “scramble for Africa” was taking place among fourteen nations, as a result of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 (Brantlinger, 1985; Haggard, 2007). This scramble is reified in the novel’s facsimile of the blood-drawn map of King Solomon’s mines by the sixteenth-century Portuguese explorer José da Silvestra (himself a fictional concoction), the Portuguese having pioneered African cartography in the fifteenth century (Haggard, 2007). Published in the late Victorian period, the novel was also released during the *fin de siècle*, a time when, according to Sally Ledger, “utterly central” New Woman concerns manifested in fiction from the 1880s through the 1890s (Ledger, 1997, p. 1). As a concept, the “New Woman” since “its inception, [was] riddled with contradictions,” in part because as a discursive phenomenon, the term was subject to change and operated relative to the

relevant discursive field (Ledger, 1997, p. 16). For example, the New Woman was associated with masculine traits, sexual decadence, and the rise of socialist parties. Whereas in scientific discourse the focus was on the New Woman vacating the maternal role, in fiction it was her “sexual licence” that was emphasized (Ledger, 1997, p. 10). In relation to Othering, the New Woman was “constructed as a threat to women’s role as the mothers of the British Empire [and] more generally ... a threat to the economic supremacy of the bourgeois men in Britain” (Ledger, 1997, p. 19). In other words, the New Woman was socially constructed by Western patriarchy only to craft a false, dichotomized view of the New Woman and suppress any views that might provide equality and civil rights to women.

The significance to the body of Haggard’s work, as Sandra Gilbert observed in Haggard’s *She*, is that such a leveling of power implies “an ultimate triumph of otherness” through the New Woman symbol (cited in Rodgers, 1999, pp. 36-37). As Rebecca Stott declared, to neglect Haggard’s own New Woman anxieties, is to “overlook the complexity and range of discourses... which surround and define the Haggardian women” in general (quoted in Rodgers, 1999, p. 37). Although Ledger, in keeping with the multiple identities of the New Woman, asserted there were “New-Womanish” figures who instead of opposition to imperialism expressed complicity, the larger point is that “what readers and writers thought [the New Woman] was, was just as real and historically significant as what she actually was,” insofar as the representation became the reality to some degree, given its materialization in the discursive arena (Ledger, 1997, p. 64).

In the case of *King Solomon’s Mines*, through a yin/yang perspective, the characters of Gagool and Foulata not only come to represent their own form of the New Woman figure, but in doing so, broaden what Stott referred to as “the intersection of diverse cultural concerns [and] a means of expression of cultural imaginings rooted in a widespread sense of British decline and fall” that sprouted from various kinds of interplays that were themselves rooted in language (cited in Rodgers, 1999, p. 37). Having charted the novel’s relevancies, I now turn to an analysis of the two main female characters who in some ways act as foils, Gagool and Foulata.

Gagool and Foulata

Although the role of the men in Haggard’s novel in relation to the British Crown has been extensively surveyed by critics, and while the role of Gagool as representing British anxieties of the New Woman has been noted, the role of Foulata has been largely overlooked (e.g., Bass, 1981; Driss, 2003; Kaufman, 2005; Libby, 2004) or even assigned to a Westernized view of the submissive Oriental female. For example, David likened her character to the “sweet compliance of the *National Geographic* savage” (David, 1995, p. 193). Foulata is herself Orientalized by critics when she is portrayed solely as disempowered, and thus excluded, from a postcolonial or feminist discussion of the text, and in the case of imperialism, only fixed in a role that serves to legitimate or further Western sovereignty (she presumably becomes what Spivak refers to as the “native informant”). Part of the reason for critics marginalizing Foulata is that she seems overshadowed by Gagool, who is seen as the only potent and dangerous female. In this essay, I show how Foulata’s character is just as potent as Gagool’s, through the lens of the yin/yang perspective.

Foulata’s Western designation is problematic for several reasons. For one, it is reductionist insofar as Foulata is relegated to a one-dimensional function in Haggard’s text. Most significantly, by omitting the full picture of Foulata in a feminist or postcolonial perspective, critics perpetuate the very Othered notions they seek to criticize. Put another way, critics such as David (1995), Driss (2003), Libby (2004), and Rodgers (1999) unwittingly pay homage to a patriarchal (and western) system when they associated Foulata’s feminine attributes only with weakness, and more broadly, as subject to the masculine. Laura Chrisman’s (2003) work is the biggest exception to this

body of criticism, supporting the view that Foulata is actually a significant figure in Haggard's novel. The yin/yang model is meant to circumvent the singularly Western association by leveling the field of critical work in this area.

By operating within a patriarchal domain that placed the female, the earth, and the non-English under a hierarchy that fixed them into Others, the British Empire refashioned yin and yang as fundamentally at odds and incompatible, reified through fears of miscegenation, female empowerment, colonial independence, and so on. However, the actual Eastern binary is considered both co-dependent and coexisting. At various points, Gagool and Foulata are counterbalanced within this yin/yang binary. As Chrisman said, "[Gagool] is constantly juxtaposed with the young, beautiful and nubile Foulata" (Chrisman, 2003, p. 41). Gagool is best represented as the mother of evil (yang), and Foulata as maternal goodness (yin). Both representations, however, come to epitomize opposed forms of knowledge, knowledge leading to good (Foulata) and evil (Gagool). Gagool may represent a maternal demon, and Foulata a maternal goddess. Gagool carries the knowledge of death and knowledge of destruction, while Foulata embodies the knowledge of earth and knowledge of health. In other words, Gagool is the repository of dangerous knowledge, including knowledge of death, given by the fact that only she "knows the secret[s]" of the most significant sites of Kukuana/Zulu culture: King Solomon's mines, the Three Witches, and the Place of Death (Haggard, 2007, p. 180). Foulata, on the other hand, harbors what can be called earth knowledge, since yin identifies earth with the maternal.

Furthermore, Foulata's earth knowledge is derived from the materials with which she operates: pounded green leaves, a broth, and a "native cooling drink made of milk, in which was infused the juice of the bulb of a species of tulip" (Haggard, 2007, p. 180). These artifacts are nothing less than earth-based ingredients that position her not far from a medicine woman, a role that is of the utmost importance in matriarchal structures. In particular, the green leaves associate her with natural and herbal remedies, while the milk mixed with tulip juice indicates an expertise in the earth's resources. In effect, while Gagool employs her knowledge to manipulate King Twala and bring on war and destruction, Foulata embraces her knowledge to become an agent of the earth's nurturing ethos that extends to the invading white men, only to be killed at the mines, to the point that, as Andrew Libby asserted, she is the only virtuous woman in the novel (Libby, 2004).

These opposing epistemologies of the two female characters erupt in the death of Foulata at the hands of Gagool. The reason Gagool attacks Foulata is precisely because they are diametrically opposed—whereas Gagool serves King Twala for an ulterior motive of desire for control and power, a negative power that allows her elevated status in Kukuana patriarchy. Foulata only serves from a selfless desire to cure, soothe, and furnish life, as seen in her nursing of Captain Good. As Gerald Monsman noted, "Foulata, marked out to be killed by the Gagool-Twala-Scragga cohort, embodies with her antagonist, Gagool, the darker aspect of the earth-mother's cycle of death that precedes renewal," their roles are thus complementary according to the yin-yang view (Monsman, 2000, p. 287). Moreover, in the violent ritual sacrifice from which the white men save her, "Haggard registers his hatred of women and fear of their power" (Libby, 2004, p. 6). Additionally, the ritual sacrifice reinforces the idea that if Foulata is not subtracted from Kukuana culture, the patriarchal system in place will fall, while conversely, her own system of matriarchal benevolence will rise. Put another way, Gagool has structured Kukuana culture in such a way that tribal war, fear of death ("all things that live and must die") (Libby, 2004, p. 110), and destruction of innocence (the human sacrifices) are its foundational features. Foulata's ethos counterbalances those features with peace, protection of life, and a promotion of love. In this sense Gagool's old age is apropos, her decadent appearance in line with the fact that patriarchal

culture was primal and suppressive, while Foulata's youth connotes freshness, vibrancy, and a positive outlook. In other words, because Foulata represents earth values of "something more than compassion," her death is also the death of earth, for in her dying, so too do the qualities necessary for a matriarchal society (Haggard, 2007, p. 180).

Foulata and the Three White Men

The starkest contrast between yin/yang binaries is seen in the relationship between Foulata and the three white explorers, Captain John Good, Sir Henry Curtis, and Allan Quartermain. To begin, all three white men carry some political agency, and are middle to upper class, two of them with titles in front of their names, all with their own imperial forms of authority. Good represents imperial expansion along with a white construct of beauty. Curtis, as a British aristocrat, represents financial and religious capital, while Quartermain, as a trader and hunter, represents cultural capital through his literacy and his ability to author a travel narrative. Their cursing through Scripture, moreover, not only represents a "declining or fallen Christianity," but it also shows how the threat of a higher power beyond their comprehension is a common way to subjugate and dominate the Other, which is what Curtis does when he uses his Western epistemology to fashion himself as supernatural (Brantlinger, 1988).

It could be said that amongst the three white men, Quartermain carries the most salient function, for the reason that Curtis and Good need Quartermain in their mission, because they require someone to relate their quest to the world, in this case the empire, and to do so in a manner that is fanciful and attractive to the big and little boys of the book's dedication penned by Quartermain himself. It is noteworthy that Quartermain's dedication restricts his audience either to those who hold political power (big boys) or those who will (little boys), reinforcing Quartermain's role in this quest as strategically salient, which Robert Hampson, in his introduction to *King Solomon's Mines*, noted is part of the text's concern "with 'what men ought to be' in terms of 'manliness'" (Haggard, 2007, p. xxvii). Further, William Scheick (1991) noted that the novel was read by adults across the social spectrum. Nevertheless, Quartermain's authorship is inherently patriarchal, excluding women not only from an act that is itself empowering, but removing them from the constructs of empire-making and empire-fashioning. Foulata, alternatively, does not hold influence in her community as Gagool does, in large part because Gagool employs a patriarchal value system.

Another important opposition is seen in their contrary lifestyles. Among the men, Curtis is the most hypermasculine figure of the three, someone who "actually likes fighting" (Haggard, 2007, p. 147), and who likewise attracts both rival males (King Twala) and young females. Good is the gang's comic relief while Quartermain is the most introspective male (questioning whether they had embarked on a "fool's errand"), and the one who continually questions what a "gentleman" actually is (2007, p. 10). Nonetheless, Quartermain, from his youth, was steeped in the art of "smelting and welting metals" and "more accustomed to handle a rifle than a pen" (2007, p. 8). In effect, Quartermain illustrates his fondness for "military organisation," a nascent "desire to kill," and Curtis' combat prowess all the while espousing sexist views, Quartermain remarking that "Women are women, all the world over, whatever their color" (Haggard, 2007, pp. 164, 180). This yang aggression and denigration of the feminine is in line with imperial constructs of manhood, since only through oppression of the feminine can the war-driven ethos thrive.

The suppression of the feminine is also discerned from the narrative's implicit connection of empire-making to map-making in that the map by "Dom José" is in the form of a female body. In addition, the narrator denotes the Portuguese adventurer's detailing of the Kukuane's "devilish arts," the region's precious natural resources (the diamonds), and the "witch-finder" Gagool twice,

once in English and once in Portuguese, in such a way that the three forms of Other knowledge are set up for colonization by being delineated as evil or valuable. From a wider perspective, patriarchal societies across history and cultures, echo each other's views and legitimate each other's discourses as opposed to Other discourses (Haggard, 2007, pp. xxx, 24-25). Similarly, Libby noted that the function outlined by Haggard of the three white men is ulterior: "The trick ... is to represent successful adventuring that doesn't lead to full-fledged colonization" (Libby, 2004, p. 4). In this way, empire becomes more signified by exploitation of the land's resources than by subjugation of its people. Further, with Foulata declaring that "the sun cannot mate with the darkness," the recurrent objective, according to Driss, is to make the "native woman utter these words ... [to acquit] the colonizer from any accusation of racism" (Driss, 2003, p. 173; Haggard, 2007, p. 206). Aside from racist barriers, Foulata's character also represents gender barriers, as Scheick (1991) pointed out. This racism and sexism, moreover, existed at a time when Darwin's theory of evolution, as a Western epistemology, would be used to justify social Darwinism. Foulata's lifestyle, on the other hand, is grounded in yin cultivation of the body and mind, her role causing Quartermain to compare her to a "trained hospital nurse" despite the fact that she employs Eastern forms of medicine, perhaps due to her godlike abilities. "As the summer goddess, she nurses Good, her consort, back to health" (Monsman, 2000, p. 287). Foulata's fondness also revolves around love, as she falls for Good and harbors no ill will to any of those opposed to her own will, including King Twala and Gagool.

At heart, Quartermain only performs the role of an aggressive yang, a spectacle that ends in embarrassment. No clearer insight into Quartermain's masculine façade is seen than when he is revealed to possess poor marksmanship "in public," the "one thing" he is good at, and thus the one thing that establishes his socially assigned role as in line with the hypermasculine imperialist agenda (Haggard, 2007, p. 151). There is likewise a performance as author, as he remarks in the beginning that he practiced "trading, hunting, fighting, or mining ever since" he was a boy, and yet this "appearance" is far from the reality (Haggard, 2007, p. 9). For example, when the three put on Kukuana armor, only Curtis is able to enact the role of a native warrior, since Curtis is the only genuine hypermasculine figure. Good and Quartermain do not fit the roles precisely because they cannot perform, first as English combatants, second as native ones. Conversely, Foulata's role is natural and love-driven, and significantly more courageous, for she goes against the mandates of the cruel King when she wishes to be saved instead of being put to death, and she wishes to follow the three men through the mines even when she knows she puts her life in danger in the symbolic descent into the underworld.

One significant contrast between Foulata's yin and the British trio is seen in the things they carry. In effect, the three men are not well armed for their journey. The three white invaders carry what is most representative of patriarchal culture: guns, alcohol, an affinity for the Old Testament conquest stories, and meat-eating. Specifically, their weapons of choice epitomize the most powerful Western weaponry at the time: elephant guns, Colt single-actions, Winchester rifles, and knives are all "absolutely necessary" according to Quartermain, noting that they would have carried more had they not proven too heavy (Haggard, 2007, p. 57). What is significant in this ostensibly indispensable arsenal is that it becomes futile in what is detailed by critics as the feminized landscape of Sheba's breasts (Bunn, 1988; McClintock, 1995; Scheick, 2010).

Although Anne McClintock (1995) argued this landscape is reappropriated into the masculine by the white men, the feminized landscape not only remains feminized (given their abandonment of most of the diamonds in order to survive, as opposed to a smooth dominance over the environment), but that the landscape contains both yin and yang qualities; both those of sustenance, as Chrisman (2003) argued, as well as those of hostility, as befitting any natural

landscape. The landscape becomes a site that leaves Quartermain “impotent” (Haggard, 2007, p. 65). And it is not the yang items that save them from the “tortures from thirst and prickly heat,” but the yin, the pools of water, while simultaneously threatening them with darkness and a lunar presence. “If we cannot find water we shall all be dead before the moon rises to-morrow,” warns Umbopa (Haggard, 2007, p. 63). In fact, it becomes ironic that the “water” they *do* carry (Good’s brandy), would not only prove futile but would “only have been to precipitate the end” (Haggard, 2007, p. 65). Their biltong, likewise, represents their conquest over nature (or their attempt at such a conquest, to be more exact), as well as an embrace of that supposed conquest. Additionally, that embrace is not limited to a sun-dried meat version as is illustrated when they, in a moment of hypermasculinity, eat their hunt raw. Quartermain remarks that “I never tasted anything so good as that raw meat” (Haggard, 2007, p. 78). Taken in the context of their masculine equipage, Quartermain’s admission shows that, contrary to what critics have said, their eating of the red meat is not an act of regression, but an act of assent of the imperialist yang as they do not regress into more animalistic (not to mention, traditionally Othered/native) characteristics, but instead, they reify a destructive, Orientalizing patriarchy.

Just like Foulata represents a threat to Gagool’s attempts at mass control, so too does Foulata represent a threat to white control embodied in the three would-be conquerors. As Quartermain reveals, “women bring trouble as surely as the night troubles the day,” when speaking of Good’s susceptibility to attractive female natives (Haggard, 2007, p. 132). Foulata as earth mother is granter and preserver of life despite racial hierarchies, choosing to care for Good out of crossracial love to the point that Good “must have died” had it not been for Foulata’s “indefatigable nursing” (Haggard, 2007, p. 180). One can only cast her as the heroine of the novel, in addition to martyr, for she saves as well as dies due to her selflessness. Her victimization is likewise identifiable with the so-called witch hunts of early modern history. What is significant of such hunts for witches is that “patriarchal science and technology was developed only after these women...had been murdered and, concomitantly, their knowledge, wisdom and close relationship with nature had been destroyed” (Mies & Shiva, 1993, pp. 16-17). What is noteworthy here is how ostensibly objective epistemologies (science and technology) undoubtedly carried patriarchal values within their DNA, and this is precisely because they became tools to suppress the East even further. Considering that Darwinism arose in the mid-19th century, as Brantlinger pointed out, evolutionary science “seems almost calculated to legitimize imperialism” (1988, p. 184). Moreover, such patriarchal epistemologies arise through the epistemicide of a maternal epistemology, just as the Global North profits at the expense of the Global South. It is thus no surprise that these Westernized epistemologies are exactly those employed by the three white men in the novel (specifically, astronomy and firepower) to subjugate the Other. In particular, Foulata becomes the yin-natured practitioner of earthy witchcraft, whereas Gagool is an evil witch who must be hunted and whose dark earth knowledge, if not assimilated to the imperialist mode, must be destroyed.

Quartermain describes Foulata’s death as a “fortunate occurrence” and says that she is “no ordinary native girl” but one with “great... stately, beauty [and] refinement of mind” (Haggard, 2007, p. 219). These descriptions begin to shed light on how Foulata can, like Gagool, be conceived as a threat to white patriarchy by representing a form of the New Woman who sustains civilization and yet is intellectually well-armed with yin knowledge able to create a flourishing society of harmony with Mother Earth. Without her maternal wisdom in place among the rulers, “the land would be quiet for a while,” as Quartermain says, therefore war would only prove to be a temporary solution (Haggard, 2007, p. 179). As Chrisman pinpointed, contrary to McClintock’s claim that Gagool is the female who embodies the “threatening female power of generation,” it

is Foulata's "power of female generation [that] is most clearly evident and does indeed explicitly pose a specific threat to colonialism" (Chrisman, 2003, p. 41). Although Chrisman pointed out the threat is a literal generation or miscegenation, I would argue Foulata's threat is above all a cultural generation, but more subversive and contagious, given the aforementioned premise that discourse generates realities. In other words, had Foulata not been killed, she might have influenced her people with her earth-based lifestyle, passing on her traditions to subsequent generations. And Foulata's memetic generation is that of a matriarchal culture where life and the yin play an active role laced with an "Other form of knowledge, mysterious and destabilising to patriarchal/imperial masculinity" (Chrisman, 1990, p. 41).

If Foulata is thus identified with the land, she comes to represent a matriarchal figure of peace because of her nuanced understanding of the earth's workings that would preclude a culture of war and exploitation that is male-oriented. And although it is her perceived entanglement with white culture through miscegenation that causes her to remark "the sun cannot mate with the darkness," Foulata is instilled with this imagined incompatibility because of her patriarchal environment where only she is identified with such "unique" abilities (Haggard, 2007, p. 206). This is Foulata's greatest weakness. In this way, Foulata is diluted by the Western notion of civilization that is inherently marginalized, the strong ruling over the weak, the rich over the poor, white over the Other, the masculine over the feminine, man over the land, the domestic over the foreign, the familiar over the alien, and the yang over the yin. Had Foulata combined her motherly instinct with that of Gagool's non-subservience to white control, she would have come to represent both yin and yang. This complementary notion is seen in how Scheick (1991) oriented Gagool as architect of the ritual of death whereas Foulata is the architect of the ritual of life, in such a way that they come to reify the cyclical nature of yin and yang.

All of Foulata's tools signify sustenance out of the earth's resources, such as the food she takes in a basket. Significantly, the three men exploit all of the earth's resources, a kind of imperialist hubris that would have left them dead had it not been for Umbopa's navigational skills or Foulata's care. The explorers exploit the mines for diamonds, which almost costs them their lives. They also exploit the land, hunting for sport and the thrill of the hunt. And they exploit the land's people, taking advantage of their susceptibility to Western tools such as science and guns to fashion themselves as Western gods. Foulata, on the other hand, values the land as she wisely makes use of its resources, as well as using those resources for nourishing life instead of destroying it, exemplifying an ecofeminist relationship to Mother Nature. This ecocentric nourishing is historically grounded, for as Shiva observed, in most cultures "women have been the custodians of biodiversity... [and yet their work is] rendered as non-work and non-knowledge" (1993, p. 168). Foulata is no exception: the contribution her earth knowledge provides is rendered non-knowledge through the Orientalizing effect by the three white men. In effect, Foulata is the three white men's antithesis, connected to the earth and therefore able to use earth-knowledge to benefit her and others in a positive way, while the trio is only concerned about their own well-being and the commodification of nature so that they can climb the patriarchal ladder even higher. Her murder, in essence, is an act of e(arth)pistemic violence, to modify Spivak's own notion, because with her dies an epistemic that is an earth-grounded, value-laden resource, and Quartermain's story becomes a "narrative disciplining" of not only Foulata but her counterpart, Gagool (McClintock, 1995, p. 246).

Gagool and the Three White Men

Mines is regularly seen as a quest narrative for treasure, romance, and adventure. However, an overlooked quest is the search for knowledge. Although David noted that as a

quest for “mastery of the forces that threaten and define masculinity,” there is a search in *Mines* for knowledge of hunting, knowledge of the terrain, and knowledge of the “extraordinary escapes from wicked forces... [all] passed from one man to another” (1995, p. 188) that plays an important role as dangerous knowledge embodied by Gagool. After all, part of the imperialist ethos was to map out the “dark continent” so as to know which land to colonize. And in the first place, as Brantlinger asserted, the “dark continent” was a “Victorian invention” (1988, p. 198). Lucy Jarosz attributed the phrase to the late 19th century explorer Henry Morton Stanley and his writings that depict Africa as hostile and impenetrable, and in turn, because of the influential nature of the meme, led to the “dark/light and Africa/the West” duality that is a common trope in literary, religious, and cultural settings (Jarosz, 1992, pp. 106-107). Because Gagool represents such a grave threat, the three men, without the ability to acquire her preternatural knowledge that will give them power in the Western world, choose to blot out such an epistemology from the map. As Quartermain says about Gagool: “easier to destroy knowledge, Ignosi, than to gather it” (Haggard, 2007, p. 179). This destruction of Other-knowledge by the sociocultural dominators represents what Spivak referred to as “epistemic violence,” defined by Chrisman as “violence against the other produced by the inevitably dominatory systems of knowledge which constitute that figure of the other” (Chrisman, 2003, p. 57). As Driss (2003) noted, Gagool is placed at the margin right from the beginning of the text. Gagool is also marginalized because of the threat of displacement such Other-knowledge poses to the Western imperialist agenda.

The three men remain subject to Gagool’s will because of her steadfast refusal and hostility toward what she sees as a threat, the white man. Indeed, this reversal of roles, one that situates the men in a normally feminine circumstance, becomes clear in light of the snake identifications that not only associate her with nature (instead of opposed to nature as the men are with the mines, and Kukuanaaland in general), but the comparisons of her appearance to that of a snake associate her with another figure of dangerous knowledge, Milton’s Satan. As McClintock (1995) showed, Gagool’s occult qualities (part of the reason Brantlinger (1988) labeled the novel part of “imperial gothic” literature) recalls an “alternative authority of the female mediums at the London séances” Haggard attended (2007, p. 246). Like Satan, Gagool harbors knowledge sought after by humankind, in addition to typifying a deceitful nature that employs rhetoric as a weapon. Although in this case power is malevolent, her power also alludes to Christianity in that her body houses sacred knowledge, pointing out that the “masses of the [Kukuana] warriors” have “eaten of the bread of my wisdom and drunk of the water of my magic” (McClintock, 1995, p. 121). Interestingly, the serpent connection would be seen as harmonious in the less patriarchal Mesoamerican view exemplified by the serpent-mother goddess Coatlicue. Incidentally, it is patriarchy that “drove powerful female deities [like Coatlicue] underground by giving them monstrous attributes and by substituting male deities in their place” (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 49). As a result, the patriarchal West “divided her who had been complete, who possessed both upper (light) and under-world (dark) aspects... ‘darkened’ and disempowered” (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 49). Ironically, though Gagool is portrayed as an evil woman who animalistically walks on all fours and is associated with witchcraft, it is the men who become soothsayers, using the stars to forecast an eclipse, a superimposition that at times when navigating the terrain involves a juxtaposition of solar and lunar motifs. On the opposite end of the yin/yang spectrum, Foulata as unconditional lover and healer alludes to the more traditional, benevolent side of the Christ figure (Christ himself pointing to the co-present make-up of yin and yang).

Another juxtaposition is the symbolic rebirth of the three men when they emerge from the feminized caves. Their escape hinges on dumping most of the diamond loot and a recognition of the material futility of such a pursuit in light of the more real concern for life and death:

“wealth... [was a] valueless thing at the last” says the narrator (Haggard, 2007, p. 210). Upon escaping, Quartermain notes there was a “squeeze, a struggle, it was earth now... rolling over... grass and bushes, and soft, wet soil” (Haggard, 2007, p. 217). Scheick asserted that this “birthlike [sic] emergence from the topographic womb of the feminized earth” can come to represent “the completion of some mythic pattern” (1991, p. 26). This mythic pattern is none other than the yin/yang cycle of birth and death, which underscores the “dualism of the mystery of human existence” (Scheick, 1991, pp. 24-25). Their self-generation is representative of the imperialist claim for ownership, part of the maternal erasure that takes place through the deaths of the two most powerful women, and through the lack of textual recognition of their womanhood when Quartermain claims at the beginning of his tale that “there is no woman in it... I don’t count [Gagool]” (Haggard, 2007, p. 10). This intentional elision of the feminine is likewise tied to the imperialist genre’s epistemic violence, in that it “violently negates African women’s sexual and labor power” (McClintock, 1995, p. 257).

Reaching the Mountaintop

The contradictions that arise out of Haggard’s imperialist course oscillate a yang discourse with a yin counter-discourse, a dialectic of colonizer/colonized, white/black, masculine/feminine, imperial/native, Self/Other, man/earth, and hegemony/counter-hegemony, in turn *authorizing* a yin perspective from a yang boundary that literary criticism has overshadowed. By focusing on the perceived imperialist sovereignty it entails, it does not address how a counter-hegemony (most seen in the uniquely New Woman figures who are Gagool and Foulata) can be unearthed. In their own way, these two African characters contrast imperial yang and weave a *contra-authorial* narrative that, though filtered through Quartermain’s pen, forces the “reader [to] form his own conclusion” (Haggard, 2007, p. 197). This contra-Western narrative is all the more powerful for its ability to write back to the empire from within, thereby not only shedding light on Quartermain’s own imperial misgivings, but also of Her Majesty. Through these imperial eyes, the “herstories” of Foulata and Gagool therein anticipate the New Woman to come, and the empire witness to a setting sun, a rising moon.

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GREENING CLIMATE JUSTICE THROUGH MORE COLOR: LATINAS AND THE GREEN MOVEMENT

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Abstract

Climate change impacts pose serious threats to society in the United States and throughout the world. At-risk communities, particularly communities of color, will continue to feel the most immediate impacts of climate change. Climate change is disproportionately pronounced in areas where socioeconomic factors limit the ability for people to adapt and implement mitigation tactics against impacts. What has been called the green collar economy addresses this disparity by applying traditional blue-collar skill sets, possessed by many people in communities of color, to particular sectors of climate change-induced environmental justice issues. These sectors include green construction, weatherization, and energy efficiency retrofits, all of which contribute to improved social and environmental conditions. This paper explores opportunities for the green collar economy to formalize its presence through the use of established collaborative community programs that strive to link energy efficiency industries with communities of color, such as the Green Jobs Pipeline for Women in Denver, Colorado.

Keywords: *Climate Change, Communities of Color, Latinas, Green Movement, Green Collar Economy*

Global greenhouse gas emissions released into the atmosphere have exponentially increased since the Industrial Revolution of the early 1800s (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007). This increase in emissions is linked to human-related causes, primarily the combustion of fossil fuel for energy from coal, oil, and natural gas. With this increase in emissions, the global climate has warmed as heat leaving the Earth's surface is trapped by gases in the atmosphere. While not all areas of the Earth are experiencing warming as a result of this change in climate, most areas of the world will experience change – ranging from hotter, drier

summers to longer, intensified wet seasons (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007).

These climatic changes on a global scale have serious impacts to national, regional, and local livelihoods. The United States' dependency on fossil fuels for the operational needs of everyday life, including transportation, heating/cooling of homes, refrigeration, and electricity, not only significantly contributes to global climate change but continues to support U. S. American infrastructure and lifestyles that are at risk (Vitousek, Mooney, Lubchenco, & Melillo, 1997). Fossil fuels are a limited resource that takes centuries to create in the natural world, but only generations to deplete. Consequently, we are operating under the looming presence of a ticking clock, as oil and natural gas reserves are quickly diminishing. While the United States has relatively rich coal reserves, coal is also the dirtiest burning fuel, thus emitting the most carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases into the atmosphere (Vitousek et al., 1997).

Our society's dependence on these energy resources is time-bound. As quality of life and access to basic amenities like heat, electricity, and freshwater are threatened by our consumptive nature that drives climate change, this global issue transcends environmental concerns on behalf of the natural world into an environmental justice issue for humanity (Paavola & Adger, 2006). Impoverished and underserved communities are the first to be exposed to resource scarcity impacts, as their socioeconomic disadvantaged status limits abilities to leverage for community adaptation and change (Paavola & Adger, 2006). The ability to leverage temporary relief in the face of climate change currently depends on an individual or community's ability to buy their way out of inconvenience. The majority of people living below the poverty line in the major urban centers of the United States are not white Americans, but rather people of color, including African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans and Latinos (Jones, 2009). By excluding communities of color from progressive, action-oriented climate change dialogue, this global issue will continue to be an environmental justice issue most harshly impacting communities of color and underserved white communities.

As energy resources and the replication of daily life are threatened by a diminishing stock and growing demand, non-traditional methods of energy acquisition, paired with campaigns to reduce overall consumption, are critical. This urgency requires a new paradigmatic view of the U. S. American, if not global, economy where human capital and investment in alternative science and technology developments are supported. The 21st century "green movement" as it is called by many climate and environmental advocates, has the potential to involve many different kinds of people and professions, not only those in highly technical, senior-level engineering and technology positions, but also those with skill sets that are currently underutilized (Jones, 2009). Much of the green movement involves promoting awareness and proactive energy efficiency behavior, from the installation of double pane windows and insulation improvements to more advanced developments in solar panel and wind turbine technology (Jones, 2009).

Because many aspects of the energy efficiency job market are based on a pre-existing, well-established, blue-collar skill set (intensive labor component, minimal technological or higher education requirements), socioeconomic factors that traditionally challenge or eliminate communities of color from getting involved are less pronounced (Jones, 2009). Opportunistic-oriented communities struggling in the current economic downturn are potential benefactors as job creation and pro-environmental, climate-sensitive behavior are paired together in the green movement. This extends beyond the idea that less consumption at the individual and household level means saved money and reduced waste. The green movement is a mutually beneficial partnership of environmental and economic opportunity united under the context of necessary, impending climate change action.

Linking Green-Inspired Latinas and Historical Latina Movements

Increased Latina involvement in the green jobs movement addresses two primary hurdles that Latinas likely face in current economic conditions: gender barriers and economic need. Traditional Latin American culture tends to vary in its support of women as income-earners, as this dynamic may conflict with upheld cultural values in which women are caretakers of their family. Cognizant of the ambient power dynamic, López (2008) suggests that Latinas may be expected to be “docile pawns of patriarchy” (p. 204), submitting to their husband’s power, supported by her economic dependence on his earned income. In their book *Women, Work, and Family*, Tilly and Scott (1987) write:

From the preindustrial period to the present, jobs have been segregated by sex, and women’s work has persistently been associated with low skill and low pay. Sex-segregated labor markets are not simply differentiated markets, they are also asymmetrical; women’s work is consistently ranked lower than men’s.
(p. 2)

Despite different countries of origin, migratory experiences, and class affiliations, Fernández-Kelly & García (1997) assert that Latinas¹ may share many expectations and perceptions about gender roles. Patriarchal norms permeate the Latina lifestyle, where marriage, motherhood, and dedication to family life are priorities for which Latinas are often expected to maintain (Fernández-Kelly & García). From a very young age, some Latinas are expected to assume the domestic female role by participating in extensive chores that reinforce domestic duties assigned to their mothers. Like an apprenticeship for future wife and mother duties, young Latinas shadow their mother in daily activities, expected to learn cooking and cleaning skills that they will presumably use once married themselves (López, 2003). López contends that Latina mothers often dismiss their sons from the household during these training times, further reinforcing gender dynamics. While girls are learning about the washing machine and family recipes, boys are developing their sense of masculinity, by playing with other Latino boys, rarely encountering girls in the same context, all of which contributes to machismo culture far removed from the house and domestic duties.

Machismo complicates gender roles by transferring household politics to community politics. In the United States, Latino men tend to engage in traditional representative democracy as a means to establish dominance and recognition whereas Latinas may form communal, participatory political groups (Hardy-Fanta, 1993). According to Hardy-Fanta, Latina politics focus less on individual status and hierarchical structure and more on connectedness, collectivity, consciousness, and community focus. This difference in political activity further defines Latinas as community and family oriented and less concerned with individual recognition, defining characteristics influenced by both cultural norms and existing opportunities.

Yet, aspects of Latino cultural values are reflected in U. S. American culture to a lesser extent depending on the regional location. A universal conflict women of all cultures are likely to encounter is that “the ideology of motherhood posits a woman’s biological ability to bear and suckle children as her ‘natural’ and therefore ‘most fulfilling’ social destiny” (Segura, 1993, p. 181). Segura contends that this perspective on motherhood suggests that activities that take married mothers out of the home are less important or secondary to their domestic duties.

Conversely, men tend to be expected to provide economic and protective stability for the family and uphold a status of authority (Fernández-Kelly & García, 1997). Peña states (2007):

While men’s status and their complicity to promote institutions of privilege can vary by class and race, patriarchy bestows on all men rights over women. Under this system, men rule at home and it is up to women to protect the

“honor of the family.” (p. 23)

Peña (2007) asserts that Latinas experience gender oppression from two fronts: Latin American culture and universally held expectations of gender roles that are less pronounced in the U. S. but still very much present.

When Latino families migrate to the United States, patriarchal traditions are often challenged by U. S. culture and demands. Latinas may work in order to meet “survival requirements of their families in the absence of adequate earnings by their husbands” (Fernández-Kelly & García, 1997, p. 216). According to Repack (1997), the traditional ideology that identified men as the sole income earner has to be jettisoned after migration because families are often simply unable to survive on one income. Suddenly, the Latino family may not only be acclimating to new surroundings and an uprooted social network, but also readjusting their familial and gender structures. As a result of this adjustment, some Latinas are thrust into positions of financial autonomy, as their husbands are unable to fulfill their socially assigned role (Repack, 1997).

Studies in a variety of ethnic communities demonstrate women’s paid employment and financial contribution to the family enhances self-empowerment and leverage for women in household decision-making situations (Fernández-Kelly & García, 1997). Because traditional gender expectations of caretaking and maintaining domestic duties are simultaneously upheld, the personal benefits of employment are challenged by the burden and commitment of successfully managing two or three roles in a family. The migration process enables Latinas to renegotiate their relationships and gender roles with men as men are no longer a single, self-sufficient entity that possesses financial dominion over their wives (Repack, 1997). In *Latina Activists Across Borders: Women’s Grassroots Organizing in Mexico and Texas* (2007), Peña states:

Daily life is marked by the oppression of a patriarchal machista system... which subject [Latinas] to subordination...and systematic exclusion on the sole basis of their gender. These are the forces that bring Latinas together and motivate us [Latinas] to challenge dominance that controls us in our homes and in society at large. (p. 23)

As negotiations of gender roles are addressed among first generation migrants, proceeding generations are exposed to perspectives, gender roles, and potential economic situations and opportunities that were not present in their countries of origin. Daughters of first generation Latina migrants are able to assess their mothers’ situations through a critical lens, evaluating their options regarding marriage, education, family, and career plans (López, 2003); “in due course, [Latinas have] wove[n] a ‘homegrown’ feminist standpoint that [is] anchored in the lessons they had gleaned from their mothers’ perseverance in the face of daunting obstacles” (López, 2003, p. 128).

The Green Collar Economy and Latinas

In a contemporary sense, the green movement encompasses many of these barriers and motivations experienced by Latinas. With only 5% of all clean energy professions held by women, there are clear barriers encountered by women interested in the green movement, particularly for women of color (Murphy, Six, & Williams, 2010). This male dominated workforce collides with the demands of our current economy, where few households are able to subsist on one income and there is an increasing need for workers in clean energy professions. The green movement taps into a common value reflected in Latina politics – the interest in getting involved under the premise that individuals can work as a collective to improve community conditions for the betterment of all (Hardy-Fanta, 1993). Furthermore, the green movement provides opportunities

for Latinas to develop a skill set and sense of autonomy that better prepares them for the success of their own and their family's future. In this particular movement, community and self-betterment interests are linked with environmental interests — the greening of traditional Latina values — and are financially supported due to the demand for efforts that address climate change threats.

Several organizations in the United States have developed over the last decade in response to the green movement and climate change demands. While many organizations focus on highly scientific technological developments like the creation and engineering of solar arrays and alternative energy vehicle creation, others focus on less traditional outlets to make contributions towards the green movement that recruit members or workers from communities of color. For example, in 2007 the Oakland, California-based Green For All organization was developed in response to the momentum of the green movement. Green For All is a national non-governmental organization “working to build an inclusive green economy, strong enough to lift people out of poverty” (Green For All, 2010). Focusing entirely on clean energy efforts, Green For All collaborates with labor, business, government, and grassroots communities to develop a resilient economy founded in pro-environmental and social behavior. Program components include a scholarship-funded education and training academy for clean energy, a low-income neighborhood program that provides residents with resources to improve poor living conditions and unemployment issues, and a collegiate green ambassador program.

Van Jones, the founding president of Green For All, initiated a national campaign for “green collar economies” that focuses predominantly on people of color. According to Jones (2009), a green collar job is “a family-supporting, career-track job that directly contributes to preserving or enhancing environmental quality” (p. 17). The green collar economy's focus on people of color is in part a reaction to environmental justice issues that are increasingly accentuated as economic constraints most harshly impact those with the least disposable income (Jones, 2009). As Jones notes, unemployment rates and impoverished living conditions are more common in communities of color.

Yet, as the green movement has identified and Green For All supports, there are both economic and sustained environmental incentives in a clean energy economy that can empower underserved communities, contributing to a healthier environment, stronger economy, and improved livelihoods. In a review of Jones' *Green Collar Economy*, Mark (2009) writes:

If the twentieth century civil rights, feminist, and queer movements were dedicated, in part, to ensuring that everyone could participate on an equal footing in the gray (fossil fuel-based) economy, twenty-first century social justice movements will be about making sure that all people have a role in the green economy. (p. 44)

Green for All's efforts to ensure opportunities for participation in the green economy are further supported by a network of organizations like the Apollo Alliance in Los Angeles and Sustainable South Bronx BEST Academy. Both organizations provide low-income urban programs that promote clean energy economies in their respective communities. With a similar focus on the “potential to revitalize inner city communities through quality job creation, career ladder training, and healthy, sustainable economic development” (Los Angeles Apollo Alliance, 2010), the Apollo Alliance has proposed to green over 1,000 buildings owned by the City of Los Angeles to stimulate local economic development and improve urban sustainability in a two part process: (1) hiring low income citizens of inner city Los Angeles (predominantly African Americans and Latinos) for green renovation construction that result in (2) efficiency improvements aimed to reduce maintenance and utility costs and set an example for private

businesses to follow.

The South Bronx BEST (Bronx Environmental Stewardship) Academy “links environmental clean-up and restoration in the community to the career development and economic needs of local people” (Sustainable South Bronx BEST Academy, 2010). The skills-based academy offers two programs: (1) an ecology-focused curriculum preparing participants for landscape contracting, horticulture, bioremediation; and (2) infrastructure-focused curriculum with training materials on the interface of ecology and building retrofits. Both programs provide hands-on training with Bronx professionals, certification in pertinent fields (e.g., 40-hour hazardous waste cleanup training), and field experience.

While both the Apollo Alliance and Sustainable South Bronx cater trainings to all members of communities of color, men most often pursue these labor-intensive positions. Engaging women of color poses challenges, from cultural expectations to gender norms. The Green Jobs Pipeline for Women in Colorado (the Pipeline) has attempted to address these issues by providing guidance and support for women to overcome cultural and gender-related obstacles. Funded by a year-long contract through the U. S. Department of Labor Women’s Bureau, the Pipeline, based out of Denver, began in early 2009 (Green Jobs Pipeline for Women, 2010). With one year to expose, train, and connect women with the green economy, the Pipeline partnered with other Denver women’s organizations for support and recruitment.

A coalition of over 30 organizations, spanning a variety of expertise and mentor-related facets of the green economy included Mi Casa Resource Center (Mi Casa). Mi Casa is committed to “advancing economic success and helping Latino and low-income families trade poverty for lasting economic stability” (Mi Casa Resource Center, 2010). While not solely focused on green sector opportunities, Mi Casa’s involvement with Denver’s Latino community made for an excellent partnership with the Pipeline by connecting Latinas with green sector resources and opportunities. Mi Casa focused their recruitment efforts in the Five Points area of Denver, including the neighborhoods of Whittier, Skyland, Five Points, Clayton and Cole where 43.9% of the population is Latino and 22.4% of families are below the poverty line (U. S. Census Bureau, 2000).

According to Andrew Johnson, a Program Assistant for Mi Casa’s Career Development Program, Mi Casa serves as a trusted, well-known community resource for Denver Latinas, acting as a liaison between individual/community interests and employment sectors that Latinas may not otherwise have much familiarity with (Andrew Johnson, personal communication, November 5, 2010). Green industries, traditionally dominated by men, include employment demands in science, skilled trades (construction), and engineering. Despite women (including Latinas) representing nearly half of the U. S. workforce, only 5% hold jobs in clean energy professions (Murphy et al., 2010). Through open-ended interviews and close-ended surveys, the Pipeline identified challenges women encounter when trying to enter the green job market. The most common challenges included: (1) a lack of a clear definition of green jobs and an awareness of what career paths are available in the green sector; (2) gender barriers; and (3) obstacles to finding and receiving appropriate training (Murphy et al., 2010).

While there has been little standardization in defining green jobs (because most organizations tailor a definition to their needs), the Pipeline and its coalition worked to present a consistent definition that would encompass the subtleties that differentiate one definition from the next: “employment in the energy efficiency and renewable energy sectors that has environmentally-friendly intentions” (Murphy et al., 2010, p. 4). To address gender barriers, the Pipeline organized women-only training and education workshops. This gender-specific environment fostered more honest inquiry, promoted confidence and pride, and built networks

of women that included aspiring trainees and green professionals. These workshops in addition to online resources provided a more direct yet diverse combination of training and education opportunities to overcome obstacles of time availability and scheduling. A monthly newsletter was distributed to over 750 women announcing training, network opportunities, and job openings.

Through the partnership of the Pipeline and Mi Casa, previous barriers to Latina involvement in the green sector were addressed. Latina participants concluded “the Green Movement and Mi Casa’s training program [served as] an employment opportunity and a way to make a difference in our community” (Andrew Johnson, personal communication, November 5, 2010). Johnson also stated, “[These women] found a home here and gained a lot of trust with our staff and resources. They also left with a different view on sustainability and a new appreciation for the importance of renewable energy.”

In addition to the Pipeline’s workshops and informal trainings, Mi Casa sponsored apprenticeship programs and other longer-duration trainings for Latinas in the areas of weatherization and electrical work, solar installation, and energy auditing (Murphy, 2010). Meredith Roach, Mi Casa’s Director of Career Development Programs said, “We [offered] a broad array of training... I think the opportunities are really boundless... [Mi Casa] adjust[s]... curriculum to the jobs that are out there so that when you do graduate, you are well-positioned to find a job” (Murphy, 2010). During 2009, Mi Casa offered this type of extended training to an estimated 10-15 women, with about half of the participants being Latina. Specific statistics on the number of Latinas placed in related green jobs after training was not available. In general, while some training program graduates were hired, many Latinas “were inspired to pursue further certifications in the field of renewable energy” (Andrew Johnson, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

Connecting Green Job Challenges with Historic Latina Challenges

Given the rate of families below the poverty line in the Denver Five Points Area, it is likely that many Latina participants were confronted by an array of challenges associated with venturing into a non-traditional role of employment in the green sector as previously identified by the Pipeline’s survey and interview work. When viewed more broadly, these challenges are similar to those historically experienced by Latinas. The first challenge can be broadly categorized as challenges associated with conceptual confusion and mixed messaging. For the Pipeline, Latinas expressed confusion regarding the definition of a green job; the circulation of several definitions made for ambiguous interpretations for these women who may have never had previous exposure to the green sector (Murphy et al., 2010). Historically, Latinas have struggled to amenably define their role in U. S. American society. In these instances, both the Pipeline and historical movements demonstrate Latinas grappling with unclear roles and definitions as they venture into unknown, but possibly rewarding new territory.

The second challenge to the Pipeline and Latina involvement in green jobs are related to gender barriers. This challenge is most prevalent and transferrable between case studies, as Latinas, historically and contemporarily, engage in experiences and demands traditionally relegated to men. Historically, Latinas depended on men for income and security (Peña, 2007). The disproportionate leveraging of power on behalf of males can be seen in the Pipeline’s challenges as Latina participants attempt to successfully enter a sector of employment in which only 1 of every 20 employed are women. The underrepresentation of Latinas and other women is accompanied by constant evaluation and the potential to disrupt male-dominated power dynamics in the green sector.

Finally, obstacles to supplement support span the challenges experienced by contemporary Latinas. For Latinas interested in green jobs, the ability to productively engage with the previously mentioned challenges requires consistent support beyond initial trainings and networking events, which might be rectified through extensive social networks of Latinas in the green job sector (Hardy-Fanta, 1993).

Suggestions For Future Green Efforts Involving Latinas

The commanding presence of climate change impacts grows everyday. Social benefits of green economy efforts may be more promptly experienced through the improvement of social well-being and healthier, more integrated communities. However environmental benefits related to these efforts will fall behind due to the nature of climatic processes, where climate change momentum must be slowed over a long period of time before immediate signs of improvement are noticeable (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007). These delays make for difficult planning and involvement as long-term projections make consensus more difficult to obtain. Projects like the Pipeline contribute to overall climate progress but improvements are needed to make significant impacts in reducing the negative consequences of climate change.

The Pipeline is one of the first climate change mitigation programs to specifically recruit Latinas and other women for the workforce against climate change (Green Jobs Pipeline for Women, 2010). Addressing the barriers related to women in labor-intensive, blue-collar work is a huge initial hurdle to overcome. However, because the Pipeline was limited to a single year grant, momentum developed during 2009-2010 was halted at the conclusion of the grant timeline. The Pipeline retreated into dormancy and Mi Casa reallocated its efforts to several other community-related projects it was juggling during the Pipeline's existence. While short-term financial support (like the Pipeline) helps to initiate efforts to provide social and environmental benefits, it is not sufficient to address long-term concerns related to social well-being and environmental stability and does not adequately address the support needed to include Latinas in sustained green movement efforts.

Similar to the short-term timeframe for the Pipeline's activities, participation appears to have fallen short of its potential and capacity. Johnson noted that 10-15 women participated in Mi Casa's extended green programs (personal communication, November 5, 2010). Given the demand for laborers proficient in green job skills and the long-term commitment needed to address climate change as a domestic and global issue, the small number of participants is of concern. The current U. S. economy is leaving many families without sufficient income as stable, well-paying jobs grow scarcer. If the Pipeline and Mi Casa offer a progressive solution in response to economic concerns, more women should be participating in such programs.

Simply focusing efforts in a single mixed-color community like the Five Points area does not sufficiently recruit participants in the capacity necessary for long-term social and environmental benefits related to the green movement. More strategic attention must be paid to the outreach and promotion of green movement efforts in communities of color that clearly define the environmental and social injustices related to climate change, outline the personal and societal benefits of participating, and demonstrate the support provided throughout their commitment to the program.

To strengthen the chances for longer-term funding and the ability to recruit larger, more robust numbers of Latina participants, the Pipeline and other green movement programs need to assert themselves as components of a broader, more holistic and interdisciplinary strategy toward improving environmental conditions and livelihoods of vulnerable communities in the face of climate change. Climate change is not an isolated issue, but rather an all-encompassing

opportunity to unite fields related to economics, science, health, social justice, technology, politics, and the environment. Collaborative efforts that include a workforce of many, and diverse in background and expertise, will likely yield more sustainable contributions to the global issue of climate change. Rather than technical scientific developments occurring separately from programs like the Pipeline, integration of diverse participants and ideas will strengthen overall outcomes and individual experiences, positioning these holistic efforts for greater funding and participant benefits.

In addition to more interdisciplinary collaboration, programs like the Pipeline need to make their participant information more transparent and accessible.² Attempts to acquire demographic participant information from the Pipeline were unsuccessful. The Pipeline failed to provide participant data for the program (i.e. number of participants, participant ethnicity/age clusters, follow-up information) and resorted to rough estimations instead. In order to track recruitment and program success, more attention must be paid to tracking participation through quantifiable demographic statistics and qualitative participant feedback. Latinas can serve as an incredibly rich and experienced participant pool for these holistic efforts. Adequately addressing the barriers and challenges to include Latinas in the green collar economy and broader green movement may lend to a more just approach for climate change action.

End Notes:

¹ “Latina” is a predominantly U. S.-recognized term for women of Latin American descent, which embodies a wide variety of ethnicities and geographic regions (Hardy-Fanta, 1993).

² The author had difficulty in making contact with the Pipeline, resulting in limited correspondence with only one representative. The author recognizes this as a limitation to the case study’s depth and representation of the organization, however reflections in the discussion section address this difficulty and make suggestions for future endeavors.

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IV. RARE'S INDONESIA PROGRAM: CASE STUDIES ON CONSERVATION CAMPAIGNS

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RARE: ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY AND LOCALIZED CONSERVATION

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Abstract

This study examines the internal organizational structure of one environmental non-governmental organization (ENGO), Rare, in its pursuit to improve global environmental campaigns. With an emphasis on increasing positive social marketing by working with local non-governmental organizations and government offices, Rare utilizes a collaborative approach to inspire grassroots conservation movements. Specifically, I argue that Rare's diffuse approach to environmental organizing increases the efficacy of localized campaigns through an intricate process of strategizing informed by contextual organizational identities. Additionally, this study explores organizational obstacles that have arisen for Rare in recent campaigns, and the strategies that have been employed to minimize their impact.

Keywords: *Organizational Identity, Conservation, International ENGOs, Social Marketing*

“To conserve imperiled species and ecosystems around the world by inspiring people to care.”

-Rare Mission Statement

As the first decade of the 21st century draws to a close, international concerns over climate change, deforestation, ecosystem degradation, species extinction, and a variety of other environmental problems have moved into the forefront of public consciousness and deliberations about sustainable lived practices. Despite the consensus that environmental catastrophe is a near certainty without an immediate human response (Szasz, 1994), resistance to environmentally friendly practices continues to exist in both developed and developing nations. Given these monumental concerns, numerous environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) have been created to grapple with environmental problems in a variety of ways. Though varied in their intent, methodologies, and structure, these organizations are providing a much needed counterbalance to private interests that appear to generally run antithetical to a future situated within a context of sustainability.

This study is focused on one international ENGO, Rare, and the ways that it inspires local

and indigenous communities throughout the world to become active participants in halting environmental degradation. Originally, Rare referred to Rare Animal Relief Efforts (an acronym which has since been eliminated from the organization's title). Rare now engages in a variety of "Pride Campaigns" in tropical and subtropical climates that are meant to create pride and inspire local populations to care about their native environments. These campaigns have been established by the organization to help local communities address environmental concerns by partially encouraging them to care (or, as the title implies, have pride) about an animal species being adversely affected by some ecological action. With a primary emphasis on social marketing that appeals to diverse demographics, Rare is paving the road for a new conceptualization of ENGOs focused on localized concerns, rather than overarching strategies that may neglect those most affected by ecological destruction. Although scholarship on environmental communication generally, and environmental campaigns specifically, is becoming more commonplace, this work contributes to an understanding of international ENGOs within an organizational context and the strategies that could potentially be employed by groups seeking to reconcile local concerns with sustainable practices. My goal in this essay is to extend theoretical considerations into practical domains for the purposes of strengthening future theorizing and public engagement (Craig, 1989; Kuhn & Ashcraft, 2003). This work also responds to recent calls by environmental communication scholars for scholarship that engages practical environmental issues through various contextual, disciplinary, and theoretical lenses (Cox, 2007; Peterson, Peterson, & Peterson, 2007; Senecah, 2007). I argue that Rare's unique approach to social marketing, coupled with a diffuse style of organizing has been able to successfully appeal to demographics throughout the world. In what follows, I examine the role of local knowledge in the organizational decision-making process by engaging current research on organizational identity. After outlining my methodology, I describe the reflexivity of Rare's organizational structure and how diffusion has shaped the organization's ability to respond to problems like localized environmental concerns, increasing growth, and internal communication inconsistencies. Finally, I conclude with some implications for environmental organizations and the role social networking might play in overcoming international barriers to communication.

Contextualizing Organizational Theory

It is becoming increasingly apparent that environmental problems, and consequently, environmentally-focused organizations are on the rise. Szasz (1994) explains that modern environmentalism attempts to incorporate various struggles and truisms into what he calls "radical environmental populism" (p. 6). He explains, "The movement brought a whole new mass base of working people and people of color to environmentalism. More recently, it has articulated the position that environmentalism is not just one more issue that exists alongside, but unconnected to, the other great social causes of the day" (Szasz, 1994, p. 9). This conceptualization of environmental movements attempts to place an emphasis on local concerns in order to more reflexively respond to problems or obstacles. Sowards (2006) argues that various ENGOs also utilize rhetorical strategies to fashion messages framed around specific audiences. The tailoring of messages to appeal to diverse and specific demographics is advantageous for eliminating essentialist notions of regularity or what ought to constitute acceptable environmental awareness. The discussion of organizational identity, therefore, is particularly germane to describe such reflexive engagement.

The issue of organizational identity has been discussed by a number of prominent organizational scholars who have theorized about identity on a variety of issues like discursive construction and performance (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004) and psychodynamic development

(Brown & Starkey, 2000). Though these perspectives are valuable and certainly contribute to ongoing discussions that may be associatively linked to my analysis here, my focus in this project is far more concerned with the ways in which an organization is perceived externally and attempts to manage public perceptions of identity, specifically, by way of engaging local populations in organizational contexts. Understanding an organization's externally-oriented communication patterns is a necessary dimension in assessing organizational identity and interactions within a larger sociopolitical environment. According to Cheney and Christensen (2001), "external organizational communication can be thought as a subset of those processes specifically concerned with meaning construction by way of an 'external environment'" (pp. 234-235). Their analysis situates external organizational communication practices, such as public relations, in an important role that simultaneously reflects internal and external organizational perceptions. This analytic turn highlights the importance of the relationship with external environments because it necessitates an understanding whereby an organization's identity is mutually co-constituted and simultaneously reinforced via internal and external means (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 241).

By understanding the importance of local engagement, scholars recognize the rhetorical dimension of external communication as the strategic and communicative means through which an organization engages in meaning-making practices to intervene in and modify its environment. By realizing the impact of organizations on larger social systems (i.e., publics), it is possible to "bring activities such as marketing, public relations, and some kinds of advertising within the purview of organizational communication" (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 246). Additionally, the relationship between organizations, public relations, and external environments allows a critical approach to institutional rhetoric (Finet, 2001) and the various forms of organizational communication that are explicitly oriented toward influencing the larger social bodies (Ganesh et al., 2005; Zoller, 2004). The public engagement process (and thus, organizational identity building process) is a pivotal concern for any ENGO because a lack of public acceptance minimizes the efficacy of attempts at engagement. Fischer (2000) and Kinsella (2004) both contend that current models gauging public participation within organizations are inadequate because they tend to discount the input of citizens. Examinations of ENGOs that engage local communities must make necessary considerations about public participation.

Because there are inherent interactions with external communities and populations, a central concern of any organization is the tempering of reputation and the ways that messages can be constructed to be interpreted positively. Fombrun and Shanley (1990) define organizational reputation as the perception by outsiders of an organization's overall quality. They contend that, "Just as firms compete for customers, so also do they vie for reputational status. Publics construct reputations from available information about firms' activities originating from the firms themselves, from the media, or from other monitors...reputations represent publics' cumulative judgments of firms over time" (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990, pp. 234-235). Eisenberg and Goodall (1993) continue by noting that, "A compelling strategy is not sufficient to command a superior reputation. Social performance is also important to reputation" (p. 311). Organizations must be constantly concerned with the ways their actions are perceived by communities because a loss of reputation decreases the efficacy to communicate or interact with them (Eisenberg & Goodall, 1993).

Given the important value afforded to outside perceptions by these scholars, a critical orientation toward external organizational communication is consistent with German's (1995) call for "critical theory in public relations inquiry" (p. 279). German (1995) argues that "to the extent that public relations contributes to social formations through communicated messages, it can be explored with the critical theory perspective" (p. 279). According to German (1995),

“public relations is based on a will to power...public relations messages reflect the interests of the dominant powers, which in our society are entrenched political and financial interests” (p. 293). Public relations discourse contributes to the construction of social structure, in that “public relations does not just contribute messages and products to the public dialogue, but it also creates relationships that hold consequences for the evolution of society...we can investigate those relationships by asking about the legitimation created by public relations messages” (German, 1995, p. 284). Thus, the approach an organization takes in speaking to/for local communities can be understood as an extension of public interestedness in issues that are viewed as particularly salient or meaningful.

Furthermore, such an approach to understanding organizational identity requires that both “issues management and identity management” (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 235) be understood as significant communicative processes constantly performed in organizational contexts. These processes demonstrate the important ways that external organizational communication is strategically modeled and rhetorically shaped to intervene in larger contexts. Identity management consists of the ways an organization attempts to define itself in order to make it distinctive and legitimize its role in the public (Cheney & Christensen, 2001). This rhetorical process is directed toward shaping the perception of the organizational entity for external audiences and also functions as a form of “auto-communicating” (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 246), whereby an organization actively co-constitutes and reinforces its own sense of identity. Issue management, by contrast, refers to rhetorical activities by which the organization seeks to actively “shape and manage its environment more directly” (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 238) by attempting to rhetorically and strategically shape the attitudes of its audience, and more broadly to “shape the grounds for discussing social and political issues of the day” (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 233). The process of identity and issue management in organizational contexts becomes an important site for critical interrogation because these considerations, in some ways, epitomize the way that discourse constitutively constructs social reality. However, as Cheney and Christensen (2001) conclude, “the ways in which organizations attempt to manage both identifiable issues and their own identities...have become so interwoven as to make their analytical separation unproductive if not impossible” (p. 233). Such an approach suggests that “organizational identity and corporate image evolves through the interplay of texts and the relationships that exist among multiple signs...[and] treats organizing as developing chains of signifiers that represent belief systems and characterize corporate identity and images” (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001, pp. 102-103). In other words, due to the reciprocal nature of the organizational identity formation process, external communicative engagement becomes an issue of vital importance for shaping organizational directives and, more importantly, how an organization is able to engage external publics to maintain a positive reputational status.

The need to maintain organizational reputation has prompted scholarship focused directly on the ways that organizations improve their image and communication strategies through public relations and social marketing. Cheney and Vibbert (1987) explain that this social marketing process is rhetorical because it involves communicating multiple messages with multiple goals to diverse audiences. They argue that effective social marketing requires balancing between “developing a distinct image while simultaneously being recognized as a cooperative member of society” and concerned with external public perceptions (Cheney & Vibbert, 1987, p. 167). Increasingly, environmental concerns are becoming more important for organizations seeking to construct a positive public persona. The emphasis placed on sustainable practices and ecological consciousness for organizational entities, however, should not be plainly equated with organizations specifically devoted to the environment. Relatively little research has focused on

international ENGOs and the defining characteristics of their organizing patterns. Norton (2007), for instance, examines environmental public participation in the context of structuration theory, but does not go so far as to provide a framework for assessing environmental organizations.

Engaging Rare: Methodology

Interviews with organization members and program participants are particularly useful in understanding the ways in which communication is constructed and mediated both internally and externally. As Lindlof and Taylor (2002) contend, respondents can “explain how they apply what they know in certain areas of their lives [and] how they negotiate certain issues” (p. 174). For long-term projects or campaigns which the researcher may not be able to fully participate in, interviews provide a necessary context for understanding the experiences, obstacles, and motivations of those involved. Additionally, purposeful interviews can also allow researchers to “gather information about things or processes that cannot be observed effectively by other means” (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002, p. 174). International environmental communication, for instance, is often difficult to adequately articulate due to differences in language, culture, economics, and a variety of other factors that may be outside the scope of a researcher’s cultural framing. Interviews, therefore, can provide personalized insight into how cultural variance impacts the communication process. Finally, interviews can be used to “verify, validate, or comment on information obtained from other sources,” (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002, p. 175) in order to gauge whether external descriptions are adequate. Interviews are particularly useful in an organizational context because they enable researchers to understand whether information is perceived or understood similarly throughout the organization.

Specific emphasis in this study has been placed on campaign managers, lead agency contacts, and Rare personnel who are familiar with the dynamic process of engaging local communities in environmental campaigns. Interviews were conducted with program participants throughout Indonesia during the summer of 2009 in an attempt to more fully understand Rare’s organizational structure and the individual experiences of campaign managers being trained through Rare. Indonesia is currently the site of numerous Rare-sponsored “Pride Campaigns” that seek to address local environmental issues through active social marketing. At the time this research was conducted, Rare’s Indonesian cohort of campaign managers was finalizing strategies for their individual campaigns in rural locations in the provinces of Aceh, North Sumatra, Banten, West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, and Bali. Information was gathered from several sources. First, details about Rare and its communication processes were initially taken from the organization’s primary website, as well as their social networking tool, Rare Planet. Interviews were then conducted with contacts from the Arlington, Virginia office and Regional Pride Program Managers based in Bogor, Indonesia who are responsible for the training program in Indonesia. Several interviews were also conducted with campaign managers in order to understand their experiences with Rare both organizationally and practically. Finally, interviews were conducted with contacts at two lead agencies collaborating with Rare in the Pride campaign process to examine the impact of social marketing training on their respective organizations. Relevant themes that emerged from participant interviews were addressed using thematic analysis to determine commonalities between various respondents (Silverman, 2001).

Several of the respondents in this study did not speak English, so these interviews were conducted with simultaneous translation. While the information communicated during the research process was translated by an external bilingual source, it is possible that certain idiosyncratic linguistic nuances may have been lost in the process. Furthermore, Indonesia’s ecosystem, sociopolitical infrastructure, and culture are unique. Despite the fact that the

curriculum used to train campaign managers is standardized throughout Rare's global training program, it is also customized to address regional and thematic needs, individual experiences, strategies, and perceptions that may differ throughout the training programs offered in Indonesia, Mexico, China, and Arlington, Virginia.

Organizational Structure

While Rare does have a core organizational structure, the efficacy of their campaigns is largely the product of a high degree of fluidity in the way campaigns are designed and carried out. As I explore later in this essay, reflexivity and local autonomy are defining characteristics of Rare's social marketing strategy that is particularly well suited for subjectively shaping organizational identity in a variety of contexts. This section is meant to highlight the key organizational components at this ENGO in hopes of illustrating how local concerns can effectively be mediated within a structural schema.

The operational efforts for Rare are housed at their Arlington, Virginia offices. Like any ENGO, a sizable portion of the staff at this location is dedicated to tasks pertaining to fundraising, financing, information technology, etc. The CEO, CFO, and other positions work at this location to ensure the long-term sustainability of the organization through systematic managerial practices. However, Katie McElhinny, Senior Associate of Global Affairs explains, "We in the organization do not think of the Arlington offices as headquarters. Every regional office plays an important role in maintaining campaigns and incorporating our strategic vision" (personal communication, June, 26, 2009). The Arlington office is also responsible for the development of the curriculum that is used at each campaign site to educate managers about effective core social marketing strategies.

Campaigns around the globe are delineated into a different segment of the organizational structure at Rare. Based on the principal language of the regions where campaigns are currently being conducted (English, Spanish, Indonesian, and Chinese), offices have been established to coordinate multiple campaigns that are designed around specific thematic cohorts. In these tropical and subtropical areas, regional recruitment officers are responsible for screening pre-existing organizations for participation with Pride Campaign Training. McElhinny goes on to explain:

We do not recruit campaign managers. They are very clear about what it takes to run a Pride campaign and where Rare fits into their larger strategic plans. What we do is host different types of recruiting and social marketing workshops and invite lead agencies we are very familiar with...and hire locally – they are already very familiar with the community and the problems that exist in those communities. We come in and help them think about how they can make a bigger conservation impact at their site by messaging things a little differently, and more importantly, through community engagement.
(personal communication, June 29, 2009)

It must be noted that a significant aspect of Rare's operations exist outside of the organization entirely; pre-existing organizations are screened for viability before training begins and are responsible for implementing independent campaigns in consultation with Rare. After lead agencies agree to join Rare, they nominate a member of their staff to participate in a two-year program designed to implement a Pride Campaign. Lead agencies are only responsible for providing their employee's salary; other costs associated with the campaign and training are absorbed by Rare or other sources of support.

Upon joining the Rare program, members of each lead agency begin training to become

Pride Campaign Managers (PCMs). The training, planning, and implementation period for Pride Programs is roughly two years, balanced between field work, training, research, and assessment. The typical PCM can expect approximately 46 weeks of training, planning, and coordinating with their lead agency; about 54 weeks are dedicated to the implementation of the campaign and impact assessment. Training is handled by Pride Program Managers (PPMs) who provide a curriculum in collaboration with the Department of Communication at the University of Texas at El Paso “centered on social change,” that utilizes case studies, managerial software, social networking websites, mini-campaigns and theory to provide PCMs “with the tools necessary to be successful in the field” (Katie McElhinny, personal communication, June 27, 2009). Each PCM is responsible for collaborating with their lead agency to implement a strategically designed program meant to create a substantive impact. Rare provides assessment tools employed by campaign managers to maintain focus on projects and determine whether campaigns are successful. As campaigns progress, this information is made readily available on Rare’s social networking website, Rare Planet (www.rareplanet.org).

In addition to training by PPMs, University of Texas at El Paso faculty members are also involved in the education process by providing some on-site instruction, as well as an assessment of the campaigns and curriculum. After the two-year Pride Campaigns have been implemented, PCMs earn a master’s degree in communication for their work. Stacey K. Sowards, a UTEP faculty member supervising the Indonesian PCM cohort explains that, “Campaign managers are required to turn in assignments throughout the two year program to meet the course requirements established by UTEP...We are responsible for making sure it meets all of our standards, and it by far exceeds them. The program is very intensive and practical” (personal communication, June 27, 2009).

Moving Forward: Organizational Obstacles

The Pride Campaign model of social marketing consultation has proven to be tremendously successful in the relatively short amount of time that it has been utilized as the primary outreach method of Rare. In this section, I explore some of the underlying themes that appear to be common experiences or obstacles for PCMs, PPMs, Rare staff, and lead agency contacts. Rare’s growth in recent years has created numerous challenges for maintaining consistency in the structure of the organizational. Consequently, this increase in size has also raised significant issues for the way Rare must adapt to local communities and shape its own internal communication strategies.

Organizational Growth

One of the primary concerns for Rare staff members and PCMs is mediating a continuous process of institutional growth that potentially threatens the maintenance of long-term environmentalism spurred by campaigns. ENGOs, like any organization, must develop adequate measures to respond to these changes in order to implement an adaptive strategy that does not fall victim to stagnation. In recent years, Rare has seen tremendous growth that has enabled the organization to increase its outreach efforts in unprecedented ways. McElhinny explains:

Rare is a pretty small organization even though we have definitely been growing over the last few years. Last year we were about 35 and this year we’ve doubled in size. We’re close to 73 or 75 people. I think that because we’re growing so fast it has been really difficult to define single jobs, roles, or responsibilities. (personal communication, June 27, 2009)

This lack of organizational definition has prompted Rare staff members and PCMs to engage in impromptu organizing that manages to fulfill institutional needs, while simultaneously encouraging personal reflexivity.

McElhinny further explains:

There is sometimes a lot of gray areas. For example, Hari [Kushardanto] – right now in Bogor [Indonesia] does not have a director, so Hari is not only a Senior Regional Pride Program Manager, but he also stepped up to a lot of director roles...So, there's still quite a few gaps, and it's really difficult to fill some of those gray areas. But Rare has a great evaluation process, so we work with our senior leaders and twice a year we evaluate our process. (personal communication, June 27, 2009)

Although a lack of clearly defined roles or structure could possibly derail an organization, Rare's emphasis on reflexivity and regard for local concern appears to be an asset in mitigating the harms caused by uncertainty. Unlike some larger ENGOs that issue organization-wide directives or focus interests at the upper echelons of management, Rare utilizes a communication and management model that is situated around local conflicts or problems. Long-term sustainability of organizational flexibility could prove to be a problem as Rare continues to grow and expand its operations. However, the lack of rigidity is proving to be an asset in dealing with current situations.

Aside from the concerns of Rare employees about organizational growth, PCMs and lead agency contacts opined about this issue as well. Because the recruitment officers in each region are responsible for selecting willing NGOs to participate in the Pride training program, the constitutive makeup of each lead agency is quite varied. The collaboration that occurs between these organizations, therefore, creates different burdens dependent on the resources and capability of each lead agency. For example, one PCM interviewed for this study explained that his lead agency only has about five full-time employees who tend to view themselves as "a working group in a national park." Lead agency managers also explained that it was difficult to lose a member of their team for two years at a time, but recognized the importance of the Rare training and the positive contributions the Pride Campaigns could have for the organization as a whole. Rare's significant investments (both financially and educationally) in local ENGOs are providing a positive framework for future growth of these organizations. Although each group has independent concerns and foci, their willingness to commit to the Pride Program training signals a commitment to expansion for the purposes of conservation. The tradeoff between having a staff member work full time on the Pride Campaigns and gaining resources does not appear to be a major concern for those involved in the program, and in fact, has proven to be a benefit to the lead agencies.

Mediating Local Concerns

Meeting the needs of local communities and incorporating adaptation into the social marketing strategy also appear to be significant commonalities that exist for participants in this project. Although Pride training focuses on strategic marketing that appeals to diverse demographics, several PCMs and PPMs indicated that the vast diversity of cultures in Indonesia sometimes becomes an obstacle in the planning and implementation phases of the campaigns. These complications manifest on multiple levels for those interacting in the Rare infrastructure. For example, Hari Kushardanto, who is now the Training and Operations Director, explains the difficulty of teaching the Pride curriculum to PCMs:

In our program we are changing their mindset. It is not about making posters

and then giving them away to the local audience. Sometimes [campaign managers] don't understand that conservation issues are complex issues. It is not about people not knowing something or not knowing about conservation concepts, but it is about life. It is about how I have to feed my family. It is about how I can have a better life. And in our program we try to improve their capacity to develop a good conservation program. When we are talking to local people, they have many different interests. (personal communication, June 27, 2009)

Kushardanto's sentiment echoes a major concern for many conservationists attempting to work in developing nations around the globe.

In Indonesia specifically, many local communities subsist on resources derived from national parks or areas that also serve as habitat for endangered species (Sowards, 2006). The conflict between conservationists and local communities, therefore, becomes a primary obstacle for any ENGO attempting to advocate more sustainable practices. Kushardanto goes on to explain:

When [campaign managers] go to local people they are talking to people who need money. When [campaign managers] go to local governments, they are talking to people who need power. When [campaign managers] go to local illegal loggers, they talk to people who have a very complex network with local businesspeople, big markets somewhere in China or Malaysia – it is a very complex issue. We cannot just say 'stop chopping down trees,' when the money is there and the market is there. It is a very complex issue and it is not easy to deal with. (personal communication, June 27, 2009)

The complexities of this issue are addressed extensively in the UTEP-Rare curriculum that is introduced to PCMs. Unlike some larger ENGOs that overlook the needs or cultures of local communities, Rare's approach is centered on adaptation to localized contexts and networks of communication.

Several of the PCMs and lead agency contacts described the importance of making sure they collaborate with local communities, rather than simply telling them what they ought to do. Endres (2009) argues that prevailing technocratic models of public participation often discount local knowledge or concerns because non-scientific information is not valued. Rare's focus on local communities, by contrast, increases the efficacy of environmental campaigns because they *empower* communities in an attempt to raise awareness about conservation issues. Istiyarto Ismu, a PCM working for the ENGO, Seka, in Bali Barat National Park, explained that his job is complicated by the fact that his campaign must adapt to appeal to no fewer than nine villages, two different religious groups (Muslims and Hindus), and many different age groups. Despite this variance, his campaign is focused on empowering local communities in an attempt to decrease deforestation:

The major problem is that the local people need the land for agricultural purposes or they need to take firewood from the forest. This has created a lot of deforestation. We are planning to work with the National Park officers and local farmers to minimize this problem. For example, we can encourage farmers to plant grass plants or to use crop replacement variation so that they can plant grass to be sold for livestock feed. (Istiyarto Ismu, personal communication, June 29, 2009)

The complexities of local culture have complicated the campaign planning process, but have also prompted adaptation for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of messages. This model of

communicating conservation is based on reflexivity, local knowledge, and empowerment, themes prevalent in Rare's curriculum of social change.

Internal Communication

Maintaining an infrastructure that provides reliable and efficient internet access is an emerging problem for many developing nations. Not surprisingly, communicating over the internet is also a major obstacle for Rare's staff in Indonesia, particularly campaign managers who often reside in rural communities with poor access to the internet. While information about the organization is available at their main website (www.rareconservation.org), PCMs and PPMs are expected to actively communicate on the companion social networking website, Rare Planet (www.rareplanet.org). Following the format of many social networking websites, Rare Planet allows members to develop unique profiles about their campaign, communicate with members around the globe, and report the status of their operations. As each phase of planning and implementation is completed, PCMs are expected to update their profiles to ensure transparency and accountability. However, because a lack of internet access is a significant problem in many remote locations where campaigns are being conducted, problems with communication have become a common occurrence. Ismu explains that this form of technology can be very difficult to access:

The internet is being used as a primary communication platform, which can be very problematic. Internet access is very slow inside the forest and usually does not even work. Outside the forest, access to the internet is better, but this is very difficult for me. I live inside the park, and have to travel about 15 kilometers to get internet service (Ismu Istiyarto, personal communication, June 29, 2009).

Communicating on a social networking platform may prove to be an unreliable form of communication for those with limited access to the internet.

PCMs in other regions of the globe have reported some problems with accessing content due to government censorship. Additionally, several respondents in this study explained that language and cultural differences make it difficult to communicate with other members of the organization. The individual characteristics of each language, culture, and campaign force a dependency on translation and regionalism. McElhinny explains:

Because of translation [problems], it's not like we can get every blog that every campaign manager posted in China translated into Bahasa [Indonesian] and vice versa. Campaign managers can't really talk across regions as much as we would hope they would do. Right now there isn't really great software that translates between languages. (personal communication, June 27, 2009)

However, despite these obstacles to communicating within the organization, Rare Planet is becoming increasingly utilized as a method of corresponding about campaigns. The expectation to update information about campaigns has resulted in a higher level of transparency whereby PPMs or executive officers within the organization can pinpoint problematic areas or campaigns. McElhinny goes on to explain:

It has been so much easier internally to track campaigns and to track the successes of campaigns. Before, that information was really held regionally with the PPMs, and it was just too much. Now, with Rare Planet there is a certain milestone page that is the same in every region, for every campaign. It's very easy for us to track where they are in each of the campaigns and our senior vice

presidents can contact the director within the region if progress isn't being made. It takes a lot of weight off of our regional PPMs (personal communication, June 27, 2009).

This software is increasing individual accountability as public and organizational access to information becomes the norm. PCMs can participate in a practiced, sustained form of communication that allows members to address any concerns that may arise in the course of their campaigns. Current improvements on the user interface of Rare Planet are being made to increase accessibility, networking potential, and public participation.

Conclusion: Implications for International ENGOS

The results of this study suggest a number of implications for environmental organizing, local knowledge, and social networking technology. First, ENGOS should focus their managerial strategy in such a way that eliminates bureaucratic obstacles for organizing. This study suggests that organizations focused on local concerns and reflexivity can more adequately respond to problems that arise in the course of institutional interaction. Flexibility in internalized structure bypasses significant issues that plague many larger organizations and forces a focus on local accountability and responsibility. PPMs and PCMs are more capable of dealing with problems that arise in their region when power is refocused from the traditional top-down model. For international ENGOS specifically, such an approach to organizing is ideal because it eliminates the potential for cross-cultural misunderstandings or leadership directives that do not adequately respond to regional concerns. The use of the internet in communicating information about campaigns provides oversight for executive officers without excessive encroachment on PCMs' activities and leadership. Rare's strategic model for organizing enables reflexivity by empowering regional members to deal with conflicts in the most efficient manner possible.

Second, Rare's success at implementing campaigns in various regions around the world highlights the importance of including local knowledge and concerns into the planning and implementation process. If public voices are excluded from the deliberation process (Endres, 2009) and campaigns function independent of local concerns, it is unlikely that a sustained positive environmental impact can ever fully be achieved. This is of particular importance for Western ENGOS that may not have a firm grasp of local cultures in other parts of the world. Whereas one campaign might be successful in a developed nation, the same may not always be true in developing regions. Rare's focus on empowering local communities eliminates the potential for hegemonic practices that disregard the value of local cultures, knowledge, and populations. Other international ENGOS would be well suited to follow Rare's lead in inviting local communities to participate in all stages of the planning and implementation process to ensure that campaigns adequately respond to cultural variance.

Finally, despite some concerns that exist about communication over the internet, Rare's use of social networking demonstrates the potential of this technology. Websites like Rare Planet could be adapted to convey important information about environmental campaigns and community involvement. Rather than utilizing a traditional website format, Rare Planet enables interactive communication about campaigns that creates active avenues for public participation. Additionally, social networking websites could improve channels of communication within organizations as different members would have an integrative approach to discussing relevant issues in a decentralized format. Future research should examine the expansive role of social networking websites on organizational structure and ability of ENGOS to incorporate Web 2.0 technology into their campaigns.

Rare's unique approach to organizing and emphasis on social marketing signifies

a different approach to social mobility that stresses reflexivity and responsiveness to local populations. Greater emphasis on local campaigns may be the next logical step in environmental organizing as ecological devastation continues to become an increasingly prevalent problem. If, as many scientists agree, the environment must be a concern for all people around the world, the inclusive practices of Rare may prove to be an invaluable model for future campaigns and organizations.

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CAMPAIGNING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC INVESTIGATION OF INDONESIA'S CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL SYSTEM

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Abstract

As environmental problems continue to affect the ways in which life is sustained, effective approaches to conservation become increasingly important as a critical field of inquiry. Given the stratification of economic and social capital across the world, certain regions are exploited more for their environmental resources than others, such as Indonesia. One non-governmental organization (NGO) called Rare facilitates conservation campaigns in Indonesia to halt and reverse the exploitation of the country's rich environment. Rather than simply examining the content of the messages articulated via these campaigns, this study investigates what elements of the country's cultural systems are embedded within these messages. Through twelve in-depth interviews with Rare's campaign and program managers, this study illustrates that rapport, community involvement, religion, and economics are among a few of the primary components in Indonesia's contemporary cultural system. This study demonstrates that conservation campaigns may be more effective if they consciously implement aspects of a society's cultural system(s).

Keywords: *Cultural Systems, Rare, Environmental Conservation, Indonesia, Campaigns*

Halfway into our six-week study of the environmentally rich country of Indonesia,

our group navigated up the Mahakam River in Samarinda, the capital of the province of East Kalimantan on the island of Borneo. The entire stretch of the river is paralleled by a long line of houses, which are raised and balanced on top of aging wood, hovering just above the river's natural flow. Those who live in these houses must use the river for an array of daily activities, despite its lack of wastewater filtration. This site illustrates the degree of environmental deterioration that Indonesians face on a day-to-day basis and strongly emphasizes the necessity to explore possible conservation resolutions. These resolutions, however, cannot be generated without an understanding of the diverse culture that dictates the lives of the Indonesian population. This cultural understanding requires an exploration into the array of values, beliefs, norms, and ethics (hereinafter referred to as *cultural systems*) that influence daily behavior and understanding. Hence, in direct relation to conservation campaigns that are being planned and implemented in Indonesia today, this study explores the cultural systems that enable these campaigns to be effective, allowing international scholars across the globe to acquire an elevated understanding of the ways in which communication (via campaigning) empowers marginalized populations and ignites a dialogue towards environmental justice for local communities that are adversely affected by environmental degradation. I argue that an understanding of a region's cultural system is necessary for fully recognizing and addressing a region's diverse environmental needs. Beginning with a historical assessment of the politics that have led to the decrease in environmental resources in Indonesia, this study follows the campaign activities of an NGO called Rare and analyzes specific facets of Indonesia's cultural system that allow environmental conservation campaigns in the region to be successful.

Mapping Out the Problem: History & the Rare Campaign

In the late 1960s, the Indonesian President at the time, President Suharto, "designated around 90% of the total forestland as state forests, regardless of the existence of people who had lived in the forests and had used the resources for generations" (Nomura, 2008, pp. 168-169). The primary motive behind this action: capital. Globalization had reached the Indonesian borders, and it was time for the country to join the corporate era. However, in order to play by the rules of capitalism and become profitable, the country began extracting from its richest resource: its environment. The Indonesian government is currently evolving from a once centralized style to a more decentralized one, releasing a new flow of capital that intensifies the need to extract environmental resources (Peluso, 2007; Setiawan & Hadi, 2007). The ideological spread of capitalism in Indonesia blurs the lines between compliance and deviance regarding environmental rights. At present, the battle for environmental resources now pivots between political elites (along with transnational corporations) who strive to enrich the country's economic state (or their own economic state) and the local citizens who strive to hold on to their very means of survival.

Current literature indicates that although several forest management programs have been initiated to accommodate both political and citizen interests, many of these programs have proven ineffective. According to Setiawan and Hadi (2007), "The pressures for exploitation of natural resources are compounded by poor environmental management systems that cause environmental degradation to become more widespread" (p. 73). One of the primary challenges in handling this issue is being able to comprehend the underlying changes that have followed the country's decentralization and recent democratization. With this democratic influence in Indonesia, not only is the governmental system changing, so is the country's system of normative hierarchical structures that are shifting from the social capital of seniority and age to that of class and economics (Nomura, 2008). Indonesian citizens who once had this capital by means

of seniority or age now fall along the continuum of economic capital by means of money and wealth – such is the stipulation of a capitalistic society. Consequently, much of the Indonesian population had become marginalized and restricted from effectively articulating their need for environmental resources. Even after Suharto's rule ended in 1998, the ideology of capitalism continued to take precedence, perpetuating the extraction of natural resources. According to Setiawan and Hadi (2007), the most elite of the political leaders in Indonesia are more interested in the short-term solutions to environmental issues rather than long-term solutions. For the sake of the rapidly deteriorating environmental conditions in Indonesia, it is important to investigate the cultural systems that unveil the ideological framework that citizens are abiding by. These cultural systems frame the Indonesian population's identities and dictate particular perspectives regarding day-to-day actions, which in turn can be aligned with conservation efforts; this unified identification among the mass population is necessary for effective environmental campaigning (Nisbet, 2009).

Along with a beautiful environment, several features characterize Indonesia. The country consists of populations who speak different languages such as Sudanese, Acehnese, and Javanese, and there is still some resistance to adapting a sort of universal Indonesian language referred to as Bahasa Indonesia. Along with language diversity comes a fairly observable religious dichotomy, characterized by a Muslim/Christian divide, with some Buddhist and Hindu influences. However, the most palpable characteristic of Indonesia is its economic state. Although a rich environment may be a dominant (although depleting) resource in Indonesia, economic capital (i.e., money) is not. Indonesian cultural systems are molded by the growth of transnational corporate demands that are enforced by governmental regulations. However, Indonesians' success with local businesses is undermined by the invasion of international corporations, reflected by the sprawling growth of shopping malls in Jakarta and tourist seductions in Bali. The ideology of capitalism is that of profit-maximization, which has begun to fundamentally change the ways in which interactions among locals and foreigners are scripted.

Hence, the problem is not that Indonesian citizens ignore their environment. Rather, one of the issues is that the capitalistic ideology has globalized its way into Indonesia and has begun taking sway over the economically vulnerable population, altering their cultural systems in ways that influence an expansion of superficial business-driven relationships and environmental exploitation. Additionally, with the supplement of the Indonesian government's support of the capitalist ideology via President Suharto's designation of state forests, Indonesian citizens' living conditions have only intensified, spurring activities (e.g., logging) that sway across a nebulous line in terms of legality and illegality.

Although this presents the problem in a sort of tinted light, there is hope for environmental conservation in Indonesia, such as non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) work in conservation, like Rare. Established in 1973, Rare is an NGO that is dedicated to conservation in Indonesia. The group is characterized by two-year programs consisting of about 10-12 campaign managers, 5-6 program managers, one director, and one institutional accreditation professional. During the course of the study, our particular focus was a group referred to as Bogor 3. Although characterized by ten individuals from diverse areas of Indonesia, each campaign manager had the same goal and methodology: to inspire environmental conservation for their particular site (e.g., North Sumatra, Aceh, West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, West Java, and Bali) by implementing their campaign in such a way that aligns significant symbols and makes use of influential institutions to persuade the population to take up environmental conservation practices as part of their daily lives. In other words, these campaign managers sought to examine the cultural systems of their distinct sites and modify their campaigns in ways that directly

influence these sites to practice environmental conservation as an inherent part of their own cultural systems.

Rare's ability to effectively assess cultural systems and modify their campaigns to directly speak toward those systems is particularly important for understanding behavior change and attitudes about conservation. In terms of this study, the methodology used to assess Indonesia's cultural system required participant observation in various sites of the Indonesian community (e.g., local schools, malls, and villages) and interviews with Rare's "Bogor 3" campaign and program managers. Although an expanded range of site visits and interviews across the entire range of the Indonesian archipelago would have served to add greater context to this study, the interviews conducted reached a point of saturation necessary to ensure validity (Mason, 2010). Interviews were semi-structured and designed to examine how Rare's activities utilize certain aspects of Indonesia's cultural system in order to effectively campaign for environmental conservation. Data were coded according to the four categories that make up cultural systems – values, beliefs, norms, and ethics – and analyzed in terms of narrative prevalence (i.e., how frequent the themes were mentioned in interviews). In the remainder of this article, I will present various observations on the Indonesian populations' lived experiences both in and outside of the Rare campaign and will highlight key aspects of their cultural system, thus enabling international environmental conservation scholars to effectively begin communicating new sets of methods and innovations toward environmental development and sustainability programs.

Rapport & Ecology

Upon entering the country of Indonesia, one quickly realizes that interpersonal relationships hold a remarkably high value. The importance of building rapport is essential to the interactional dynamics that mandate Indonesians' lives. It drives economic motives, mobilization efforts, and the ability to articulate the necessity for environmental conservation. Rapport is undoubtedly one of the most important values of Indonesia's citizenry, and with a globalizing world and an alteration in the goals of the country, its utility adapts closely with the social environment. This implies that rapport is a versatile value, one that can be manipulated, influenced, or even coerced into a superficial force to reach a particular means. Fortunately, this also means that it can be used as a tool for inspiring environmental conservation efforts and transformed into a norm that dictates ethical behavior for the Indonesian citizenry.

As outsiders in Indonesia, we walked down the streets of Bogor experiencing an array of reactions such as fascination, curiosity, fear, mockery, and/or flattery. However, we never experienced hostility. Of course this could have been for a number of different reasons, but as a scholar in the field it was critical to reflect on who *I* was in the country. Being a token in the country sheds light on the ways that privileges are distributed. Simply by being a light-skinned American male, I was offered a degree of authority and respect that I had not in any way earned. Such authority and respect could be deemed superficial in some circumstances, such as during business ventures. During such events, building rapport could simply be used as a sale tactic, providing respect in exchange for economic capital. What was disturbing about this social exchange was the inherent power relations within it, which are dictated by capitalistic frames: the individual in the position to negotiate capital interests is the person in power. This means that rapport can be generated from either the consumer (often the foreigner) or the producer (the local Indonesian businessperson), but nevertheless it leaves the consumer at a drastic advantage in terms of social capital. Personal advertisement becomes the norm for the citizenry in Indonesia, and the value that drives its success is the building of rapport. However, while remaining conscious of the fact that these events are driven by a growing capitalistic influence,

one can see that this cultural system has developed a new and more obvious value: economic capital.

However, economics is not the only motive behind building relationships and rapport. On quite the opposite side of the coin, rapport is also a value for its ability to mobilize unified action against antagonistic individuals/ideas/issues – in this case, striving towards environmental conservation. During one of our stays in Bogor, we visited a classroom where campaign managers for the Bogor 4 campaign were meeting to discuss different tactics for working with diverse populations. Laughter is pivotal to their relationships with one another, and the ability to relate to and work with one another is more important than the work itself (this is not to imply that the work was unimportant). In short, building social bridges far outweighs building physical bridges because it is those social bridges that ultimately enable effective means to the ultimate goal.

Considering that rapport is a value that can serve as a mobilizing actor, it is no surprise that it can also serve as the basis for establishing trust with local communities. Agus Priambudi, an official for the Balai Taman Nasional Ujung Kulon (Ujung Kulon National Park), stated: “Communication with the local people is very important” (personal communication, July 19, 2010). Nani Septariani, a campaign manager for Bogor 3, complements Mr. Priambudi’s assertion: “Social capital in Indonesia is very strong [in terms of campaign networking]” (personal communication, July 24, 2010). Septariani further explained that meetings with the citizens of her site (West Java) were highly effective in gaining support for her environmental conservation campaign, and it was during these meetings that opportunities to build rapport and broaden the campaign’s efforts were presented. People enter these meetings with a desire to understand the issue and exit with a responsibility to further influence other citizenry within their local residences. Additionally, because the meetings usually take place in one of the villager’s houses, a safe communication environment is more easily established, enabling the brainstorming of ideas to take on a smoother flow. Rapport is a powerful value for the Indonesian population. Although it can be used to further capitalistic motives, it may be employed as a means to elevate the populations’ perspectives on environmental conservation.

Communicating Conservation: Community, Religion, and Economics

During a meeting in Samarinda with faculty members from the Universitas Mulawarman (University of Mulawarman – UNMUL) to discuss ways in which to synergize their goals with Rare’s goals, Deddy Hadriyanto stated: “Social issues exist in two different ways because the U.S. and Indonesia reside in two different strata” (personal communication, July 28, 2010). This statement reflects the dynamics and complexities in addressing an issue as large as environmental conservation, especially in the genesis of a growing capitalistic mindset across the country. Scholars and policymakers cannot possibly enter into Indonesia and expect that social opportunities, restraints, and conditions are congruent to that of their home country. Practices employed by the campaign managers of Bogor 3 illustrate various ways in which environmental deterioration can be addressed and shed light on additional cultural system facets. These practices range across a very diverse spectrum: gaining a broader understanding of federal governmental regulations and rewriting them via local government petitions; replicating the conservation efforts of nearby communities; working with community and religious leaders; developing school programs, short films, and village libraries; creating radio jingles, leaflets, and public service announcements; putting on puppet shows; and holding stakeholder meetings and participative activities. These practices are employed in various areas of Indonesia and with very particular

populations, but all of them reflect three important cultural system characteristics: (1) the value of community involvement, (2) the beliefs and ethics of religious messages, and (3) the norm of economic functions. This section will provide insight to some of the interviews with the Bogor 3 campaign managers and illustrate how these significant cultural system characteristics are a part of the larger Indonesian population.

All the campaign managers constantly stressed the importance of helping their community build a sense of ownership for the solutions to their environmental problems. Essentially, collaboration between the campaign managers and the community establishes an internal sense of accomplishment among those involved and allows participants to feel in control of the challenges they encounter. Some campaign managers achieve this by meeting with the village/district heads and asking them to hold the meetings, thus establishing credibility for the campaign and strengthening its cause. Other campaign managers employ much more of a participative approach. The first example of this practice is visible in Bobby Nopandry's campaign. As a member of Bogor 3 and employee of the Department of Forestry, Nopandry's aim is to get palm oil corporations to reduce their expansion and protect the Sumatran tiger. The only way to do this, however, is to alter the attitude of over 4,000 people who could influence the shape of the corporations' agenda. In addition to other various practices, Nopandry decided that one of the most effective approaches was to have people participate in forest management (personal communication, August 4, 2010). He accomplished this by having the local citizenry and Department of Forestry collaborate on a rule book that would lay out the legal conditions for appropriate land use, thus reducing illegal activities and unsystematic depletion of environmental resources.

Another campaign manager who employed the value of community involvement in his campaign was Wahyudi Bambi. His campaign was geared at protecting the Sumatran orangutan in the Tripa Swamp forest. Like Nopandry, Wahyudi stressed that gaining community trust and encouraging community involvement were two very important aspects of an effective campaign. Following the practices of other campaign managers, an interesting way that Wahyudi was able to gain the trust of the local citizen (i.e., to build rapport) was to wear the same types of clothing as them, as to put himself and them on the same social level and make way for a safe atmosphere to begin dialoging on environmental conservation (personal communication, August 5, 2010). Along with wearing the same clothes as his audience, Wahyudi also stressed that when he spoke with them, he used "simple language" and kept things as informal as he possibly could. Thus, simplicity translates into informality, which further transforms into effective reception, an important lesson for communication scholars who wish to advocate environmental messages. In terms of the community involvement value, Wahyudi stated that many people don't know their own potential, but with the degree of mobilization that the campaign encourages, people are able to directly influence why and how their environment is shaped, leading to elevated environmental conservation (personal communication, August 5, 2010). The last aspect that Wahyudi stressed was a petition that he had various communities and groups within the region sign before presenting it to the district government (referred to as the "Kabupaten"). The petition asked for specific regulations that would protect environmental resources in the area, especially those vital toward the survival of the Sumatran orangutan. "The campaign," Wahyudi explained, "is more effective this way because it's not just a non-governmental organization advocating environmental conservation. It's a group of people with the same vested interest" (personal communication, August 5, 2010). Hence, there is definitely a certain degree of power behind mass mobilization, and in fact, without this mobilization, institutional reaction is very difficult to accomplish.

Another campaign manager that utilizes community involvement as a value that drives

environmental conservation is Efrizal Adil. His campaign aimed to protect the Sumatran orangutan in the Batang Toru Forest by establishing a credit union that would offset the population's need to find extraneous sources of economic means, such as illegal logging, and promote effective economic practices that would sustain environmental resources. Like Nopandry and Wahyudi, Adil decided that one of the most effective ways to capture the support of the local citizens was to establish practices that would rely on their participation and involvement. One activity that did this well was the creation of a "spanduk" (i.e., a banner) that would be hung in a location where everyone in the region would have to eventually pass. Before having anything printed, Adil performed a pretest with the local people in the sub-district of his site and asked them to submit images for the banner. This, in turn, influenced people to participate via a sort of competitive tactic and directly influence the colors of the campaign, so to speak. Thus, what Adil essentially accomplished was participative symbolization among the people. That is, people created the symbols that they would in turn follow. This generated a sense of identity and ownership in the campaign, leading to a stronger affiliation with the meaning of the campaign and ultimately to an elevated set of environmental conservation practices.

The final campaign manager to encourage community involvement is Indra Harwanto, an employee with the Ujung Kulon National Park office, driven by a passion for environmental equality. His work goal is to influence conservation efforts and protect the endangered Javanese rhino. Like other campaign managers, he was acquainted with the need for community involvement and collaborative ownership in the campaigns. For example, the logo for his campaign depicted farmers on their land with control of their resources. The idea, according to Harwanto, was to promote the idea of self-sufficiency because "it's about the needs of the people" (personal communication, July 22, 2010). Additionally, he developed stakeholder workshops for farmers to teach them about land intensification to avoid using expansive plots of land that encroached into the national park boundaries when it is unnecessary. A notion that every campaign manager echoes is Harwanto's assertion that "face-to-face communication is essential" (personal communication, July 22, 2010). However, helping populations become aware of environmental issues and forest management practices is not always easy. Various media like radios, religion, and schools were utilized, but nothing appeared to be more effective than gaining the support of sub-district heads ("Camats") or village leaders ("Kepala desas"). Harwanto recalled an event where he wanted to have a stakeholder meeting with one of the villages in his site. However, instead of asking the people directly to come to the meeting, he asked the Camat to invite people to the meeting and deliver an opening address. Mr. Harwanto explained: "If the invitation came from someone else other than the Camat, the people would not have felt comfortable enough to come to the meeting. Also, because the Camat opened the meeting, people would feel a sense of ownership over the meeting" (personal communication, July 22, 2010).

In most areas of Indonesia one can be certain to find one of three things: rice fields, livestock, and mosques. As centers for prayer for the Islamic faith, mosques illustrate just how widespread and vital religion is across the entire country. Despite the variety of religious affiliations among the Indonesian population, campaign managers for the Bogor 3 Rare campaigns are well tuned with the necessity to align the ethics and belief systems of religion with messages for environment conservation. One individual who demonstrates the use of religion as an influence for environmental conservation is a volunteer that works with Harwanto named Oji. The village of Sumur, West Java is characterized by underdevelopment, poor sewage systems, and rural communities with little access to monetary income. Despite Oji's economic and social position, Oji decided to work with Harwanto as a volunteer because he felt that the environment is too important to ignore (personal communication, July 18, 2010). During an interview, he

stressed the importance of using two particular institutions: education and religion. When asked why he chose the institution of education to promote environmental messages he responded: “it’s easier to teach kids at a young age, rather than when they’re adults” (personal communication, July 18, 2010).

When inquired about why he had chosen religion as an institution to advocate environmental conservation, Oji indicated that religious messages hold more sway than messages coming directly from the campaign manager or any individual of some other affiliation. “If the message goes through the Kyiah [the religious leader of the area], the people will listen” (personal communication, July 18, 2010). This concept is utilized among all the campaign managers, and some use it more often than others depending on an assessment of how receptive particular populations are regarding religious messages. In order to acquire this religious support, Oji explains, they go to religious leaders in the area and explain the connections between religion and environmental conservation. An example of one of these connections is the Islamic notion that dirtiness is forbidden, and therefore, environmental cleanliness is important (personal communication, July 18, 2010). Some campaign managers request to have religious leaders come into mosques before or after one of the five daily prayers and deliver a short speech as to why it is important to protect their environment. When these messages are articulated to the people via religious media, the rhetoric transforms from mundane non-governmental organization jargon to spiritual advice for fulfillment, which aligns itself well with the deeper root of people’s cultural systems.

The final and fairly new force that works through Indonesians’ cultural systems is the function of economics, which aligns itself as a new norm that influences survival, interactions, perspectives on the environment. Ade Yuliani exemplifies how the role of economics can actually be used to counter environmental deterioration rather than perpetuate it. Working to protect the Bornean orangutan within the Ketapang District, consisting of three sub-districts and seven villages, Yuliani decided that the best approach would be to establish a credit union for the area. Paralleling Mr. Adil’s establishment of the credit union, Yuliani started the credit union in order to reduce illegal logging and other illegitimate forest extraction of resources as secondary sources of income. The credit union works by the people and for the people in the following way: (1) economic capital is gathered by new members; (2) this capital is loaned out to those in need at low interest rates, (3) money paid back comes back into the overall credit union pool. As Yuliani put it: “It’s only them who can change their futures” (personal communication, August 4, 2010). However, they will not be able to change their futures without the proper resources and adequate training. Part of the credit union tactic requires that when people become members, they have to undergo training on money management before they can utilize the credit union services. This basic training leads to a decreased reliance on extraneous resources for income, such as local forests, and promotes self-sufficiency, economic independence, and environmental conservation. Thus, although the capitalistic ideology promotes the intensification of economic cycles and profit maximization, this does not always mean that the environment has to suffer drastic or unsystematic deterioration. What Yuliani’s campaign innovatively reveals is that an ideology such as capitalism can be reframed to work *for* environmental conservation instead of *against* it. When the truly influential value and normative utility of economics are integrated and promoted into a cultural system that advocates environmental conservation, one can see that goals such as environmental justice and equality are not too farfetched.

Analyzing Cultural Systems: Barriers, Benefits, Opportunities

Indonesia is a fairly young country and the people are exceedingly hospitable, strong-

willed, and articulate about a positive, clean, and beautiful future. In analyzing the aspects of the cultural systems explored in this study the findings reveal that rapport and community involvement serve as two primary values among the Indonesian population. Religion leads the way as a highly influential institution promoting ethics and beliefs. And finally, economics, the very instigator of the capitalistic ideology's invasion into Indonesia's environment, reflects the contemporary norms and values that drive day-to-day activities. These aspects, in part, make up Indonesia's cultural system on a very broad scale. Of course, certain populations in very specific areas of Indonesia might not abide every one of the aspects laid out in this cultural system, but this study indicates that at least one of them will serve as a highly influential determinant for particular perspectives, attitudes, or behaviors regarding the environment. The important thing to keep in mind is that society is dynamic and in a constant state of flux. Hence, the cultural systems that dictate a particular society's way of life will constantly be challenged and face transformation, sometimes for the better.

During an interview with Hari Kushardanto, Training and Operations Director, he presented our group with a model that dictates the campaign managers' efforts, illustrated as follows: "Knowledge + Attitude + Interpersonal Communication + Barrier [assessment and] Removal → Behavior Change → Threat Removal → Conservation Result" (personal communication, July 15, 2010). Essentially, this model illustrates how campaign managers seek to (1) provide their local communities with knowledge about environmental conservation, (2) understand and/or change the population's attitude on the environment, (3) communicate, assess, and remove specific barriers (which allows for barrier removal), (4) remove threats, thus mitigating existing threats driven by the identified behavior, and (5) influence behavior change, making way for effective environmental conservation. During this process, campaign managers are trained to assess barriers in terms of psychological, physiological, technical, social, and/or economic means. In gaining an understanding of these barriers and the attitude that drives them through a series of pretests (e.g., questionnaires, focus groups, interviews, etc.), the campaign managers are able to shape their campaigns in ways that effectively and directly speak to their site's *cultural systems* and translate complex concepts such as environmental conservation into solutions such as land intensification for agricultural purposes. As Purnomo, Mendoza, and Prabhu (2004) put it: "Recognition of the value of local stakeholders' knowledge, particularly that of local communities and its use are key steps towards enhancing communication and cooperation between local stakeholders and other forest managers, and for empowering local people" (p. 107).

Any movement toward environmental conservation will certainly face a set of drawbacks and obstacles to overcome. No challenge is without work, and no work is without challenge. When asked about the sort of barriers to be overcome during the work to promote environmental conservation, campaign managers, volunteers, and community members expressed a number of items. First, family obligations take precedence over environmental conservation programs. Most of the organizations that promote environmental conservation are non-profit and are made up of volunteers. Oji is a good example of this. Although his optimism for the program far outweighs his concern for economics, it by no means erases the necessity for economic stability. Family obligations that require money come up, and non-profit organizations cannot fill the void for this requirement. Another aspect of the family obligation barrier is the social dimension – that is, being able to simply spend time with their families. For example, Harwanto spends much of his time away from his wife and children doing the work he does because he feels that it is very important. However, being away from one's family is not something that can easily be remedied by an occasional phone call or letters in the mail. The final challenge expressed was the idea of

maintaining a positive attitude about the whole campaign. Any program geared toward achieving some goal is going to face significant opposition and/or irreparable misfortunes, and sometimes maintaining a spirit of optimism is a challenge in and of itself. However, as Harwanto puts it: “Challenges don’t have to be barriers” (personal communication, July 22, 2010). In other words, challenges don’t have to stop a person from moving forward; all it means is that the path will have to take a different course.

Along with expressed barriers, campaign managers shared that a wide range of benefits resulted from their work with Rare. In summary, these benefits include increased self-confidence, enhanced knowledge about how to promote conservation that inspires the cycle of conservation practices, established, broad networks, improved strategic thinking, and the enhanced ability to empower people. What is significant about this list is that not one person mentioned financial incentives as a benefit of their efforts in the campaign. The list reflects the campaign managers’ strong work ethic and illustrates how the power of optimism can take any nation a long way. Despite poverty and deteriorating conditions, people in Indonesia try to remain positive and continue working together for the common goal of conservation. It is in these practices that scholars should see true potential for innovation, development, and sincere collaboration.

Opportunities come with change, and change comes with the expansion of knowledge. This study sheds a great deal of positive light on what many Westerners might consider a dark situation in Indonesia. Toward the end of our study in Indonesia, our group visited an education forest called Gunung Walat Education Forest (GWEF), which is about thirty miles from and managed by the Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB) university in Bogor. During our stay there, Budi Prihanto provided us an overview of the program, stating: “It is a challenge for us to explore new resources In small-scale forestry, we have to think that the world is not a forest product but, instead, regard the world as the manufacturer of the forest product” (personal communication, August 7, 2010). In other words, society needs to reframe its attitude on the environment and see that its resources are not infinite, but that they can be ethically sustained. For example, Muhammad Nuramin works as a violin teacher and makes violins for students out of the trees that have naturally ended their life cycle and fallen. Additionally, Nuramin recruits young adults to help him with the violin-making process and provides lodging and food until they have mastered the necessary skills to be marketable outside of his school (personal communication, August 8, 2010). Before our departure from the education forest he stated: “We are a different color . . . [yet] we have the same dream” (personal communication, August 8, 2010). The “dream” he was referring to was global tranquility, which equates itself with environmental equality and justice. This is a message that might inspire many advocates and scholars for environmental conservation, justice, and equality to take up the challenge of transforming these ideals into lived experiences, even if the world presents a set of definite challenges.

Limitations & Prospective Research

Although this study takes a qualitative approach toward understanding the cultural system that mandates much of the Indonesian population’s environmentally-driven activities and perspectives, several limitations apply and indicate the need for further research within this study’s venue. A primary limitation of the study is that that availability to speak with a truly random sample is highly limited. Many of the individuals interviewed were directly affiliated with Rare, IPB, or UNMUL. Thus, the narratives provided face a strong possibility for bias in the positive direction – that is, talking only to the organizations and their affiliates is likely to result in skewed information; negative narratives were likely to be filtered out.

Consequently, I offer a few propositions for further research in Indonesia and/or other

countries facing similar environmental exploitation. First, in order to address the limitation expressed above, scholars might find it useful to employ quantitative methods in this study. A questionnaire or series of surveys might illuminate strong correlations between two or more factors, to include aspects emphasized as part of the Indonesian cultural system in this study. Additionally, a quantitative approach would help triangulate some of the findings in this study and elevate its validity. Another proposition for further research is to investigate the genesis of consumerist ideals in Indonesia and investigate possible means for stopping its expansion. The dynamics of the environmental situation in Indonesia can sustain itself upon conservation attitudes and cultural systems, and to a large degree, actions can be rhetorically influenced, but the ideology of capitalism will continue growing, and the consumerist ideal will expand. However, the tension between the governmental-corporation alliance and the Indonesian citizenry will not simply cease to exist, and further research into ways to halt the very idea of consumption could serve useful. This study has examined ways in which to navigate through the consumerist ideal with an environmental conservationist agenda, but without exploring ways to deter its very existence, resources will inevitably run dry.

Conclusion

Although the globalized ideology of capitalism, along with Indonesia's political activities, have ignited a definitive transformation in the way of life for many Indonesian citizens, this study illustrates how values, ethics, beliefs, and norms (i.e., cultural systems) can and must be examined in order to effectively communicate what it means to practice environmental conservation. While many of the villages in Indonesia contain very uniquely defined cultural systems, this study indicates that rapport, community involvement, religion, and economics play vital roles in the population's daily lives and perspectives regarding the environment and its sustainability. Thus, even though the country's dynamics and conditions are constantly changing and facing a contemporary globalized encroachment of capitalistic processes, Indonesia does not lack the resources, academics, or willpower to effectively work through capitalism's consumerist values and make the ideological giant work against itself – with the proper resources and determination to sustain the environment, conservation is but an attitude away.

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A CASE STUDY OF A MORE EFFECTIVE APPROACH TO ENVIRONMENTAL CAMPAIGNS IN THOUSAND ISLANDS NATIONAL PARK, JAKARTA, INDONESIA

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Abstract

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are often criticized for their lack of effectiveness as they provide international relief efforts or work for social change. This essay is a case study of an individual's environmental campaign as part of Rare's Indonesia Program, an NGO that takes a different approach to conservation. Utilizing qualitative research methods during a one month trip to Indonesia, I observed and researched an environmental campaign and interviewed the campaign manager in Thousand Islands National Park off the coast of Jakarta, Indonesia. I found that by using a localized approach to managing an internationally funded environmental campaign, success is available both from the perspective of the NGO, as well as from the perspective of the people they are trying to help.

Keywords: *Rare, Marine Ecosystems, Environmental Campaigns, Indonesia*

Rare is an organization that seeks to overcome a lack of public support for environmental degradation issues and barriers to social change that, if removed, would serve to “reduce overfishing and illegal logging, improve management of protected areas, increase adoption of more sustainable agriculture, and save multiple species on the brink of extinction” (Rare Planet). Through the implementation of an “innovative method for social change” that Rare calls “Pride campaigns,” conservationists are trained, empowered, and funded to carry out their missions on a human scale. One such campaign in the Thousand Islands National Park near Jakarta, Indonesia is managed by Yuniar Ardianti, an employee of Jakarta's Ministry of Forestry. To illustrate effective elements of her environmental campaign, I will, first, provide an overview of the area where the Rare campaign takes place. Next, I will illustrate some campaign activities and my research methodology. Finally, I will argue that despite overwhelming obstacles, Yuniar's efforts have come in time to create practices that will sustain the ecological viability of her area of operation.

A Brief Summary of Place

The protected area known as Taman Nasional Pulau Seribu, or in English, Thousand Islands National Park spans an area of 107,489 hectares. In the early 1980s, Pulau Seribu was designated as a natural reserve by the Ministry of Agriculture. In 2002, under decree from the Ministry of Forestry, the area just north of Jakarta in the Java Sea was developed as a national park with the Hawksbill sea turtle and the giant clam as the flagship species (Ardianti, 2010). The major habitat types found in this area include coral ecosystems, shallow sea ecosystems, mangrove habitats, sea grass habitats, and beach forest ecosystems. Within Pulau Seribu, there are seven species of sea grass, 18 types of seaweed, 24 species of mangrove, 31 families of fish representing approximately 232 species, and 29 species of birds, monitor lizards, dolphins, and dugongs.

The official mascot of Jakarta, the Brahminy Kite, also known as the Red-Backed Sea-Eagle, also inhabits this park system. This bird of prey is under threat of extinction due to hunting, trading, and the ever-decreasing viability of its habitat (Haryanto, 2011). In addition to this threat as a concern for its own sake, the Elang Bondol, as it is known in Indonesia, is seen as a representation of Garuda, the bird that Vishnu rode in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. This eagle is an important element of Jakartan culture (Embassy of Indonesia).

Additionally, the seafloor in Pulau Seribu is home to perhaps hundreds of shipwrecks. Within this natural preserve there is rich opportunity for maritime archeological research (Muckelroy, 1978). Even with such a diverse array of plant and animal life, as well as the opportunity to study the archeological and historical narratives distinct to this 1600 year old maritime nexus, a conversation about environmental conservation in Pulau Seribu would be incomplete without mentioning its current inhabitants.

Of those communities in and around Pulau Seribu, there are three subdistricts: Coconut Village Island (Kelurahan Pulau Kelapa), Hope Village Island (Kelurahan Pulau Harapan), and Grill Village Island (Kelurahan Pulau Panggang). As of 2009, the total population of the three subdistricts was 13,928. 10.9% of the households are considered poor by the Jakartan Ministry of Forestry (Ardianti, 2010). Ninety six percent of the population is literate. Most residents are Muslims who live in paternalistic society; 32.9% of the working age population works in processing, 21.6% in the commercial sector, 20.11% in the social service sector, and 6.10% works in agriculture, forestry, hunting, and fishing (Ardianti, *About the Thousand Islands National Park*, 2010).

Residents of the three communities trace their ethnic roots to the Bugis of South Sulawesi, the Javanese, and the Betawi of Jakarta. While these histories form a large portion of culture in Pulau Seribu, much of what is culturally present today is a mixture of Bugis, Javanese, and Betawi. Cheaper and more abundant communication and transportation technologies have gone a long way in urbanizing and homogenizing these cultures (Ardianti, personal communication, June 2011).

As a resource-rich area so close to a city of over 26 million people, Pulau Seribu is targeted for its coral, sand, and fish. Coral and sand are mined for building materials, the ornamental coral trade, and for medical applications (Cesar, 1996). In order to more quickly and cheaply obtain these resources, environmental cost is often ignored. Fish are often caught using potassium cyanide or bombs in a practice known as blast fishing. Both practices often kill a majority of the fish targeted requiring the fishermen to collect many more fish than are needed. The use of potassium cyanide and bombs is also destructive to coral ecosystems. Fueling a large part of these problems is a simple lack of awareness of the law. In addition to Pulau Seribu's classification as a national park, within this region are specially designated core zones and

protected zones.

Protected zones are areas designated by the government where specific activities are prohibited. Core zones, on the other hand, are areas in the national park where the best ecosystems exist. These areas are cordoned off with buoys. No resource extraction of any kind is allowed in core zones. Many local fishermen are unaware of the laws that direct where and how they should fish. Therefore, a large part of the problem with respect to core and protected zones is the lack of familiarity with their existence and the implications for changing how and where fishing should occur (Ardianti, personal communication, June 2011).

Research Methodology

With approval from the Institutional Review Board at the University of Texas at El Paso, I interviewed Yuniar Ardianti through one formal meeting and several informal conversations. As part of a research team, we conducted interviews using a semi-structured interview guide. Additionally, we visited one of the islands in the park system—Pulau Pramuka—where we observed some of Yuniar's work in the park system. We were able to tour all of the public areas on the island and, upon our return to Jakarta, we met with Yuniar and her boss at the office of the Jakarta Ministry of Forestry Pulau Seribu National Park office. At this visit, the research team was able to confirm our previous conversations and observations and ask follow-up questions.

Rare's Campaign to Reduce Local Overfishing in Core Zones

Ecological conflicts in this marine ecosystem are normally addressed by individuals who work with the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry. This may seem odd because the threats are primarily maritime and usually not linked to forest preservation. This issue has arisen because the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries is mostly focused on economic development, while the Ministry of Forestry focuses primarily on conservation. Furthermore, the national park



Figure 1: Rare's Theory of Change. Adapted from <http://rareconservation.org/rare-theory-change>

system falls under the authority of the Ministry of Forestry. Rare, an NGO based in Arlington, Virginia, has recruited Yuniar Ardianti, from the Thousand Islands National Park Office in Jakarta

to manage an environmental campaign in this area. Rare works with the ministry to ensure that all three parties are benefiting from the arrangement to address goals related to environmental conservation.

Rare's process of training these Pride campaign managers is informed by a developed Theory of Change that is localized for the "needs and cultural norms of their communities" (Rare Planet, see Figure 1). However, this theory of change follows a series of steps that are common to every implementation: Over the course of a two-year training process, fledgling campaign managers learn about social marketing, leadership, research methodology, and conservation. Following their training, these individuals implement their campaigns.

In fulfilling her role as a ministry official and employee of Rare, Yuniar is increasing awareness and local pride of place through the use of SMS Blasts, videos, songs, art competitions for children, banners, the creation of small ecological projects, and the maintenance of her presence in the communities. SMS Blasts are text messages sent to collections of people via cellular phones. This is important because many people in Pulau Seribu do not have internet access, so phones are a more common communication medium.

Community members in Pulau Seribu can subscribe, for free, to a mailing list to which Yuniar sends regular updates and conservation messages (called SMS Blasts). Since April 29, 2011, Yuniar has sent a message on most Fridays, also sending two messages on the first day. Of the first seven Blasts she sent, four were specifically related to Yuniar's environmental campaign. Three other messages constituted praise for a local school group's success in an educational competition in Jakarta; an announcement about classes starting for a post-secondary school nursing program; and another announcement about a local culture festival. The four messages about the campaign essentially focused on educating subscribers about the deleterious effects of pollution, the zoning system in the park, and other important information.

The first blast was sent to 1190 phones with the following message:

This SMS is an SMS Blast from the Thousand Islands National Park with a conservation and sea protection message that will be sent every Friday. Recipients of the SMS will not be charged on their cell phones. Are you ready to continue receiving these text messages? Please send your response to this number. Thank you. (Ardianti, SMS Delivery Report Blast TN Thousand Islands, 2011)

Two weeks later, Yuniar sent an educational message about littering in the ocean:

If you throw things in the sea, how long will it take to decompose? In fact, orange and banana peels decompose after 2 weeks, cigarette butts decompose after 1-5 years, fish nets decompose after 30-40 years, aluminum cans decompose after 80-100 years, plastic bags decompose after 20-100 years, and plastic bottles do not decompose in a time that can be estimated (Ardianti, SMS Delivery Report Blast TN Thousand Islands, 2011)

The effectiveness of these messages seems to be predicated on both the level of awareness that Yuniar's audience already has of conservation issues and how much they care about the message. My research did not cover these considerations, but based on my observations, the people living in Pulau Seribu are largely unaware of the biology of decomposition, so the SMS Blast provides useful information to create awareness of trash disposal problems in the area. Additionally, given their cultural norms and enclosed borders, these people share a profound pride of place. Therefore, Yuniar's first two blasts were likely effective and well received.

In addition to the SMS Blasts, to increase awareness of the campaign's goals with non-subscribers and participants alike, Yuniar relies on a variety of media. She created a series of six



Figure 2: Pramuka Island banner (Yuniar Ardianti, 2010)

banners and placed them on the only passageway in and out of the island's pier (see Figure 2). On just about every weekday, every school child and government worker passes through this area. Along the canopy of this pier these banners are each posted successively closer to the end of the pier as individuals walk towards the island. The first banner is a graphical representation of a marine protected zone (inside the red on the left), where fishermen are asked to avoid, whereas on the right side of the banner, it explains that fishing is allowed in those areas not protected. The implication here is that if fishermen adhere to this practice then marine life will be preserved (see Figure 2).

Yuniar explains in her blog that the audience she targets with these banners is fishermen with the purpose of increasing “[k]nowledge and good understanding of the benefits of marine protection and conservation, the benefits of the core zone area prohibited to take [sic], and the threat of overfishing” (Ardianti, *The Message Boards on Scout Island*, 2011). In creating these message boards, Yuniar referred to: Specific, Measureable, Action-Oriented, Realistic, Time-bound (SMART) objectives that she is using to design her campaign activities.

Yuniar also focuses on the children in the local communities. She hopes that increasing the excitement in kids about her pragmatic focus on ecological conservation and improvement will have a trickle-up effect on their parents. To bring her message to the kids, Yuniar uses short movies, songs, and art competitions; she has involved the children in their production. These songs, movies, and competitions are almost entirely focused on teaching kids what local ecological problems exist and empowering those kids to realize their vital place in the solutions to these problems.

One such song called the “Thousand Island Hum,” is comprised of four verses and a refrain. The second verse—

*The old days in the beautiful Thousand Islands
Our sea glass blue tears
The abundance of reef fish is beautiful
Our ocean is our hope*

—seems like it must be directed to adults with its talk of things past. The terminal audience may in fact be the adults, but the children are the medium through which this song is expressed.

Yuniar also works extensively with key stakeholders in the campaign’s targeted area. These religious and government leaders are approached through phone calls, faxes, and personal visits. Additionally, to garner community support, Yuniar’s campaign features live performances and asks the audience to share their perspectives via questionnaires. Yuniar involves local communities in sustainability projects in all three subdistricts. On one of the islands, Pulau



Figure 3: Marine ecosystem, created by local people on Pramuka Island (Stacey Sowards, 2011)

Pramuka, she helped the local people build a local ecosystem for display (see Figure 3), and helped plant a mangrove forest near the coastline to prevent erosion. This local ecosystem was built adjacent to the dock that every person either departing or arriving passes through on their walk. The dock is in the shape of a “T,” one side of which was fenced underwater to enclose an area that is estimated to be about 100 meters squared. Within this enclosed area are several schools of fish, a few sea turtles, a few larger fish, and beautiful transparent blue water. This mini-ecosystem serves to inculcate a sort of ecological patriotism in the islands residents.

On the opposite side of the island, Yuniar helped the local people plant mangrove trees

about 30-50 meters off the coast in the water. Mangroves, with their massive root structures, help prevent erosion and they also disrupt large waves. Additionally, these mangrove forests support small ecosystems where small crabs thrive, providing another source of nutrition for the locals that children can harvest.

The final strategy is especially important in Indonesian culture. At least once a week, Yuniar travels from Jakarta to the islands and socializes with the people. She dresses casually and avoids acting with pretension. The maintenance of low-level communicative interactions is a vital way of earning the respect and acceptance of local elders, along with political and religious leaders. This respect and acceptance is important for obvious reasons, but even more so now due to the increased political power that local politicians now hold in decentralized Indonesia. Yuniar hopes that this socialization process will endear elders to her cause and learn to appreciate the fact that government, for them, does not necessarily mean only law creation and enforcement. Participation with government can also mean education, locally produced and protected capitalism, ecotourism, and more say in policy making. In other words, Yuniar is taking the first step in not only creating belief in municipal harmony, but in creating actual biocentric harmony.

Conclusion

Six months into campaign activities (as of June 2011), Yuniar is looking to her first major milestone: for the population of Pulau Seribu to understand where the Core Zones are and to completely avoid those areas. Two major obstacles that she faces and other campaign managers also face, however, are local government and local religious leaders. Unfortunately, local governments are mostly focused on economic development. Yuniar is showing that a more long-term and/or environmentally friendly approach can be effective too. Eco-tourism and long-term sustainable fishing boost local economies, but also rely on the protection of local environments.

Additionally, even though Yuniar is very careful to tailor her messages to respect local and religious customs, one religious leader will not allow her to operate in their area of influence. Yuniar reported on her blog on August 8, 2011 that, on Hope Island, the leader of the mosque interpreted her presence negatively because of her connection to the national park office. While his assessment of Yuniar's affiliation was correct, his apprehension about her plans seemed misplaced (according to Ardianti). Nevertheless, Yuniar reports that she has used this experience to better inform future endeavors on Hope Island.

Yuniar will likely encounter many such obstacles in the short-term, but those children and young adults that she is educating will one day fill local government positions. Their parents will support them, and ecosystems will benefit. In the meantime, Yuniar's efforts to improve pride of place, respect between the local people and institutions she works for, and education will rely not only on her consistency, but more importantly on the people who live in Pulau Seribu. It appears as though Yuniar appreciates the prose of the famous poet Khalil Gibran: "The teacher who is indeed wise does not bid you to enter the house of [her] wisdom but rather leads you to the threshold of your mind." Hopefully community leaders can one day see the benefit in cooperation.

I occasionally noticed individuals littering on Pulau Pramuka, but when I was sitting on the dock by their mini-marine ecosystem, I saw no less than five different people put out their cigarettes on their shoes and place the butt in their pocket. It appears that locals spending time next to the beauty they helped create appreciate the harm in even small environmental grievances. Perhaps this attitude and behavior could be exported to other communities through similar practices. It may not just be a categorical approach to altruism that will save the environment. Instead, the specific practice of helping small communities beautify their environments in

the hope that it matters to them could be the kind of opus that halts, or even reverses, the environmental degradation occurring so rapidly in Indonesia. Whatever that prescription for a perfect human ecology is, there does not seem to be any reason to disregard a practical approach to improvement. Hopefully Yuniar's work continues and is successful. Even more importantly, though, her success shows those lacking environmental consciousness that while neither philosophical perspective nor federal policy initiatives have solved our ecological problems yet, it is not too late to make a real difference.

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V. ENVIRONMENT AND SENSE OF PLACE

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MYTHIC FRAGMENTS & ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISTS: RHETORICAL AND MYTHIC JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE LOCAVORE MOVEMENT

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Abstract

While many activists rely heavily on rational argument and seek to present the facts concerning food production, locavores strengthen their rhetorical strategy by incorporating mythic elements in their persuasive appeals. One example is Hudson Valley Mediterranean by chef, nutritionist, and locavore advocate Laura Pensiero. In suturing eating and politics, Pensiero combines polemic indictments of big agro-business with delicious recipes that are best prepared using local ingredients. Operating within the ubiquitous habits of the everyday, the cookbook calls attention to the relationship between food production and consumption. It builds a bridge between the farm and the plate and between the reader and their consumption choices. Through our reading of Hudson Valley Mediterranean, we argue that Pensiero merges two separate tropes, the yeoman and the liberated cook, into the same mythic figure. Pensiero encourages her audience to reconsider the origin of their food and to think politically about their role in gathering and cooking that food.

Keywords: Cooking, Myth, Locavore, Mythic Criticism, Mythic Fragments

Whether it is a focus on fair trade coffee or the consumption of organics, what we term “foodpolitik” is becoming more pronounced. Siobhan Phillips explains, “what dishes one consumes or refuses, what food products one buys or boycotts, constitute an expression of style, statement of politics, reflection of values, index of environmentalism, pledge of allegiance, and a measure of health” (2009, p. 189). Expressions of foodpolitik are growing exponentially in books,

websites, articles and movies. Advocates like Michael Pollan and Eric Schlosser attempt to make the covert implications of eating into a more overt set of politics. Foodpolitik is the basis of the locavore movement. This is a movement of “people who pay attention to where their food comes from and commit to eating local food as much as possible” (Maiser, 2007). Because “eating is a political act,” locavores encourage consumers to choose locally produced food thereby “reducing dependence on fossil fuels” and making an “investment in the environment” (Retzinger, 2008, pp. 248, 251).

Locavore advocate Laura Pensiero situates her book, *Hudson Valley Mediterranean*, within the larger locavore movement. “Life in the Valley,” she writes, “mirrors our national preoccupation with sustainable living . . . with an exaggerated intensity” (2009, p. ix). In suturing eating and politics, Pensiero combines polemic indictments of agro-business with recipes best prepared using local ingredients. The book’s global focus and local, everyday suggestions make it a good representation of the locavore movement. The cookbook highlights links between food production and consumption, and the relationship between the farm and the plate by relying on two dominant tropes, or metaphorical devices, which encapsulate specific ideas: the yeoman farmer and the liberated cook.

The yeoman farmer, a hard-working, environmental steward, tends the crops to the backdrop of “the red barn farm surrounded by green pastures” (Brehm, 2005, p. 797). A mythic icon representing an American ideal, his identity is expressed in “his honest industry, his independence, his frank spirit of equality, his ability to produce and enjoy a simple abundance” (Hofstadter, 1956, p. 43). The *Union Agriculturalist and Western Prairie Farmer* describes the yeoman as, “the most noble and independent man in society” (Hofstadter, 1956, p. 53). Pensiero etches three characteristics of the yeoman: protector of civilization, caretaker of the environment, and holder of practical wisdom. She then redeploys these characteristics in her vision of the liberated cook who aligns her/his foodpolitik with sustainable, seasonal ingredients. Using mythic phraseology of the yeoman allows Pensiero to construct the liberated cook as the embodiment of locavore ideals because of their dependence on local ecology for sustenance and their relationship with the land.

In this essay, we use Pensiero’s tropes of the liberated cook and the yeoman farmer to elucidate the ways that fragmentary myth communicates social values and promotes the locavore agenda. We argue that mythic fragments and phrases retain rhetorical force absent an explicit narrative. To illustrate, we explicate the locavore movement; identify the rhetorical components of myth; examine the yeoman as heroic mythic figure; and elucidate Pensiero’s use of the liberated cook as a modern incarnation of the mythic yeoman. We thus turn our attention to the locavores.

Locavores & Foodpolitik

In August of 2005, a group of San Francisco foodies who were concerned about the relationship between food and the environment postulated that one way to minimize our ecological impact is by reducing the distance food travels (Prentice, Van Wing, Sampson, & Maiser, 2010). Coining the term locavore, they pledged to only eat food produced within a one hundred mile radius of their homes (“Local-food movement,” 2006). A recent word of the year, locavore describes those who advocate that food miles should “matter more than food additives to the ethically conscious consumer” (Phillips, 2009, p.195). Locavores seek to make evident the process by which food travels to our plate. Unlike other movements, which are concerned with the ethical treatment of animals or human health, locavores focus on environmentalism. While the organic food movement champions petrochemical free produce, locavores argue that organic foods “can still guzzle a lot of oil, and there is nothing sustainable about organic raspberries

brought from Chile to Connecticut” (Phillips, 2009, p. 195). Locavores believe that individuals should express a deep commitment to environmental sustainability through their daily food choices.

The locavore agenda faces a difficult battle because their arguments compete with agribusiness’s rhetorical strategies that dislocate consumers from the origin of their food. Agribusiness uses the agrarian myth by focusing on the yeoman as heroic figure to construct a false sense of “familiarity” with the food. This creates a particularly difficult rhetorical situation for locavores who must compete with multimillion dollar companies. One possible solution that has been employed is through strategies of myth and the politics of the everyday.

How Myths Function As Fragments

Communication scholars investigate myth in diverse venues and media, including film (Frentz & Rushing, 1993, 2002; McMullen, 1996; Rushing, 1985, 1989; Terrill, 1993;), social movement demonstrations (Lake, 1991; Mechling, 1994; Solomon, 1991) and politics (Abhik & Rowland, 2003; Dorsey, 1995, 1996; Dorsey & Harlow, 2003; Lee, 1995; McGuire, 1977; Moore, 1991; Rowland & Frank, 2002; Rowland & Jones, 2007; Rowland & Theye, 2008; Rushing, 1986; Williamson, 2010). In this essay, we rely on Robert C. Rowland’s (1990) definition of myth. We add to Rowland’s account of myth by suggesting that mythic fragments can exert the same force as a fully fleshed out mythic story. In context of the everyday, mythic fragments invite the audience to invest their dietary habits with moral significance.

According to Rowland (1990) myths are (1) stories that are thought to be true, (2) transmit social values, (3) have a hero, (4) occur in a symbolically important time and (5) place and rely on archetypal symbols. Myths serve several social functions. First, myth functions as a true story that expresses “social approval” changing lives by transmitting social values (Kelly-Romano, 2006, p. 387). Myth conducts community norms and standards. As Peterson (1991) notes, myths serve a legitimating function. Myths, she writes, act “both to construct boundaries around acceptable action, and . . . justify the appropriateness of past acts” (p. 291). Myths provide the speaker culturally accepted evaluative criteria. Rather than having to construct social norms, myths provide an extant canon to judge social action.

Second, “myths are all-encompassing and sacred” stories that “provide a way of living” (Kelly-Romano, 2006, pp. 287-289). Specifically, myth inculcates subjects into the norms of citizenship. In support of this claim, Tarla Rai Peterson argues that myths are “the product of social environments in which agents intersubjectively construct symbolic ‘systems’ that help them guide their interpretation of social activity” (1991, p. 291). Dorsey and Harlow explain that “myths constitute a powerful epistemological rhetoric that offers compelling explanations for the community’s development of fundamental concepts such as identity, morality, religion, and law” (2003, p. 291). Myths are a “short hand” of cultural codes that subjects must follow for society to function. These codes manifest in decisions concerning the “correct” course of action and become “touchstones for human behavior within a community” (p. 291). In short, myth provides cultures with a mechanism to reify cultural values.

Third, myths function cosmologically to “explain the individual’s place within humanity and the universe” and to “give meaning to randomness” (Kelly-Romano, 2006, pp. 388-389). The cosmological function of myth answers existential questions that plague humanity and gives meaning to disparate events, rendering the “chaotic and complex dynamic of human life understandable” (Dorsey & Harlow, 2003, p. 291). A myth provides “a sense of gratitude, finitude, and humility, and situates the individual in time and space” allowing individuals to invest life with “meaning” (Kelly-Romano, 2006, p. 389). In the face of complex social, cultural or natural events,

myths provide comfort and meaning for humans.

While myths serve a socializing purpose, establish moral values, and provide a sense of meaning to life, they also operate in everyday contexts (Barthes, 1972). Dickinson defines the everyday as, “our daily habits of eating, drinking, conversing, working and all the myriad of other activities that make up our lives in the everyday” (2002, p. 5). Eliade reminds us that myths “reveal exemplary models for all human rights and all significant human activities—diet or marriage, work or education, art or wisdom” (1963, p. 8). Malinowski agrees that there is an “intimate connection” between a society’s mythic stories and “their ritual acts, their moral deeds, their social organization, and even their practical activities” (1954). At this nexus of the everyday and myth, we locate our study. This location requires more study, because this vector informs subjectification. Dickinson (2002) explains that ritual and consumption of food helps construct an embodied subject. Andrea Graham notes that “food and eating are central to human life” because “the biological need for food and the social act of eating combine to give food patterns particular power” (1981, pp. 62, 55). David Bell and Gill Valentine concur, explaining that “food has much to reveal about how we understand our personal and collective identities . . . flavored with complicated . . . cultural meanings” (1997, p. 2). Deborah Lupton observes that food is heavy with “symbolic meaning” and is a key element in a culture’s “cosmology” (1994, p. 666). Because ritual practices surrounding food consumption have cosmological significance and are socially transmitted, these everyday practices represent a fruitful site for inquiry.

As we demonstrate in the next section, a close reading of the text yields mythic fragments. Despite missing narrative elements, mythic fragments retain some functions by relying on foundational symbols and heroes. Because myth is a “mode of signification,” an amalgamation of discourses centered on a culture’s values (Barthes, 1972, 1977), mythic fragments retain some functions of complete myths. To illustrate this concept, consider the following: A speaker simply appeals to the phrase, “Don’t cry wolf!” Most members of our society fill in the elements of the story arriving at some level of significance. Examining mythic fragments that are transmitted between people in daily life allows mythic critics to “gain new insight into the mythic images that construct complex motives” (Peterson, 1991, p. 291). Mythic fragments are enthymemes appealing to larger mythic structures and allowing critics to extrapolate the contours of the myth from fragmented discourse. Barthes explains that many myths no longer exist in “long fixed narratives but only in “discourse;” at most, it is a *phraseology*, a corpus of phrases . . . ; myth disappears . . . leaving . . . the *mythical*” (emphasis in original, 1977, p. 65). In other words, myths exist in fragments and phrases that rely on old, fully developed mythic narratives. The speaker no longer needs to tell the story but only to allude to the story for the same effect.

Justification for locavores’ foodpolitik in Pensiero’s book includes infusing heightened meaning and moral significance into daily food acquisition and consumption practices. Rather than recounting a core group of mythic stories that meet all the requirements for a fully structured myth, individuals often rely on mythic fragments to inform their choices providing meaning and significance in their lives. Thus, Pensiero’s book does not repeat the yeoman myth in whole but relies on mythic fragments to articulate the yeoman as mythic hero to the locavore movement.

Recognizing the importance of mythic fragments in modern society allows an additional role for the critic of myth. A critic focusing on mythic fragments should scour the textual cues that represent “mythic” phrases used in the context of the everyday to discover mythic transmissions of social meaning. Revealing mythic phrases allows critics to explicate the rhetorical functions of mythic fragments in everyday practice. This process can be observed in *how* the yeoman farmer is transformed into the liberated cook, as we illustrate in the following

sections.

Yeoman

In our culture, one important myth is the agrarian myth with its hero the yeoman farmer. Originally a term used to describe the “freeholders of England” yeoman represented “plain honest men” (Hesseltine, 1961, p. 17). In the United States, the yeoman came to represent “sturdy independence...across the continent” (p. 17). Peterson locates appeals to the yeoman within the larger narrative of the “frontier myth” (1991, p. 294). In this context, “the yeoman represented the ‘figure of superior virtue’ in the minds of the American people” (Dorsey, 1995, p. 7). This virtue was apparent in the characteristics of the yeoman including: the “caretaker of civilization,” the “guardian of the environment,” and the belief that yeomen demonstrate *phronesis*, or practical, virtuous wisdom.

First, yeomen are caretakers of civilization. Peterson argues that “Farming is clearly idealized as foundational to American culture by many who are only marginally affected by agricultural policy” (1991, p. 294). The importance of farm is reified by authors like Jared Diamond who uses the farm as a synecdoche for civilization. For example, in the early chapters of his book, *Collapse*, Diamond goes through vacant farms and crafts an argument about the “extinction” of previous civilizations (Diamond, 2004, p. 3). This typifies Peterson’s observation that “to fail in this responsibility [to protect the farm] is to destroy our nation’s future” (1991, p. 294). Indeed, farmers were a key component to the expansion of the “frontier” because they cultivated a stable source of food. “The future success of the United States was thought to depend on the perpetual ascendance of America’s sturdy yeomen,” Peterson explains, “who integrate the progressive value of human mastery over nature into the traditional value of cultural stability” (p. 294). This is in part because our culture believes that farms produce our civilization by controlling nature.

Second, yeomen are guardians of the environment. Farmers occupy a separate space where they perpetually produce sustenance for the city. This desire for a sustainable food supply implies environmental conservation. A mediator between the city and the wilderness, the yeoman has a dual responsibility, civilizing nature and protecting nature from civilization. Theodore Roosevelt highlighted this role juxtaposing the yeoman with destructive methods of land use. “Instead of exploiting and ruining the land like certain miners and lumber operators,” Leroy Dorsey explains, “farmers worked to conserve nature’s resources” (1995, pp. 8-9). Roosevelt argued that the yeoman “epitomized the conservationist spirit” (as cited in Dorsey, 1995 p. 9). As protectors of civilization and nature, yeomen reside in a zone of constant conflict both acting as a “gatekeeper to America’s natural wealth” and symbolizing “the conservation of the nation’s resources” (p. 7).

Third, competing claims of conservation and urbanization require yeomen to possess a special kind of wisdom. *Phronesis*, according to Lois Self, is an Aristotelian concept describing virtuous, practical wisdom which “continuously balances the good and the expedient, the ideals and the possible” (1979, p. 133). Peterson explains that “because farmers possess understanding beyond that of city dwellers they are endowed with heroic qualities” (1991, p. 295), the yeoman’s unique responsibility of “civilizing” the earth breeds practical wisdom. Moreover, this special knowledge makes them uniquely suitable to inform the public about what is “best” for the land.

William Best Hesseltine explains that the yeoman invokes “a tradition of criticism . . . [based on] . . . criteria derived from the soil” (1961, p. 23). This myth provides “ideological unity” through a recitation of “the virtues of farm life,” and reiteration of “the dogmas of the agrarian’s independence and moral superiority, and glorified agricultural labor” (p. 21). Yeomen

as caretakers of civilization, protectors of the environment, and possessors of practical wisdom are transmitted independent of the frontier myth as a story. The yeoman is ingrained in the American consciousness. An utterance of part of the myth invites the audience to infer the rest. By incorporating phraseology and the everyday in mythic criticism, we can better comprehend the way that mythic fragments transmit mythic functions in society.

Mediterranean on the Hudson Valley: The Liberated Cook as Yeoman Farmer

Pensiero organizes *Hudson Valley Mediterranean* seasonally forcing the cook to reorient his or her cuisine around the season and seasonal ingredients rather than particular recipes. The marriage of recipes to politics is not a new phenomenon. Warren Belasco explains that, "Recruiting for the emerging countercuisine . . . writers spiced recipes with scathing analysis of agribusiness 'rip-offs' and 'poisons'" (2007, p.29). Pensiero replicates the figure of the yeoman in her introduction lending it mythic significance. Initially, Pensiero establishes the desirability of a return to a simpler, more environmentally sustainable time through the choice to eat local foods and support local farmers. She states, that the "Hudson Valley is in the midst of a rural renaissance" and that farms "have undergone a radical shift over the past thirty years, creating a new kind of American agricultural landscape" (2009, p. ix). This has the potential to have significant impact as Pensiero suggests, "The wide-scale return to sustainable . . . growing methods that generations of children will still be able to bite into a crisp wine-flavored heirloom . . . apple grown here for-I hope-another four hundred years" (p. xvii). The qualities of this renaissance include traditional yeoman values such as the solidification of community. Pensiero writes, "Leading this charge to ensure a sustainable landscape are many of my friends, neighbors, and growers throughout the Valley who work hard to protect the land, encourage local traditions and maintain open spaces" (p. ix). In this way, Pensiero suggests that readers can participate in this mythic return to traditional values and create a sense of timeless, traditional agriculture in the Hudson Valley. She develops the contemporary yeoman farmer as a heroic figure who exemplifies traditional characteristics as a social caretaker, a cornerstone of the community, and a possessor of special wisdom about agriculture.

Initially, Pensiero paints contemporary farmers as societal caretakers who promote sustainable living on a mass scale. She quotes Diane Hatz describing a two month tour of U. S. American farms. Hatz said:

Whether we're on a sustainable ranch in eastern Washington State, an organic pizza restaurant in Chicago . . . people everywhere are growing, raising, promoting, and eating fresh local sustainable food from small family farms. It has become part of daily life for hundreds of thousands of Americans. (Pensiero, 2009, p. x)

By feeding the United States on a mass scale, yeoman farmers are cast as societal caretakers. She suggests that such, "environmentally focused farmers are a bright light of ingenuity, individuality and commitment" of "independent farm culture" (p. xviii). As caretakers of society, farmers must feed the masses and preserve independent farming in the U. S.

Additionally, farmers are integral to local communities. For Pensiero, they are "heirs to some of the oldest agricultural traditions in America" because the Hudson Valley "has been farmed almost continuously for four hundred years and was settled by some of the earliest immigrants to colonial America" (p. xxii). Because communities are built upon traditions, this link is vital to establish farmers' key role in maintaining a rich tradition in the Hudson Valley

and in the local communities where readers live. Additionally, farmers' creation of community gives them strength. For example, Pensiero cites, "Sam Simon, a local dairyman . . . [who] . . . helped form the Hudson Valley Fresh Dairy Consortium . . . [which] . . . has helped independent dairy farmers get their excellent milk, cheese, and yogurt onto the tables of residents" (p. xi). Not only does the consortium allow farmers to sell their wares, it also benefits the community giving "the chance to taste fresh, preservative free milk" (p. xi). Through maintenance of community traditions, working toward a common goal and providing unparalleled quality food to community tables, contemporary farmers are true yeomen who safeguard society.

The third characteristic of the yeoman exhibited by farmers is special wisdom or phronesis in the areas of agriculture, food, and environmental sustainability. For example, Pensiero encourages readers to:

Try new kinds of squash that only your local farmer will have. Use him as a culinary resource. Farmers can tell you where their food comes from, when it's available and at its peak, and how to best use it. Armed with all that good information, you can cook with greater confidence. (p. xiv)

In this case, Pensiero both highlights the special knowledge that farmers have about foods and nature and encourages readers to seek this knowledge and incorporate it in their own cooking. She also suggests that readers tour local farms to gain a "hands-on understanding of good farming practices" which would help readers to "make more informed choices" (p. xvii). In several places, Pensiero highlights this phronesis or special wisdom linked to yeoman farmers.

Pensiero demonstrates how phronesis is used through "interludes" that highlight individual farms and farmers. "Working with many Hudson Valley farmers over the years," Pensiero observes: "I've noticed certain personality types that show up time and time again." The different personality types, she notes, range from the "maverick, who doesn't like to be told what to do," to the "artists, [who are] sustained and inspired by the beauty of the natural world" (p. 14). In Pensiero's discussion of farmers who provide her food, she consistently develops their yeoman-like characteristics. For example, Pensiero writes about "Chris Ragen of Sky Farm" who is a "painter whose . . . eleven acre-wide 'painting' changes subtly from spring to summer to fall" (p. 14). Pensiero highlights Chris' special wisdom in her descriptions, writing that Chris is a "strong proponent of organic, sustainable methods" (p. 15). He is characterized as a painter who stresses the radical subjective nature of farming. Instead of being viewed as a technological process, food creation becomes art. More than an average person, Pensiero transforms Chris into a mythic hero who exists in a special time of self-sufficiency and community focus. Such descriptions endow his food with an almost magical quality. Chris' special wisdom about sustainable agriculture keys into broader questions of sustainability, planetary survival, and the value of current industrial farming practices.

Among the stories, there are traces of the farmer's didactic relationship with the local community both as teachers and models. Farmer's like Talea and Dough Fincke who tirelessly seek to educate consumers about the origins of their food and spearhead efforts to revitalize responsible stewardship of the land. "Living here," Talea says, "spending my life in this orchard, has given me a deeper notion of preservation and a commitment to Mother Nature's beauty and fertility" (Pensiero, 2009, p. 122). These farmers understand and evolve with the seasons, demonstrating a practical knowledge that simply "makes their food taste better" (Pensiero, p. xvi). Connection to their land gives them a reformed and heightened awareness about food. Talea and Doug's ability to "archive" apples gives them mythic qualities, an "expert" status among traditional consumers. At the same time, Pensiero crafts an argument that connects consumer knowledge of food production to development of a discerning palate. That is why Pensiero "learns

something new” about apples each time she visits (p. 122). Accordingly, Pensiero implies that consumers’ ignorance concerning the taste of food stems from a disconnect between production and consumption. Practical knowledge, then, is grounded in knowing the origins of what we eat.

Pensiero also discusses Hearty Roots Community Farm which is owned by two young, “well educated” farmers, Ben and Miriam, who “changed all my preconceived ideas about your ‘typical’ Hudson Valley Farmer” (p. 205). Both Ben and Miriam left the urban life to pursue their passion for sustainability. “Their knowledge base is broad,” Pensiero writes, “their perspective is global, and their aim is to change the way we feed ourselves and protect the land” (p. 205). These farmers travel the state of New York preaching the importance of sustainable farming. Ben and Miriam demonstrate that anyone, even the most urban people, can return to the land and act as caregivers. They exemplify sustainability by doing things such as transforming their tractor to run on electricity rather than gasoline (p. 207). This is a unique twist in the yeoman myth because it suggests that contact with the land can transform anyone into a yeoman hero. Indeed, the notion that anyone who seeks communion with farmers and the land can attain mythic transcendence allows Pensiero to extend an invitation to the reader to become a yeoman.

As the primary source of our food, farmers’ practical knowledge makes them uniquely suited to overcome environmental destruction. Farmers have been battling nature for a long time and have been challenging the elements to ensure a steady food supply. Farmers like Chris, for example, are given heroic qualities in that they are able to dominate over nature. As a caretaker of society, it is the yeoman’s responsibility to defeat the elements to ensure cities are fed. This links societal caretaking with phronesis. Extraordinary knowledge is essential to fulfill their heroic role. For example, Pensiero tells the reader that Chris is able to “coax baby lettuces and leafy green onto my plate when there is still frost on the ground” (p. x). Chris’s knowledge goes beyond the average person, because he can defy natural conditions. The logical extension of Pensiero’s characterization, then, is that farming, like art, is deeply personal and reflects the very values and beliefs of the farmer and, by extension, those U. S. norms and values he embodies. The mythic transformation is complete when Chris’s extraordinary ability to control nature is realized. As a yeoman farmer, Chris is on the forefront of the revolution to save our society through sustainable farming practices.

Such images of heroic yeoman farmers allow Pensiero to equate locavores with the general sustainability movement. Beyond telling the farmers’ stories, Pensiero’s cookbook is an invitation to join her movement. Her invitation to activism provides the reader with an imperative to become a liberated cook and to occupy the same position as the heroic yeoman.

The Liberated Cook

The liberated cook reflects each of the three characteristics of the yeoman including: caretaker of society, protector of the environment, and exemplar of phronesis. Being a liberated cook makes one “less reliant on recipes and more open to adaptation, creativity, and reinterpretation” (p. xv). The liberated cook allows the reader to participate in the locavore movement and to help “save farmland and open spaces” (Pensiero, 2009, p. xvi). Pensiero’s argument is an analogy. “Just like working on a farm,” she argues, “eating seasonally is something most of us no longer do” (p. xv). Implicit in this statement, Pensiero harkens back to a mythic time when we produced our own food, or at the very least knew the farmers that made our food. The liberated cook seeks direct contact with the yeoman farmer, promoting a style of cooking that allows liberated cooks to “stay true to . . . culinary roots” and remain “rooted in local farm products” (p. xvi). In this way, the liberated cook is helping farmers to preserve “history, cultural and culinary diversity, and local livelihoods” (p. xvii). Being a liberated cook is portrayed as an

alternative to reclaim what history has stripped away from us. By adhering to the values implicit in her tropes, the audience may enter into a state of mythic transcendence. Pensiero compares “working on a farm” with “eating seasonally.” By becoming a liberated cook, the reader can accept the mythic values of the yeoman in everyday practices of his/her life. Relying on phraseology associated with the yeoman hero advances the locavore’s cause by providing it with cosmological and moral significance, and consequently opening a path for the reader to ritually access mythic time and space through liberated cooking.

In describing herself as a liberated cook, Pensiero writes, “[t]he food I buy from local sustainable farmers may not be the least expensive choice upfront, but I know that the costs, both explicit and implicit, are calculated in the price, including the cost of maintaining a healthy environment” for “generations of children” (p. xvii). She encourages liberated cooks to shop at farmers markets which are:

Great places to talk to farmers and sample food that’s likely within forty-eight hours of picking . . . You may help preserve a distinctive food that could otherwise be lost to us. And it can also inspire your inner chef! Remember that the key to a “sustainable” healthy diet is strengthened when you use all those insights gleaned from farmers and chefs to create a great tasting dinner.
(p. xviii)

In doing this, liberated cooks can understand about the foods available in their “own locale” because “getting in touch with seasonal and local eating can bring more joy to your table and strengthen your connections to your community” (p. xviii). Liberated cooks can use rituals of food preparation and eating to strengthen community and to meet the challenge of “the agricultural status quo—environmentally, socially, and politically” (p. xvi). Pensiero links community to the liberated cook throughout as she rearticulates this core tenant of the yeoman. While a cook does not grow food, he or she can support the community by becoming a liberated cook.

Second, the liberated cook is a societal caretaker, as demonstrated by Pensiero’s articulation of connections between the liberated cook and environmental preservation. She writes that eating local allows one to “accomplish three things: you reduce the amount of spent fuel, you get great products, and you lend financial support to your farm economy” (p. xvi). This illustrates that liberated cooking has wider social and political implications. Pensiero writes, “When you support farms, you help save farmland . . . It is estimated that over a million acres of U.S. farmland are lost each year” (p. xvi). Thus, liberated cooks are locavores who promote “environmentally sustainable practices [which] can give you a better understanding” and link you to an “independent farm culture” that is a “bright light of ingenuity, individuality, and commitment” (p. xviii). Through her descriptions, Pensiero empowers the reader to choose to protect society by becoming a liberated cook.

Finally, Pensiero’s liberated cook develops phronesis, the simple wisdom associated with selection and preparation of food. This knowledge is derived from the food itself. Pensiero writes, “As a liberated cook you let ingredients lead the way” (p. xvi). She describes it as “a style of cooking rooted firmly in local farm products” (p. xvi). Interacting with the food and cooking seasonally allows a liberated chef to develop wisdom and “a culinary viewpoint that features fresh, simply prepared food presented in an honest, uncluttered way. No fussy sauces, no complex recipes, nothing to dull the shine of great ingredients” (p. xvi). Pensiero develops this theme stating that readers should “use all those insights gleaned from farmers and chefs to create a great tasting dinner” that is part of a “healthy” and “sustainable” diet (p. xviii). As such, the liberated cook garners some of the phronesis linked to interacting with the land and the food it produces.

Connecting the heroic yeoman farmer to the liberated cook and the act of eating forces the reader's awareness of her/his food's origin, a key aspect of the idealized version of community depicted in traditional myths of the yeoman farmer. Barthes describes the way certain mythic phrases (or signs) can become a signifier in a new system of meaning, as it becomes a "second-order semiological system" which Barthes calls a metalanguage (1972, p. 115). In this new system, "the semiologist no longer needs to ask himself [sic] questions about the composition of the language-object, he no longer has to take into account the details of the linguistic scheme; he will only need to know its total term, or global sign, and only inasmuch [sic] as this term lends itself to myth" (p. 115). Pensiero's original description of the yeoman has three characteristics: caretaker of civilization, guardian of the environment, and possessor of a special kind of practical knowledge called *phronesis*. These typical aspects of the yeoman farmer are extended to the liberated cook. When Pensiero discusses the liberated chef, the yeoman (the totality of the sign) is transformed into a signifier. It now becomes the liberated cook.

Mythic phrases solidify the link between the yeoman farmer and the liberated cook. For example, Pensiero equates the idea of "farmer" with "eating." She argues that "we often associate eating seasonally with privation" (p. xv). To overcome this objection, she relies on the myth of the yeoman by positing that liberated cooks, just like farmers, should find the seasons as a challenge, the seasons providing a laboratory for "cooking, tasting, and testing" (p. xv). Peterson informs this analysis arguing that a common topos in the myth of the yeoman is a constant battle against the elements. This is best exemplified when farmers explain they could not yield a good crop because it was a bad growing season. However, much like the yeoman, the liberated cook overcomes these challenges based on her/his mythic qualities, mainly based on expert knowledge of the land. The liberated cook overcomes the problem of privation by learning and becoming an expert on local food, thus transforming scarcity into abundance on the table. In other words, learning how to cook within the confines of the seasons is transformed into a virtuous act. Similar to the farmer's use of practical wisdom, the liberated cook embodies *phronesis*. As Pensiero herself reminds the reader, "Don't forget to be practical" (p. xvi). Thus, descriptions of the liberated cook overcoming privation function as enthymemes relying on the myth of the yeoman and his *phronesis*. The liberated cook can therefore create a wealth of delicious food from seasonal and local resources.

By becoming a liberated cook, the reader also assumes the role of caretaker of the environment just as farmers lead the charge toward sustainability to stave off extinction. Repeatedly using "sustainability" to modify both the cook and the farmer, Pensiero's text equates the caretaker role of the farmer with the caretaker role of the liberated chef. Sustainability locates the farmers' and liberated cook's struggles as one in the same. The reader is told that, similar to the farmer, the liberated cook engages in a sustainable life style in which "you reduce the amount of spent fuel" (p. xvi). Ultimately, being a liberated cook is a radical, communal act. It represents a pledge to help local business, live off the land, and reject the negative trappings of corporate agribusiness. As Pensiero succinctly explains, "when you support farms, you help save farmland and open spaces" (p. xvi). Pensiero's reliance on yeoman tropes to articulate the liberated cook makes her cause more appealing and offers mythic power to readers as they become liberated cooks.

Accepting the trope of the liberated cook provides a framework for the audience to evaluate, include, and exclude information in decision making for their lives. The mythic phraseology of the yeoman forces the audience to focus on the importance of "improvisation" centered on local ingredients to break the shackles of contemporary cooking classes. Each reader may aspire to don the mythic qualities of the liberated cook by following a few simple guidelines.

In the process, the reader is presented with a chance to empower him or herself and the community in which he or she lives. These cooks stand on the border land between sustainable and unsustainable practices. The liberated cook as a concept effectively subverts the dominant ideology and reconnects the audience to the origins of their food and to the mythic origins of their community. Therefore, being a liberated cook is incompatible with contemporary ideas of food consumption. Accepting Pensiero's ideology forces the reader to integrate their political beliefs and the origin of their food. In short, phronesis is transferred to the reader through the trope of the liberated cook. Pensiero's book functions mythically by serving pedagogical purpose. The phraseology laced throughout her book is aimed at teaching the readers to become "wise judges" in terms of food consumption entailing that we become creative cooks, and by extension move from passive into active consumers.

In Pensiero's description of the liberated cook, we explicate the mythical residues in her language. The liberated cook, an important part of Pensiero's rhetorical invention, creates identification between Pensiero and the reader and opens space for the reader to join her movement. Each reader can seek to embody this ideal and become "part of the solution," by being mindful of their dietary choices. However, it is a tricky task to goad a reader into changing their eating habits. Pensiero's rearticulation of the yeoman gives the liberated cook its appeal because it relies on traditional mythic tropes that are ingrained in U. S. culture. This example highlights the importance of incorporating phraseology into mythic criticism. While understanding the basic rhetorical strategies in the text and the use of the yeoman is important, it is merely the groundwork for a much more savvy and effective rhetorical maneuver. By casting the audience themselves as liberated cooks they not only understand the struggle for local consumption of food, but they also can resist food consumption and distribution problems that exist in the status quo.

Conclusion

This paper seeks to add to scholarly conversations, not only about foodpolitik, but also the larger study of myth. The yeoman farmer as a mythic trope is comprised of three facets: as civilization's caretaker, as preserver of local communities, and as possessor of practical knowledge. If critics can identify the defining characteristic of a myth, they can then search for mythic elements within the rhetorical act. Presence of mythical phrases can recast an everyday situation in mythical terms. This is best typified in Pensiero's liberated cook. Deliberate phraseology helps Pensiero equate the liberated cook with the yeoman farmer. By merging these separate ideas into the same mythic figure, Pensiero helps the audience not only to reconsider the origin of their food but to think politically about their role in gathering and cooking that food. Appealing to an American mythic trope to which the audience can aspire solidifies the rhetorical link between the farm and the plate, between the farmer and the cook, and ultimately between the reader and their consumption choices.

Typical mythic critics may have overlooked the liberated cook because Pensiero does not place it in a narrative. Instead, she relies on the lexicon associated with the yeoman to import these characteristics. Accordingly, the critic should not only isolate the mythic elements within a narrative, but look for certain textual cues in other aspects of myth. Evaluating both the story and the phrases allows the critic to gain a richer understanding of the text and its mythic components. Perhaps more importantly, we have sought to emphasize myth's salience within foodpolitik. Myths have become the new battleground, as advocates and agribusiness alike are jockeying to redefine the meaning of these potent symbols. Whether it is Dominos Pizza's recent campaign that involves taking customers to farms or the images of happy cows playing in a field, use of mythic

tropes shapes our relationship to food. We believe that whoever controls these mythic figures and potent symbols will dictate our relationship to food. This can have problematic results such as; allowing for hidden preservatives in a tomato sauce or obfuscating the suffering of thousands of cows. Yet, it can also help foster a more sustainable relationship to our natural surroundings as we see in Pensiero's text. As food's journey from farm to plate becomes more opaque, we as academics have an obligation to examine the ways we talk about and rhetorically construct our relationship to food.

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End Note:

¹Take for instance the California Dairy lobby's "California Happy Cow" campaign. These commercials show images of cows in fields next to a red barn playing and being joyous. For example, the California Happy Cow website describes the cattle's ideal living conditions. "California's dairy cows live happy all year long," the website writes, "regardless of the weather, dairy farmers work diligently to ensure their cows remain comfortable and productive every day" (California Milk Advisory Board, 2010). The images of the cows, the fields, and the barn all act to conceal the "real" agricultural practices associated with the production of dairy. This is not just conjecture. "Four companies now produce 81 percent of cows brought to market" (Scully, 2003, p. 29). In fact, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) sued the California Dairy lobby, claiming the "Happy Cows Campaign" was false advertising because the commercials depicted the cows in unrealistic conditions (Weise, 2002). The rhetorical conflict over the California Happy Cow campaign is about more than semantic accuracy or truth in advertising, it is a battle over fundamental differences in ideology surrounding food production and consumption. In this case, conflict over whether the cows are represented accurately reflects a deeper conflict over what should be the underlying values governing agricultural production in the United States. These concerns also undergird the locavore movement as locavores challenge traditional values promoting the shipment of agricultural products over long distances.

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CONSTRUCTING CONTEMPORARY SENSES OF PLACE: THE POLITICS OF MEMORY IN APPALACHIA

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Abstract

This paper suggests that an understanding of place as an environmental communication resource can be expanded by acknowledging the relation among digital places, identity, and memory. Specifically, investigations of constructing and sharing of memory by way of electronic places hold the potential to generate additional insight into environmental issues and the way in which environmental advocacy communities are constructed. Through an analysis of the “National Memorial for the Mountains,” an electronic memorial constructed by a coalition of advocacy groups opposed to the practice of mountaintop removal, this paper illustrates how the memories stored, recollected, and added by way of the electronic place of the memorial become sources for communal identity and environmental advocacy.

Keywords: *Mountaintop Removal, Identity, Place, Memory, Risk Society*

Residents of Appalachia in the South Central part of the United States have a long and often contentious history with the coal industry. For some residents of the region, coal mining has been viewed in a highly favorable light since it has brought employment and small pockets of economic opportunity to what are some of the poorest counties in the United States. For others, however, the coal industry is just another group of outsiders who have reaped significant economic benefits at the cost of the health and welfare of Appalachians. These contrasting views of the coal industry and its effects on the region and its residents have become particularly manifest in recent years with the advent of a new type of mining practice, mountaintop removal (MTR). Mountaintop removal is a form of surface mining in which explosives are used, in essence, to disintegrate the top of a mountain. The inside of the mountain thus becomes exposed, providing access to the coal seams that were once buried under the layers of topsoil. The topsoil and stone is cast aside in valleys, clearing the way so that the coal becomes easier to extract. Once the coal is mined, the removed mountaintops are reclaimed according to agreed upon specifications and regulations from the federal and state governments.

For both proponents and opponents of MTR, constructing a sense of place is a prominent

rhetorical strategy used to advocate for their respective positions. Proponents of MTR insist that the practice can provide the means to move Appalachia from a region entrenched in poverty to one that realizes the economic and social benefits common to other areas of the country. Those opposed to MTR argue that the region's unique ecology and cultural practices are at risk. For opponents of MTR, advocating against the practice involves more than extolling the physical wonders of the Appalachian landscape. Opposing the practice of MTR also involves drawing from the memories held within the various hills and hollows and using those memories to champion specific cultural values and environmental identity.

Drawing on recent research in memory and rhetoric, I analyze the communication practices of I Love Mountains (ILM), a coalition of Appalachian grassroots groups, to illustrate how memory serves as a resource "which a public finds itself, constitutes itself, and deliberates its own existence" (Phillips, 2004, p. 4). More specifically, I analyze the coalition's electronic text "National Memorial for the Mountains," in order to reveal the relation among place, memory, and identity. Environmental communication scholars have directed much attention to the construction of place, but the work, as of yet, has not fully engaged with the way memory is tied to place. Moreover, we have not sufficiently attended to the construction of digital places and how the memories stored and recollected through these places become sources for communal identity and environmental advocacy. This paper thus seeks to provide a starting point to move attention toward those areas.

Memory, Place, and Rhetoric

No longer viewed as solely residing in the individual nor as a purely cognitive activity, memory is now understood to emerge through rhetorical practices shaped by the socially contingent and communal environment in which the memory is generated and subsequently disseminated. As Phillips notes:

All acts of memory are inherently social—literally that to remember is to act as part of the collective. In turn our collectivity is deeply intertwined with our capacity for and enactment of remembrance. (2004, p. 1)

One way that collectives remember is by situating the process of recollection in specific places, and these places of collective remembrance are central to the generation of the memories we come to share. As Casey (2004) explains, place has the potential to be the "ground and resource, the location and the scene of the remembering we do in common" (p. 36). In this regard, place, as Casey clarifies, is more than a gathering spot for remembrances since it "actively induces" memory and has the "power of drawing out the appropriate memories in that location" (p. 32). Place can induce memory simply by way of its location as a past act that has come to be identified as worthy of remembrance. Civil War battlefields such as Gettysburg are one such instance where "the place lends itself to the remembering and facilitates it at the very least, but also in certain cases embodies the memory itself . . ." (Casey, 2004, p. 32). We not only collectively gather to remember at such sacred ground, but we also collectively memorialize the acts that occurred in those specific places.

Yet the existence of a place as a site of a past act is not sufficient to generate the memories appropriate for constituting a collective's identity. Events have unfolded in countless places, yet collectives may not deem certain memories and places as significant or valuable to informing the collective's identity. "Spaces are explicitly designed to impart certain elements of the past and, by definition, to forget others" (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004, p. 350). Moreover, competing collectives may attempt to remember in different ways even in the same places. The construction of place and the resulting efforts to invoke specific memories thus become contested acts and sites

of political struggle:

To “place” memory is to control it; it is to make the past local and one’s own. Such placement is proprietary to the extent that history is thereby owned, made the exclusive property of a people by virtue of its being properly remembered. (Browne, 1993, p. 472)

Place, and subsequently, memory and identity, can be controlled through material and economic constraints but also by way of rhetoric. Studies of cultural heritage sites have been particularly instructive in illustrating the rhetorical act of forgetting and renaming. Sarmento (2009), for instance, provides examples of the politics of recollection and the process of silencing in his account of the effort to construct memory sites in various locations of the Cape Verde Islands. Sarmento (2009) explains that the places storing and invoking memories of slavery, Cidade Velha and its Fort,

do not call upon the past questioning contemporary problems which affect and have similarities with those of Cape Verdeans and other Africans. Memory, past and present are rehabilitated by the powerful, who rather want to exploit a connection of Cape Verde to an imaginary Europe. (p. 540)

Physical access to such historic places as Cidade Velha and the Fort is not restricted; rather, access to the memory is constrained by rhetorically constructing these places so as to privilege a certain way of remembering.

Additional scholarship further clarifies the role of rhetoric in constructing place and invoking specific memories. Drawing from the work of Bakhtin, Olick (2007) contends that the dialogic quality inherent in language can inform our understanding of the construction of memory since “The production and reception of memory occur through the textuality of memory, which is comprehensible only by attending to its intertextuality with other issues and earlier memories” (p. 104). Memory may indeed be a recollection of a past act, but the memory gains meaning and contemporary resonance for the collective by way of being in dialogue with other utterances of commemoration and cultural narratives. Through the dialogic process, the recollection of a past act evolves beyond just an act of nostalgia or a trip down memory lane and rather comes to represent the group’s sense of the present and future.

Place, when viewed in connection to memory, becomes more than the articulation of an ecological experience and an individual encounter with the natural and physical environment. Place becomes a contested and political space and a source of invention that can be used to generate, as will be seen in the discussion that follows, an environmental identity that stands opposed to the prevailing forces of the industrial order.

The Public Memory Spaces of Appalachia

As stated on the coalition’s website, I Love Mountains’ electronic text titled, “National Memorial for the Mountains,”

is an online memorial that uses the popular Google Earth software to show the massive scale of destruction occurring in Appalachia. The memorial identifies more than 500 mountains destroyed by mountaintop removal and connects visitors to stories, photos, maps, videos and interviews of local residents to tell the stories of those mountains and nearby communities. (“National Memorial for the Mountains,” n.d.)

And while the images and videos merit attention, given the scope of this paper, I wish to focus on the relation among place, memory, and identity as expressed by way of the text’s written narratives, essays, and interviews.

One mountain commemorated in the memorial is Blair Mountain in West Virginia. An essay explains the significance of the mountain not in terms of its scenic or ecological worth but rather in terms of the mountain's importance to a particular moment in the region's past:

Blair Mountain's heritage is rooted in local miners fighting for their rights. In 1921, Blair was the battlefield for the clash between over ten thousand miners fighting for the right to unionize, and the anti-union forces of the local sheriff and neighboring non-union counties. . . Though ending in a defeat, the march and battle prompted a series of investigations into the harsh conditions of Appalachian coal mining, and an awareness of these conditions and of the miners' struggle spread throughout the nation. (Brown & Benningfield, 2006)

Labor unrest and the struggle for miners' rights have been a central part of the Appalachian narrative, and the excerpt identifies the significance of Blair Mountain by relating the place to a significant moment in the region's history.

In a corresponding essay in the memorial, however, the relevance of Blair Mountain extends beyond recollections of worker's rights and a specific union struggle in the region's history. Blair Mountain becomes a place that invokes memories of resistance beyond those associated with unfair labor practices and thus comes to represent a particular regional identity that has relevance to the issue of MTR:

In the hundred odd years since the coal industry came to this part of West Virginia, land has been taken, miners have been worked to death, streams have been polluted, piles of waste have accumulated, children have grown up in poverty. But throughout all the hardships, the hunger, the black lung disease and other illness, and the scarring of the land, the mountains have essentially remained. They were symbols of permanence, strength, hope. No more. Nothing worse can be taken from mountain people than mountains. The resulting loss is destroying the soul of the people. (Giardina, 2007)

Memories of the labor strife that marked Blair Mountain become engaged in dialogue with the Appalachian memory and narrative of corporate exploitation. Miners have faced the exploitative labor practices of the coal industry while Appalachian residents have experienced the ill effects of modern industrial practices of the coal companies. Through the act of dialogic remembering, both miners and local residents become a part of a collective defined in terms of permanence, strength, and hope.

Constructing an identity of resistance by way of memory and place is also evident in the commemoration of another location, Cabin Creek, also in West Virginia. A segment of this memorial consists of the following interview between Larry Gibson, a board member of Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition and Lois Armstrong, a long time resident of Cabin Creek. In one exchange during the interview, Gibson responds:

Well right now there is not enough resistance. You know that. We are natural organizers. We live in the area called the coalfields - where the union was strong. If we hadn't organized in the beginning we would never have had anything. We can't back up. We gotta get that grit back. That's what we've got to find in people today. They've got it; they've just forgotten that they have it. ("Organizing Cabin Creek," n. d.)

According to Gibson, those inhabiting the coalfields and the contemporary places impacted by MTR are natural organizers. What makes such an identity natural, however, is the ability to

construct, from recollections of attempts to unionize and places of past confrontations with the coal companies, a contemporary identity of resistance. Gibson concedes, however, residents of the region are not actively recollecting the identity of resistance. Further, Gibson's comments about the act of remembering and forgetting reveal the importance of place to memory. As the previous discussion of Blair Mountain reveals, place offers an inventive resource that makes the act of remembering and in turn the construction of the identity of resistance an active process. The loss of the inventive resources of places such as Blair Mountain makes the potential to forget ever more possible.

Opponents of MTR use memory not just as a resource to generate their collective identity of resistance but also as a means by which to construct the identity of a competing collective, namely the coal industry and those supporting its efforts. One way such constructions occur is by way of remembering certain instances of industrial trauma and the places in which such instances occurred. For example, through the written text of the memorial, readers encounter the recollections of trauma that resulted from the Buffalo Mountain, West Virginia flood of May 1972, when a dam holding water used to clean coal failed, killing 125 people. The memorial also includes a reference to the following instance that occurred in Pickering Knob, West Virginia:

Perhaps the most amazing incident related to Magnet mine above Riffe Branch happened the day insurance adjusters from the mine were standing in the yard at one of the residences below the mine. A blast let off, and a rock sailed over the adjusters' heads, over the house and into the creek. The insurance company did not grant the residents' claim for damage from the blasting at the mine, according to neighbor Ralph Preece. (Loeb, 2006)

These recollections are more than records of abuses suffered by those living in the region because the memories of such psychological and physical distress extend beyond constructing the residents of these places purely as victims. The memories of these traumatic events construct clear, binary identities: those who experience the traumatic effects of mining practices and those who are to blame and who fail to take account for the cause of such actions.

In the incident at Pickering Knob, the recollection casts the insurance company as indifferent to the welfare of the local residents. Additional memories serve to expand the scope of those causing the psychological and physical distress on the local residents. In the text describing the flood at Buffalo Mountain, the coal companies as well state officials are cast as indifferent to the concerns of local residents. In many ways, the use of memory in these excerpts exemplifies the use of melodrama as explained by Schwarze:

Melodrama can effectively place the fault line of environmentalism between the producers of significant environmental damage and those who suffer its effects. While melodramatic rhetoric may rely heavily on the testimony of personal experience and the depiction of individual persons, it positions those elements in conflict with other forces to evoke the power relationships at play in a particular situation. (2006, p. 246)

The memories of trauma invoked by Buffalo Mountain and Pickering Knob and the lack of any retribution by various political and institutional actors illustrate the lack of power of many in the region.

Yet the ability to remember these incidents and to draw from the melodramatic to construct these respective identities exemplify a form of discursive power:

Melodrama offers monopathy, a "singleness of feeling" that strengthens identification with one party to a controversy. Like the other appeals of melodrama, monopathy can oppose dominant discourses by giving voice to

their strategic silences. In doing so, it provides a rallying point and source of identification for those whose voices have been excised from the dominant social and political order. (Schwarze, 2006, p. 251)

By retelling the events that occurred at these specific places, opponents of MTR have available not only a rallying point but a rhetorical resource to generate community and to advance their advocacy efforts. And the value of place as not just an inventive resource but also as a gathering spot and a rallying point becomes broadened when expanding considerations of place to include those constructed in digital and electronic environments.

Similar to the more traditional places and sites of memorials, the electronic place of the Memorial for the Mountains provides the opportunity for individuals to gather to share the memories of trauma and resistance and to establish a communion among those living in the various places that constitute Appalachia. A letter published in the memorial that conveys the beneficial work of Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC), a grassroots group committed to addressing various Appalachian issues, illustrates the potential of an electronic place. Through their work with KFTC, the authors concede:

I didn't know there were other people with the same problems going through the same thing we were. Now we know that the problems we experience are faced by hundreds of families who live in the coalfields. (Urias & Urias, 2007)

While gatherings in traditional places to share the problems resulting from MTR may foster a sense of community, so too may the opportunity to gather electronically. The places that mark the sites of trauma may be specific to individual Appalachian communities, but the collective constructed from these memories extends beyond the boundaries of any physical place. Residents of Blair Mountain, Island Creek, Pickering Knob, and the other communities represented in the memorial may electronically share their memories, which makes it possible for others to know that the problems faced in one community are common to the region as is the need for an identity of strength, hope, and resistance.

Through the interactivity afforded by way of adding comments to the various written accounts in the memorial, the place of the electronic memorial becomes more than just a site to gather, but also provides an opportunity for those visiting the site to take an active part in collective recollection and identity formation. Through these additional voices, the possibility to extend membership by way of memory and place emerges as evident in the words of Aaron Hardway, a community member in West Virginia:

Being the son of a high school history teacher, I have throughout my life been fascinated by our state's history. All we have left to remind us (and those who visit the state of WV) of the people and events which made WV the beautiful state rich in history that it is are the historic landmarks many of which have until now withstood the test of time. Now we have out of state coal operators coming into WV and literally blowing it away with their continual process of mountaintop removal. (Hardway, 2010)

The community and its collective identity are generated not solely through the initial essays and posts to the memorial. Community membership is also constructed by way of gathering potential members who take the opportunity to engage in such opportunities for electronic dialogue.

Conclusion

The memorial constructed by I Love Mountains provides an opportunity to consider the relation among place, memory, and identity and the role of that relationship to environmental communication. The memorial also presents the opportunity to consider the potential of

how place, including electronic place, and memory can be a means to foster a greater sense of advocacy and collectiveness. Contained in the memorial are hundreds of accounts of the impacts of MTR on various communities throughout West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. One challenge to constructing such an online place of commemoration is the task of moving the memorial beyond a database or collection of stories. The list of communities generates cohesion by way of the recurring themes of trauma and resistance, themes developed by way of memory and that subsequently construct an imagined and unified collective among these various geographic locations. While the problems these communities face may be seen as bounded by the region, the memories invoked in the memorial, nonetheless, construct an identity with contemporary resonance.

In many respects, the places commemorated in the memorial exemplify life not just in Appalachia but also in contemporary risk society. As Beck (1999) argues: "There is a basic power structure within world risk society, dividing those who produce and profit from risks and the many who are afflicted with the same risks" (p. 16). As a result of such risks, contemporary places are often marked by trauma, and it is this contemporary encounter with risk and trauma that provides potential for identity and community. "Risk-sharing or a socialization of risk . . . can . . . become a powerful basis for community, one which has both territorial and non-territorial aspects" (Beck, 1999, p. 16). Yet the potential for such community formation must encompass more than just sharing the recurring theme of trauma and resistance. The availability of a collective and communal place to share such memories also plays a role in such community formation, and in the case of the memorial, place not only refers to those regional locations and sites of trauma but also an electronic place where individuals can gather to share memories and construct a desired collective. The electronic place of the memorial offers residents of Appalachia the opportunity to collectively understand their memories of risk. But the electronic place also offers those outside of Appalachia who have encountered similar trauma by way of the practices of risk society an opportunity to also join the collective. In this regard, the memorial presents the possibility of how a regional environmental issue may be constructed so as to engage a global audience and thus gain a larger and more forceful voice.

Given its prominence as a rhetorical resource, a sense of place is sure to continue to remain a prominent line of inquiry in environmental communication. As those committed to providing an understanding of this rhetorical resource and to advancing its potential, environmental communication scholars would be best served to expand considerations of place to acknowledge its relation to memory and the emerging and evolving sense of electronic and digital places. Investigations of the rhetorical resource of memory and the sharing of memory by way of electronic places, as this essay illustrates, hold the potential to generate additional insight into environmental issues and the way in which environmental advocacy communities are constructed.

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STORIES THAT “MAKE SENSE:” IS NATURE WRITING AN OXYMORON?

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Abstract

Several authors (Abram, 1996; Austin, 1997; Cronon, 1998; Merchant, 1996; Williams, 2001) have struggled to (re)envision human relationships with/to the more-than-human life-world. This paper explores how stories told about nature shape societal perceptions regarding “nature.” Many of these authors agree that we need to re-awaken a “spirit” of place in order to re-write language back into the land. By looking at Terry Tempest Williams's (2004) The Open Space of Democracy and Red (2001) as well as some personal examples, I grapple with whether nature writing can “make sense.” We can work to create a language that is more inclusive of the world immediately around us. However, I argue that there are many unanswered questions when we try to enact this type of discourse, no matter how skilled the writer, because our language is abstracted and not rooted in the landscape.

***Keywords:* Sense of Place, Nature Writing, Language, Storytelling, Dialogue with Nature**

Several environmental authors (Abram, 1996; Austin, 1997; Cronon, 1998; Merchant, 1996; Williams, 2001) have struggled to (re)envision human relationships with/to the more-than-human life-world. In this paper I will examine how stories told about nature shape societal perceptions regarding “nature.” Many of these authors agree that we need to re-awaken a spirit of place in order to re-write language back into the land. Furthermore, a separation from the sensory world has been instilled in Western culture, leading us to view the earth as a non-living entity separate from, rather than interconnected with, humans. Humans have become

disembodied rather than embodied within natural or more-than-human life worlds. We have forgotten how to listen not only to our bodies as they resonate with other corporeal entities but also with material aspects of the natural world. Specifically, David Abram (1996) in *The Spell of the Sensuous* has tried to create awareness of a different type of thinking about the natural world and human relationships to that world. This awareness brings stories back to the land so as to create a “logos of the land” (p. 268). As Abram states, “The land that includes us has its own articulations, its own contours and rhythms that must be acknowledged if the land is to breathe and to flourish” (p. 267). Understanding the logos of the land requires us to listen to nature and to see ourselves as a part of the land, as interconnected.

The human role in this re-membered logos of the land requires that our language become more place-specific. If language needs to be re-written into the land, what then is the role or place of nature writing? Following Abram:

For those of us who care for an earth not encompassed by machines, a world of textures, tastes, and sounds other than those that we have engineered, there can be no question of simply abandoning literacy, of turning away from all writing. Our task, rather, is that of taking up the written word, with all of its potency, and patiently, carefully, writing language back into the land. Our craft is that of releasing the budded, earthly intelligence of words, freeing them to respond to the speech of the things themselves—to the green uttering-forth of leaves from the spring branches. (emphasis in original, p. 273)

In exploring the place of writing and creating a logos of the land, Abram suggests that nature writing or writing in general rests on the need to create stories that “make sense” (p. 265). I am interested in grappling with the idea of stories that make sense by exploring excerpts from Terry Tempest Williams’s (2004) *The Open Space of Democracy* and *Red* (2001) as well as additional examples that struggle with how nature writing will aid humans toward finding a centered, sensorial sense of place that values the interconnection of all entities.

Before discussing Williams, I will first discuss stories that make sense. Stories are one possible way that humans can begin to articulate and learn a place-specific intelligence. Using this theoretical lens, language would begin to be tied to the land in more pronounced ways, articulating a greater sensorial understanding of places. Abram (1996) explains this importance in which:

A story must be judged according to whether it makes sense. And “making sense” must here be understood in its most direct meaning: to make sense is to enliven the senses. A story that makes sense is one that stirs the senses from their slumber, one that opens the eyes and the ears to their real surroundings, tuning the tongue to the actual tastes in the air and sending chills of recognition along the surface of the skin. To make sense is to release the body from the constraints imposed by outworn ways of speaking, and hence to renew and rejuvenate one’s felt awareness of the world. It is to make the senses wake up to where they are. (emphasis in original, p. 265)

Abram lists many examples of oral cultures and how their stories are linked to the land. The land is directly related to what some native people understand as valuable within their culture. Perhaps this is because stories that are tied to the land do not separate spirit (divinity) from matter (humans and earth), a key problem identified by many ecofeminist and environmental writers (Daly, 1973; Keel, 1997; Mickelsen & Dittman, 1990; Warren 1994). This separation between humanity and divinity allows people to more easily rationalize environmental destruction of the earth. If the earth were seen as a living entity, the degradation of the planet

would not be justified or culturally sanctioned in contemporary society.

Moreover, as Abram (1996) points out with the example of Apache place names, each name has a precise visual description. Examples of Apache place names include: “big cottonwood trees stand spreading here and there”; ‘coarse textured rocks lie above in a compact cluster’; water flows down on top of a regular succession of flat rocks” (Abram, 1996, p. 155). As illustrated in these examples, each name conjures a sense of place, a description of where the person physically is, and a place *located in* and *marked by* the landscape. These place-names awaken a “sensorial bond between Apache persons and particular places” (p. 155). Abram states that, “Apache persons straightaway feel themselves in the presence of that place; hence when reciting a series of place-names the Apache experience themselves ‘traveling in their minds’” (p. 155). This discussion of Apache place names points to a discourse rooted in phenomenological language. Yet, as previously quoted, Abram writes that, “there can be no question of simply abandoning literacy, of turning away from all writing” (p. 273), illustrating that Abram strongly believes that humans cannot go back to a time of total orality.

Nature Writing: Connection or Separation?

In this section, I identify how Williams’s writing embodies Abram’s idea of stories that make sense. Moreover, I parse out what a story that makes sense actually looks like in written language and discuss whether it is possible for writing to enliven the senses. In *The Open Space of Democracy*, Williams (2004) writes about her relationship with a juniper tree:

No words are spoken. Sensations come into my body and I recognize this cellular awakening as an organic form of listening, the spiritual cohesion one feels in places like the Arctic on such a grand scale. A throbbing intelligence passes from this tree into my bloodstream and I remember my animal body that has evolved alongside my consciousness as a human being. This form of engagement reveals familial ties and I honor this tree’s standing in the community. (emphasis added, pp. 75-76)

Williams weaves together a non-hierarchical image where she is both material body and human consciousness. In particular, this quotation illustrates the sensorial awakening that can happen with experiences reflecting a certain kind of contact or connection with more-than-human lifeworlds. This corporeal experience makes possible a new way of telling a story of the relationships we have with trees. This passage reflects an experience that has awakened sensations in the author’s reciprocal engagement with more-than-human entities: she views the tree as a member of her community; the tree is family and this family member helps her wake up to aspects of her corporeal self and sense of place.

The question is whether Williams’s recounting of her sensorial experience (i.e. the story) makes sense. Following Abram (1996), it is important to note the difference between sensory experiences of a place and a story enlivening our senses. The excerpt above echoes my central question in this paper: whether nature writing can enliven the senses. Does this passage enliven the reader’s senses? How does this writing help me feel, hear, smell, or touch the cellular awakening the author discusses, or does it merely help me to imagine what this experience *might* feel like? If all I can do is imagine this feeling, is that enough for the story to make sense? Furthermore, how would this story change if it were read aloud? Would hearing this story read aloud help me connect to the juniper tree more fully?

As I discussed earlier, Abram (1996) uses the example of the Apache to illustrate how “Apache persons straightaway feel themselves in the presence of that place; hence when reciting a series of place-names the Apache experience themselves ‘traveling in their minds’” (p. 155). From

this statement, we can deduce that good stories like those of the Apache have the ability to locate humans in a place. Still, it is not enough just to locate the person in the place; the place and the person should be linked by the story in sensorial ways. Thus, in order for language to be place-specific, there would be no one single way of telling a story. Stories would vary among people across different landscapes and what “stirs the senses from their slumber” (Abram, p. 265) would not be the same for everyone. In fact, stories would need to be place bound in order to reflect and retain the logos of the land.

Paralleling Abram’s (1996) discussions of language and place, in the book *Red*, Williams (2001) poses the question, “Where am I to find my center of gravity linguistically? How do I learn to speak in a language native to where I live?” (p. 137). A few pages after this question is posed, Williams specifically discusses her relationship with the redness of the landscape where she lives:

Red: red sand, red dirt, red clay brought into our homes daily through the soles of our feet. You can’t get rid of it. Where we live, red is endemic, finding its way into every opening, large or small, seeping into each pore of the skin, staining fingers and toes. We take red baths in the river, dust baths in the afternoon. At night, red dirt colors our dreams as we rub our eyes, scratch our eyes, sneeze, cough, as each red particle of sand works its way into the nucleus of every living, breathing, multiplying cell. (p. 139)

Dirt, something often overlooked by humans when discussing nature, is conjoined with what appears to be the author’s conviviality with the red dirt landscape of the southern Utah desert. She describes the red sand, dirt, and clay as seeping into her pores and staining her fingers and marking her body. The red dirt particles penetrate the membranes of her body via her nose and throat making her sneeze and cough. At night, she dreams of red, pointing to the land and invading her unconsciousness. This story of red evokes a feeling of how the earth/land can become noticed in the most basic of ways.

It is easy to appreciate Williams’s desire to craft a native language and her thick description of the desert works to accomplish this new form of writing native to her home. Following Abram, “we can know the needs of any particular region only by participating in its specificity...” (p. 268). To this end, Williams does an excellent job illustrating the specific qualities of the nature of the desert in which she resides. Yet, when I ask myself if my senses have been enlivened by her story I am not convinced. Again, I ask, can the senses become enlivened while reading? Put another way, does the English language evoke the senses and how does this depend on the words the writer chooses to employ? I enjoy the detail in Williams’s writing and feel that I can follow in my mind and picture a sense of the place she is describing. Her rhythmic writing and choice of words (e.g., enliven, awaken) does appeal to my senses. However, does this feel the same as hearing the story or being at the place? It may be that this is a native language and form of writing useful to *her* alone as it locates *her* in a place *she* is bound to. There are senses involved with the act of reading. When we see a word on the page and we read it, we have an auditory experience in that we hear the word aloud in our head (Abram, 1996). Despite synaesthetic intertwining of the senses, is it possible to experience intercorporeality from written language if it severs our sensorial ties to the earth by separating us from the more-than-human life-world brought about by standardized English?

There is no doubt that Williams’s (2001) writing offers readers a new way of seeing the landscapes of the red desert and for some it may enliven the senses. At the very least, her form of nature writing encourages us to listen to the natural world that makes up our communities. Secondly, she encourages us to see the places she writes about as communities where humans and the more-than-human world are interrelated. Abram (1996) states that, “There is an intimate

reciprocity to the senses; as we touch the bark of a tree, we feel the tree *touching us*; as we lend our ears to the local sounds and ally our nose to the seasonal scents, the terrain gradually tunes us in in turn” (italics in original, p. 268). It is likely that Williams (2001, 2004) would agree with Abram as she recounts many experiences of intimate reciprocity in her writing. This brings me to my own personal examples that are still problematic as stories that make sense in ways I will now discuss.

The first of my examples draws out the sense of hearing/listening to an otherwise quiet form of nature. In early January 2005, I was in northern Arizona, an arid desert climate located 7,000 feet above sea level at the base of the San Francisco Peaks. This particular landscape had suffered from drought and had not felt a blanket of snow like it did that January for over a decade. The first storm brought over two feet of heavy, wet, snow making the air humid and bone chillingly cold. This storm was immediately followed by another storm bringing several more inches of snow, tucking people inside their houses for several days, some without power. As the snow fell, a peaceful quiet filled the air. I geared up and set out to walk in the knee-deep snowfall to listen to the quiet. But on this night it was anything but quiet, for the trees screamed as they lost limbs from the weight of the snowfall. While walking I was startled by the sharp snapping of the branches, ringing noises in my eardrum like fireworks in the sky. A violent break in the silence was so pronounced that I felt a certain sadness for the trees as they lost their limbs so brutally. The aftermath of this storm looked like a war zone with many victims’ limbs laying in the snow-covered streets. We do not ordinarily listen to the trees except when natural weather patterns like wind or snow make these silent giants more vocal as in the experience I have just described.

The second of my examples occurred at Kodachrome Basin State Park, in Southern Utah in 2004. This is a place not far from Bryce Canyon National Park, known for its picturesque (hence the name Kodachrome) red rock formations. As I was hiking with a friend, we noticed a hummingbird. We stood staring at it wondering what it was thinking about us and listening to the reverberations of its wings flapping speedily. We kept staring at it and pondered why it did not fly away, when we finally realized that it was hovering over its nest. It appeared to be protecting it and we were a threat, not an amusement for the bird. Still we felt a reciprocal engagement with the world around us because we (the hummingbird, my friend, and I) were influenced by the experience. Our worlds and actions in that moment were interdependent. We stood mesmerized by the hummingbird and the hummingbird could not move because we stood there in awe of it.

In both of these examples there was a reciprocal process embedded in the meaning of the sensorial understanding between human and more-than-human. When we left the hummingbird, just as when I came in from my walk among the snow-laden trees, I felt I knew more about the world. These experiences moved me. I felt a connection at a cellular level with the natural environment. It did not matter that the trees were not animals; I still felt a connection. It did not matter that the hummingbird was not a mammal; I still felt I was in communion. I was closer to achieving a *logos* of the land because I had allowed my senses to be in tune with the world around me. However, in both examples the landscapes were not where I resided so could I truly know the smells, sounds, tastes, and sights of these lands? My senses were awakened and I came closer to an organic mode of thinking through these experiences. Moreover, the first example was based primarily in sound so perhaps we should look for sounds in language to enliven the senses. But when I write these words in printed form does the story of these experiences “make sense” in the way that Abram describes? I am still not entirely persuaded because the writing of the experience does not root the reader in the land. Or does it? The

words I have written need to cue some sort of sensorial response from the reader or they are not successful in enlivening the senses.

Re-Enlivening Our Language

Throughout this essay I have questioned whether nature writing can help humans find a sense of place that makes sense. Abram (1996) argues that:

Intelligence is no longer ours alone but is a property of the earth; we are in it, of it, immersed in its depths. And indeed each terrain, each ecology, seems to have its own particular intelligence, its unique vernacular of soil and leaf and sky. (p. 262)

Similarly, Williams (2001) insists that, "We do not exist in isolation. Our sense of community and compassionate intelligence must be extended to all life-forms, plants, animals, rocks, rivers, and human beings" (p. 76). These authors' comments clarify that intelligence is rooted in our local environments. Moreover, we as humans need to come to know and understand these specific intelligences as we strive to integrate ourselves with the more-than-human world.

Williams gives her readers a poetic account of *her* experiences living *in*, and participating *in*, the more-than-human communities of the southwestern desert. She re-members sensations from the place she is writing about through *the act* of writing about *that* place. The passages I drew from Williams and my own examples represent stories of the land unique to each of us. In the act of writing these stories it is possible for the writer to enliven her/his senses as they remember the sensations of being at the place and interacting with the more-than-human world. However, readers of nature writing who have little or no familiarity with the landscape being written about may not make sense of those specific landscapes. If knowing the smells, sounds, tastes and sights of the land is important for a person to have a logos of the land, then written stories are missing this aspect of sense making. For example, when the Apache use a place name like "big cottonwood trees stand spreading here and there" (Abram, 1996, p. 155), many Apache persons have been to that place and are rooted in the story in sensorial ways. These stories are a part of their logos of the land and so they make sense.

The example of Apache place names also raises the question of how the differences between writing, oral stories, and print inform our understandings of how stories make sense. Writing is acontextual, autonomous discourse in the sense that it can be separated from the place it was written (Ong, 1982). Put another way, the writer and reader do not have to share the same life-world. For example, I can write a letter to friends overseas about a place in the southwestern desert that they may never experience. However, when communicating through (unmediated) oral language the speaker and the listener inhabit the same life-world and thus have similar ways to make sense of the natural environments surrounding them. Still, if I heard Williams recite her stories out loud, the enlivened sense of hearing and listening to the words would help me to make sense of the land more completely because vocal tone and nonverbal signs would be added to the performative aspect of the story.

Complicating the discussion of writing is printed language. Printed language standardizes our written form, teaching us that intelligence is universal (Ong, 1982) and this in turn ignores the resonant beauty of locality. Printed language implies that language can be standardized whereas Abram (1996) and Williams (2001, 2004) argue that discourse must be local in order to enliven our senses. The printed word is mass-produced, creating the appearance of a uniform language that is not reflective of the environments where the language is spoken. Written standard American English is standard American English whether in California or France. This may allow for communication on a global scale but it does not necessarily enable the senses or

enable a connection to one's local landscape.

This might suggest that we throw out a standardized grammar and write phonetically so that our words might more accurately reflect the sensorial, guttural feelings that we experience in our surroundings. How might this affect our *senses* of place? Language would reflect the interrelated aspects important to people depending on the places they call home. In this example, however, there are implications for the conceptions of a global community. If language were truly place-based and not standardized via the printed word, it would become more difficult to communicate across geographic regions. For example, people from the southwest desert would have different dialects and symbols to speak about/with the land they inhabit versus humans living in the forests of the Northeast.

Environmental stewardship ethics rely on humans beginning the work of re-writing stories/language back into the land. These stories need to be native to *our* own languages of the natures we have come to know in the landscapes *we* inhabit. Both Williams (2001, 2004) and Abram (1996) view language, or how we speak about and with nature, as a gateway toward creating a more communal, spiritual, and sensual relationship with the more-than-human world. Williams's work is at the forefront of attempting what Abram defines as "stories that make sense," but I think her inability to enliven my senses via written language points to the flaw in Abram's argument. Abram believes we do not have stories that make sense because of our alphabet's inability to convey sensory intelligence/information. Williams's writing can help us to re-envision what our relationships with natures are and question how we relate with more-than-human life-worlds. Her work provides excellent examples of enacting what Abram calls "the practice of spinning stories that have the rhythm and lilt of the local soundscape, tales for the tongue, tales that want to be told, again and again..." (p. 273). However, sensorial experiences are relatively absent in the system of written language we use today and as such are difficult to locate in Williams's written word.

We cannot go back to the native oral cultures that Abram (1996) describes, but we can work to create a language that is more inclusive of the world immediately around us. As I have argued in this essay, there are many questions that are unanswered when we try to enact this type of discourse, no matter how skilled the writer. Many nature writers are involved in a struggle to recover a narrative of nature inclusive of all living entities. In order to answer these authors' calls to action, humans must begin to envision the shift in language not only when we write about our wilderness experiences, but also to heal the split between our minds and our senses in the concrete reality of our everyday lives, not just when we write or talk about nature and environmental issues.

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VI. CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES

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DO ACTIONS BESPEAK WORDS? ENVIRONMENTAL ATTITUDES AND LIFESTYLE POLITICS

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Abstract

A declining trend in U. S. Americans' belief in climate change and support for policies to alleviate this and other environmental problems necessitates research to better understand public opinion in this area. One under-investigated relationship is the potential effect that participation in lifestyle behavior, such as personal energy conservation, may have on support for broader collective efforts such as government environmental policies. This study finds tentative evidence for such a relationship between lifestyle and political attitudes while demonstrating that these variables also interact with others, such as political ideology and concern for environmental problems, in structuring green attitudes and behavior.

Keywords: *Climate Change, Political Attitudes and Behavior, Lifestyle Politics*

The state of public opinion in the U. S. regarding views on the existence of and responses to the issue of global warming is curious and potentially troubling. The scientific consensus is well established and longstanding that temperatures are rising due to human activity, and that this phenomenon poses grave risks to human well-being (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 1995). Recent polling in the fall of 2009, however, shows U. S. concern for the issue is dropping, down in one year from 44% to 35% of respondents rating climate change as a "very serious" problem (Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, 2009a). Perhaps even more disconcerting, a steeper decline was seen in the number of people agreeing with the scientific consensus view that human activity is the cause of rising temperatures, with little over a third of the U. S. public agreeing with this basic statement (Pew, 2009a). It may come as little wonder, then, that the U. S. public has expressed the least concern about climate change among 14 major countries surveyed (Pew, 2006).

Of particular pragmatic interest are public attitudes toward government action to address global warming, with only half of the U. S. public supporting a national policy to place limits

on greenhouse gases (Pew, 2009a). In investigating this state of affairs, it should be recalled that unlike many other issues involving complex scientific and policy components, global warming has also been the subject of much public discussion regarding personal, individual behaviors that one may take to aid in reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Of the many possible determinants of attitudes towards climate change legislation, the potential for an attitude-altering effect of these lifestyle actions has seen little examination (Crompton & Thøgersen, 2009).

The potential interplay between the public's attitudes and actions in their lifestyles, and their views on concerted government policymaking may provide a fresh perspective in understanding public opinion in this area. The broad array of messages encouraging personal action to address climate change may have novel effects on other areas of public opinion. This follows from extensive debate about the broader implications of lifestyle and consumer politics on collective action (Shah, McLeod, Friedland, & Nelson, 2007) and civic participation (Bennett, 1998).

The current research seeks to examine this question in more detail, testing whether participating in lifestyle actions related to the environment may influence broader political attitudes on the environment. Initial evidence on this question suggests such a correlation but has not yet demonstrated a direct causal relationship. For instance, recycling has been shown to modestly correlate with support for environmentally protective government policies (Pew, 2009b), though this may be due to other underlying variables common to recyclers that make them more supportive environmentalists; it may not be the act of recycling per se. This was the finding of Stern et al. (1999), who found that pro-environmental norms predicted both lifestyle participation and support for governmental policies.

Environmental lifestyle participation is defined as behaviors and consumer purchases that are commonly performed or made because of their environmentally beneficial effect. Such action can range from conservation measures around the home (e.g., using less heating and air conditioning) to shopping for organic produce or bicycling instead of using a car. The increasing prevalence of such lifestyle actions (Bennett, 1998) raises important questions in communication scholarship about the effect of messages that advocate personal change in the interest of a larger social cause. Does promoting a lifestyle approach have a negative impact on political attitudes, or is promoting personal action one way to subtly fostering greater civic engagement? This is the linkage in which the scholarship on lifestyle and consumer politics is interested, an area of debate among scholars and practitioners about the impact of discrete, personal lifestyle behaviors and consumption decisions, and their implications for traditional social and political forms of engagement (e.g., Gitlin, 1978; Bellah, et. al, 1985; Shah, et al., 2007). The present study proposes to examine this relationship through the analysis of survey data on attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions of the environmental issue. The current research will begin to investigate these questions on a basic level, looking only at self-reported behaviors and attitudes themselves. This should provide the foundation for further research on the communicative aspect of these relationships.

Conceptual Framework

The social psychology literature on the foot-in-the-door effect (FitD) provides potential in understanding the impact that enacting specific behaviors can have in fostering broader attitudes (Freedman & Fraser, 1966). This theory proposes that an individual will be more likely to accede to a second, more demanding request after she or he has agreed to perform a prior, smaller act related to the same cause. This has been supported in numerous studies, including those showing that there is a limited spillover effect from one environmental behavior to another (Thøgersen,

1999; Thøgersen & Ölander, 2003). The presumed mechanism for this effect lies in Bem's (1972) self-perception theory. Individuals judge their own dispositions based on how they see themselves behaving, and these judgments about themselves inform their values, attitudes, and subsequent behavior (Scott, 1977).

The FitD effect, however, has been primarily studied in the realm of behavior transfer, from one behavior to the next, and not as an effect through which attitudes per se are the focus of change (Crompton & Thøgersen, 2009). It is one thing to suggest that one behavior leads to another similar behavior, but it remains to be seen whether behaviors, as such, have an effect on policy attitudes that relate to actions taken not by the individual, but by the government. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to presume that the performance of individual actions does tend to reinforce one's values and identity related to the action. Personal environmental behaviors are therefore likely to strengthen broader environmental beliefs that would result in greater support for environmental policies in general, even though they may not be directly related to the individual's behavior. This consideration leads to the following hypothesis.

H1: Environmental lifestyle actions will positively correlate with attitudes in favor of governmental environmental policies.

Some (e.g., Gitlin, 1978) have theorized that a model of politics based around a metaphor of citizen as consumer limits one's political consciousness. What implications might this have for that aspect of lifestyle participation that involves green consumerism, the basing of purchasing choices on environmental criteria? Given the critiques of consumerism in politics, testing whether engaging in green consumer behavior would tend to strengthen individuals' environmental beliefs would be a high bar for the hypothesized FitD mechanism. This paper attempts to push this theory and hypothesize that green consumer behavior will influence attitudes similarly to other environmental lifestyle actions, by reinforcing consumers' identities as adherents to environmental values, thereby increasing their support for government policies aimed at protecting the environment. This effect should be apparent for laws above and beyond those directly related to green consumer issues, and lead green consumers to support broad environmental regulation.

H2: Green consumers will show greater support for collective environmental policies than non-green consumers.

In keeping with the FitD effect, there is an especially close connection between the performance of certain lifestyle activities on the part of an individual, and that individual's support for the wider adoption of such behaviors. Someone who recycles, for instance, is likely to be supportive of requirements for increased recycling by others. This may be due to the close link of self-perception; an individual is aware of his or her own behavior and therefore forms a particularly positive and personal association with the specific practice. Individuals already participating in the behavior will not feel as threatened or coerced by a law or rule mandating the behavior because they would not have to modify a lifestyle that is already in alignment with the proposed law or rule. Among the variety of environmental policies that individuals may be asked to support, those that mandate environmental behavior change will be supported especially strongly by those already engaged in environmental lifestyles.

H3: Those engaging in environmental lifestyle behaviors will support lifestyle requirements relatively more so than those who do not.

It is also of interest to determine what types of environmental laws receive the greatest support. Those policies that have the greatest explicit impact on the choices of individuals should be least supported. Broader policies that may less directly restrict decisions and options for most people will be seen as less onerous and more likely to require change of others, rather than

oneself. For example, restrictions on power plant emissions will be seen as placing the burden of pollution reduction on a distant utility, whereas mandates for efficient light bulbs will be interpreted as an undesirable mandate on personal freedom.

H4: Collective environmental policies will receive greater support than lifestyle requirement policies.

The relationship between individual behavior and government policy also has a long history in the political consciousness of this country. Those professing a liberal perspective tend to collectively view government, above and beyond individual action, as often needed to address societal problems, whereas conservatives are more likely to take an opposite view and see government intervention as less warranted (Dahl, Shapiro, & Cheibub, 2003; Feldman & Zaller, 1992). It is therefore important to determine the relationship (if any) between ideology and environmental attitudes in this sample. Global warming, for instance, is no exception to political polarization, with recent research demonstrating the moderating effect of political party on the relationship between individuals' knowledge of and attitudes towards the issue (Malka, Krosnick, & Langer, 2009). A strong relationship may help to explain some of the observed variance in the measures. Political perspective should enhance the FitD effect for liberals, while dampening the association among conservatives.

H5: Political identification will moderate the relationship between lifestyle action and attitudes in favor of government action, with liberal identification strengthening the relationship and conservatism weakening it.

In particular, ideological differences are commonly noted in the specific types of policy prescriptions individuals prefer, with conservatives less likely to approve of sweeping government programs than liberals. One class of environmental programs and collective policies attempts to shift large sectors of society through incentives and penalties aimed at transforming commerce and industry. Given traditional perspectives on the topic, liberals should be more supportive of collective government action on the environment than moderates or conservatives, and moderates will be more supportive than conservatives.

H5a: Liberals will show greater support for collective environmental policies than moderates and moderates will be more supportive than conservatives.

In addition to political ideology, a number of other individual characteristics may play into determining someone's environmental attitudes and behaviors. Notable among these is the degree of concern for environmental problems one possesses (Dardis, 2007). The more that one worries about the effects of environmental issues, and believes these effects to impact one's own life, the more likely one is to both take action in an effort to mitigate these problems, as well as to support government action in this regard. Conceptually, then, this relationship of concern with behavior and attitudes threatens to create a spurious causal pathway that explains the correlation between lifestyle and attitudes examined in this study. In order to test the possibility of this rival theory, once environmental concern is controlled for, we should still observe a correlation between environmental lifestyle actions and support for governmental environmental policies.

H6: After controlling for environmental concern, lifestyle participation should still be positively related to more supportive environmental policy attitudes.

Methodology

Data for this study comes from a survey conducted April 5th through April 10th, 2007, sponsored by ABC News, *The Washington Post*, and Stanford University (2009). Taylor Nelson Sofres of Horsham, Pennsylvania used random digit dialing to perform the study, reaching 1,002 respondents and achieving an American Association of Public Opinion Research (2008) RR3

response rate of 28.7% (Malka, et al., 2009; ABC News, 2009).

Attitudes towards governmental environmental policies are evaluations of support or opposition to local, regional, and federal U. S. government laws, tax structures, and incentives intended to improve environmental conditions. There is variance within the dimensions of this concept relating to the nature of the policy (whether it pertains to collective environmental issues or seeks to enforce adherence to lifestyle actions), and the level of government (regional or federal) enacting the policy. An overall measure of support for government environmental policies was derived from an average of the two measures discussed next, support for collective policies and for lifestyle policies. The overall measure ranged from 0 (least supportive) to 1 (most supportive), with the mean = 0.63 and standard deviation = 0.25. A dichotomous measure was derived from this scale, for use in certain statistical tests. Those scoring 0.67 and below (50.1%) were deemed “low supporters” (0) and those above that cutoff were “high supporters” (1).

Support for *collective environmental policies* was conceptualized as the attitudes toward government action affecting industrial, commercial, or manufacturing sectors, or setting economy-wide price incentives for environmental decisions. Support was measured using questions about the collective level of involvement that government should take in tackling global warming, as well as questions about specific policies such as electric and gas taxes, and support or requirements for more efficient cars, appliances, buildings and power plants. These questions were averaged to form a single measure of support for collective environmental policies ranging from 0 (least supportive) to 1 (most supportive), with the mean = 0.54 and standard deviation = 0.24.

A separate measure was developed for attitudes toward *lifestyle policies*, or the government actions requiring individuals to engage environmental lifestyle politics behaviors. A combined measure was constructed from dichotomous items scored Agree (1)/Oppose (0), asking for a response to proposed local government requirements mandating recycling, low-flow showerheads, low-flow toilets, energy efficient light bulbs, and paper or biodegradable shopping bags. These responses were averaged to create a *lifestyle policies* attitudes variable ranging from 0 (least supportive) to 1 (most supportive), with the mean = 0.69 and standard deviation = 0.34. Note that question wording on these lifestyle policy items referenced local government—whereas the collective policy items did not. It is therefore not possible to effectively disaggregate attitudes related to government action on collective versus lifestyle-specific policies from those relating to the level of government (local versus federal) enacting the policies.

A global measure of *lifestyle participation* captured all respondents' answers to questions about their participation in personal environmental actions. It was derived from an average of two subscales, green consumerism and green behaviors, for a range from 0 (lowest participation) to 1 (highest participation) with the mean = 0.40 and standard deviation = 0.20. For certain statistical tests, a dichotomous measure was derived from this scale. Those scoring 0.38 and below (50.7%) were deemed “low participants” (0) and those above that cutoff became “high participants” (1).

Green consumerism is the prioritization of environmental concerns when making buying decisions. This was assessed by constructing a measure through the addition of responses to two questions. One question asked whether the manufacturer's environmental record or considerations of price and quality predominated when the respondent made purchases. The second question similarly asked about which of those factors influenced the choice of where to shop. The combined variable averaged responses from each question for a 0-1 scale, with 0 representing non-environmental preferences for both questions, and 1 representing environmental preferences for both aspects of shopping, with the mean = 0.13 and standard

deviation = 0.27. This was reduced to a dichotomous variable for certain statistical tests, with non-green consumers (76.8%) rating 0 and all others (23.2%) delineated as green consumers, designated as 1.

Green behavior was assessed through six questions on the survey that dealt with a variety of environmental lifestyle behaviors, from reducing home temperature in the winter to recycling and checking the pressure of vehicle tires. These were coded from 0 to 1 from least to most participation and averaged to form a scale from 0 (lowest green behavior) to 0.94 (highest green behavior) with the mean = 0.69 and standard deviation = 0.17.

Environmental concern was a composite of seven questions, ranging from asking about the degree of current environmental problems and seriousness ratings of global warming to queries about overfishing. These were scored on four to seven point scales and collapsed to an average measure from 0.13 (least concerned) to 1 (most concerned) with the mean = 0.71 and standard deviation = 0.19. For certain statistical tests, a dichotomous measure was derived from this scale. Those scoring 0.74 and below (50.2%) were grouped as having “low concern” (0) and those above that cutoff as having “high concern” (1).

A measure of *political ideology* was employed, a concept defined as the collective left-right label with which an individual affiliates him or herself on a spectrum of ideology, from liberal to conservative. One question asked if respondents would use “conservative” (34.2%), “moderate” (44.2%) or “liberal” (20.4%) to describe their political views.

Results

H1: There is a highly significant, though fairly weak, positive correlation between lifestyle behaviors and policy support, $r = 0.16$, $p < 0.01$. A chi-squared test demonstrated that policy support and lifestyle were not independent, but rather interrelated in a highly significant way, $\chi^2 = 15.98$ (1), $p < 0.01$. This offers support for H1 and posits a basic connection between attitudes about environmental policy and personal environmental behaviors.

H2: An independent sample t-test of green consumer behavior on collective environmental policy support was performed to test H2. This showed that there was a highly significant difference between green consumers and non-green consumers in their scores of support for broad government environmental policies, $t(883) = -6.37$, $p < 0.01$. The support of non-green consumers ($M = 0.56$, $SD = 0.23$) was lower than for green consumers ($M = 0.63$, $SD = 0.23$) on the 0-1 scale. This supports H2. Green consumerism appears to be associated with support for collective environmental policies from the government.

H3: To evaluate if environmental lifestyle participation has an especially strong impact on increasing support for lifestyle policies from the government, two correlations were conducted. These showed that lifestyle participation was slightly more correlated with attitudes towards general government policies, $r = 0.17$, $p < 0.01$, than towards lifestyle requirements, $r = 0.12$, $p < 0.01$. This relationship is the opposite of that predicted in H3.

H4: To compare support for collective environmental policies and lifestyle environmental policies, a paired-sample t-test of the means for both variables was performed. Support levels were indeed highly significant in their difference, $t(644) = -18.17$, $p < 0.01$. However, laws requiring lifestyle behaviors ($M = 0.67$, $SD = 0.35$) received greater support than collective environmental policies ($M = 0.47$, $SD = 0.19$). The relationship between the two types of support occurred in the opposite direction than was predicted. It would appear that government requirements for more personal lifestyle changes are actually more popular than broader environmental taxes and industrial regulations.

H5: This hypothesis predicted that liberals would demonstrate a stronger relationship

between participation in lifestyle activities and support for government policies than would their conservative equivalents. Within each ideological group, “high” and “low” lifestyle participants were each cross-tabulated by support for government policies. Between these comparisons, amongst conservatives, moderates, and liberals, only among moderates did the chi-squared statistic reach significance, $\chi^2(1) = 7.35, p < 0.01$, indicating that for both liberals and conservatives, lifestyle and political attitudes vary independently of one another.¹ This indicates that the hypothesis cannot be accepted.

H5a: An analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure was used to evaluate the attitudes of these three ideological groups on collective environmental policies. This analysis confirmed that highly significant differences exist between these groups, $F(2,942) = 52.41, p < 0.01$. This statistic only indicated that political differences had an effect on support, and did not specify in what direction or where differences emerged. A post-hoc test was therefore performed following the standard ANOVA and it determined that liberals have the most supportive attitudes ($M = 0.55$ on a 0-1 scale, $SD = 0.16$), followed by moderates ($M = 0.50, SD = 0.16$), and then conservatives ($M = 0.399, SD = 0.21$). This confirms H5a. As expected, ideology is associated with views on federal environmental policies directed at taxes and industry, with liberals being the most supportive and conservatives the least so.

H6: This hypothesis predicted that environmental concern might explain a fair amount of common variation between government policy attitudes and lifestyle participation, but that, once concern was controlled for, there would be a residual independent relationship between attitudes and lifestyle. Correlation data indeed indicated that there was a strong relationship between environmental concern and support for both governmental environmental policies, $r = 0.63, p < 0.01$, and lifestyle participation, $r = 0.25, p < 0.01$. Environmental concern can be a powerful influence on these two other variables. To see if an independent relationship remains between attitudes and lifestyle, however, a cross tabulation was conducted of lifestyle participation by attitudes towards government action, controlling for environmental concern. The chi-squared statistics from these cross tabulations were not statistically significant, indicating that when people are grouped according to their level of environmental concern, the relationship between lifestyle and attitudes disappears. This suggests that it is environmental concern, and not an independent interaction between attitudes and lifestyle, that is responsible for the correlation between attitudes and lifestyle observed under H1. Thus, H6 was also not supported.

Conclusion

The core conceptual interest of this paper is in the relationship between individual lifestyle behaviors and attitudes toward governmental efforts. The hypothesis (H1) that dealt with this issue was weakly supported by the initial data, and bolstered by the finding that green consumers favored collective environmental policies more than non-green consumers (H2). This provided initial confirmation of the theory that green consumption reinforces broader environmental attitudes, thus leading people who are taking action on their own to also endorse action by the government in tackling environmental problems. These findings, however, were substantially undermined by the failure to find an independent relationship after controlling for environmental concern (H6). Further statistical analysis is needed to strengthen these findings or further disconfirm them. The relationships between political ideology and environmental concern, on the one hand, and support for collective environmental policies on the other, though not unexpected, indicate that a larger constellation of attitudes and beliefs is likely at work in affecting opinions on these issues, and must be accounted for in understanding the relationship between environmental behaviors and attitudes. The data provided an interesting insight into this dynamic. While the

hypothesized positive moderating effect of liberal ideology on the relationship between lifestyle and attitudes (and the negative effect of conservative ideology) was not observed in the data, moderates did appear to display a stronger link between them. Perhaps possessing an ideology at one end of the spectrum has a strong effect on one's policy views, overwhelming the role of lifestyle in influencing them (or vice versa).

These results also indicate an unexpectedly strong level of support for government policies requiring lifestyle behaviors, both in an absolute sense and as compared to support for environmental policies directed at other actors, such as industry. Whereas it was predicted that lifestyle policies would be seen as more intrusive on individuals' personal affairs than those policies promoting change in other sectors of society, perhaps the inherently hypothetical and non-immediate nature of the legislation mentioned in the survey questions diminished such a distinction in the minds of the respondents.

Also helping to explain these unexpected findings was a potential issue in the theoretical assignment of attitude measures. Questions about support for an electricity tax and a gasoline tax were included as indicators of support for collective environmental policies as they did not specifically mandate individual behavior. Both in the wording of these questions and doubtless in the minds of respondents, however, these taxes were identified with the imposition of behavioral change. For example, respondents were asked if they supported the federal government in deciding to "Increase taxes on electricity so people use less of it." These questions may have been more appropriately incorporated into the measure of support for lifestyle policies rather than collective environmental policies. These two questions were among those receiving the least amount of support overall (19.33% for an electricity tax and 31.85% for a gas tax), thus depressing the overall support reported for collective environmental policies.

Limitations

These data present a snapshot in time of individuals' attitudes and behaviors. Thus, it is difficult in these analyses to make strong causal claims based on purely correlational relationships between the data. It could be that green government attitudes drive green consumer behavior, which is the opposite of the hypothesized relationship. Further data and analysis may provide a more complete picture. Panel data might offer insights by showing, over time, whether attitudes or behaviors tend to develop first, for example. The survey instrument might also be redesigned to provide better data. A better articulation of the questions regarding green consumerism might pose such behavior not as an "all or nothing" choice but rather as a continuum of green shopping frequency. This may show us more gradation among green consumers, and not artificially group as many people into reporting that they do not engage in any green purchasing. The low levels in the current study of those reporting that they base their shopping decisions on environmental considerations may be a result of that question's wording. These low green consumer responses limited statistical analysis by only allowing evaluation of the attitudes of the small number of the most dedicated green shoppers.

End Note:

¹ It is worth noting that liberals, $\chi^2(1) = 2.96, p = 0.085$, and conservatives, $\chi^2(1) = 3.57, p = 0.06$, both had relationships that were marginally significant.

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ENGAGING VISITORS IN CLIMATE CHANGE COMMUNICATION: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA'S NATIONAL PARKS AND WILDLIFE REFUGES

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Abstract

Through the lens of place-based climate change communication, this project compares results from internal and external assessments of capacity to communicate about climate change at national parks and refuges in southern Florida. The internal survey sample included agency staff, stakeholders, community partners and concessionaires; the external survey sample included visitors to Everglades and Biscayne National Parks and the National Key Deer Refuge. Results demonstrate a significant gap in visitor versus staff and partner awareness of climate change impacts in these areas. Communicating with the public about climate change is not currently a top priority for the region's protected areas and partners, but the opportunity to engage visitors in this issue through place-based engagement is supported with this study.

Keywords: *Climate Change Communication, Visitor Surveys, National Park Service, U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, South Florida*

Recent studies concerning the extent of U. S. Americans' knowledge of climate change (e.g., Leiserowitz, Smith, & Marlon, 2010) and factors influencing beliefs about this issue (e.g., Borick & Rabe, 2010) demonstrate the need for a more contextualized and place-based approach to communicating with the public about changes in the climate system. Research suggests that direct observation of climate change impacts is closely linked to peoples' concern about global warming and the perception of its relevance to their lives (Borick & Rabe, 2010). National parks and wildlife refuges in South Florida are especially vulnerable to sea level rise, coral bleaching, and other climate change impacts. This area is also a very popular tourist destination, with eight million visitors to Miami-Dade County annually (Visit Florida Research Department, 2011). It is for this reason that South Florida was selected as a pilot site for the Climate Change Education Partnership (CCEP), a National Science Foundation funded research project led by Colorado State University, the National Park Service (NPS), the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS), and the National Parks Conservation Association.

In order to develop a strategic plan for climate change education and engagement in national parks and wildlife refuges, the CCEP implemented an assessment of park and refuge visitors' perceptions of climate change and its landscape-scale impacts through an on-site visitor survey. Additionally, an online survey was administered to NPS and USFWS personnel and local partners (including concessionaires, local government offices, and community organizations) regarding their perceptions of climate change and its impacts in the region, as well as their beliefs about their visiting audience's concern and understanding of climate change. The purpose of examining the perceptions about climate change of park/refuge visitors, agency staff members and partners is to reveal knowledge gaps, which provide a starting point for developing an effective place-based climate change education and engagement program for the region.

This South Florida case study includes Everglades National Park, Biscayne National Park and National Key Deer Refuge. Everglades National Park is the fourth largest national park in the U. S., and it attracts approximately one million visitors a year (NPS, 2010b; NPS, 2010c). In fairly close proximity to Everglades National Park is Biscayne National Park, which consists almost entirely of marine and estuarine environments. Despite being nearly 95% water, Biscayne National Park is also a popular tourist destination and draws over 500,000 visitors annually (NPS, 2010a). While not as popular among vacationing tourists, National Key Deer Refuge hosts about

90,000 visitors per year (USFWS, 2011).

The results discussed in this study are preliminary findings from the South Florida pilot site; the presence of a substantial divide in how visitors versus NPS and USFWS staff and partners perceive place-based climate change impacts can already be discerned. Of significance is that park and refuge staff members are concerned about climate change and how it affects South Florida, but communicating about this with visitors is not yet a high priority. Furthermore, visitors to the South Florida sites have little knowledge about the extent to which climate change has already impacted the park or refuge they visited. The findings of this study demonstrate that there is ample opportunity for the South Florida sites to increase the public's awareness about place-based climate change impacts and to allow visitors to see these impacts for themselves. As discussed in the section below, observing climate change impacts firsthand has the potential to change how people think about global climate change and their role in addressing climate change.

The Role of Place in Climate Change Communication

Due to the growing politicization of climate change and the overall lack of knowledge regarding its causes, consequences, and solutions among the U. S. American public, the question of how to best communicate environmental science has become a prevalent concern for scientists and educators worldwide. For issues as complex as climate change, effective communication needs to transcend traditional science communication by "raising awareness and promoting active engagement[;] providing more or better information is not enough" (Nerlich, Nelya, & Brown, 2010, p. 100). A growing body of research demonstrates that while there are many factors that affect the public's beliefs about climate change, observing the impacts of global warming firsthand is highly influential in shaping peoples' views about this issue (Borick & Rabe, 2010).

When people begin to understand the ways that global warming will impact where they live or other important places to them, such as national parks, the likelihood of them feeling more invested in taking action to mitigate climate change, to the extent that they are able, could be improved. The fact that 71% of Alaska residents see global warming as a serious threat (Leiserowitz & Craciun, 2006) and only 41% of the U. S. population believe this to be true (Pew Research Center, 2006) suggests that exposure to observable impacts of climate change is a significant factor in peoples' perceptions of this issue. This idea is further demonstrated by Borick and Rabe's (2010) findings that residents of areas that have experienced severe storms or decreases in precipitation are much more likely than residents of other areas of the U. S. to attribute their belief in global warming to the changes they have observed. Additionally, the vast majority of people who deny that climate change is happening say that the primary reason is that they have observed stable temperatures in their place of residence (Borick & Rabe, 2010).

While there are a multitude of factors such as political affiliation contributing to the reluctance of many U. S. Americans to accept the findings of climate scientists (McCright, 2009), recent studies suggest that emphasizing the relevance of this issue to all peoples' lives on a smaller scale would likely be a very effective communication strategy (Borick & Rabe, 2010; Frantz & Mayer, 2009; O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009). O'Neill and Nicholson-Cole address this point directly: "communication approaches that take account of individuals' personal points of reference (e.g., based on an understanding and appreciation of their values, attitudes, beliefs, local environment, and experience) are more likely to meaningfully engage individuals with climate change" (O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009, p. 375). Even though it is not always possible to attribute ecological events like drought, wildfire, erosion, and coral bleaching solely to increasing global temperatures, it is important for national park and wildlife refuge visitors to understand that these impacts will be intensified without sufficient climate change mitigation. Protected areas

in southern Florida draw millions of visitors each year and are thus highly valued among the U. S. American public. The visible effects of climate change in this part of the country will allow local communicators and educators to clearly demonstrate to the public some of the site-specific impacts related to global climate change and the importance of climate change mitigation for preserving these unique ecosystems and their rich biodiversity.

Along with helping visitors recognize climate change impacts directly, place-based education programs in South Florida's national parks and wildlife refuges provide an opportunity to foster a stronger connection between people and the environment. Frantz and Mayer (2009) contend that, based on their research on the relationship between connectedness to nature and pro-environmental behaviors, "climate scientists, environmental activists, parents, and educators who wish to promote change need to do more than simply create an informed public. To be effective, programs must also instill a sense of connection between people and the natural world" (p. 215). The popular natural areas chosen for this research project are an excellent setting to communicate with the public about global warming because it is possible to appeal more directly to peoples' values through describing current and potential climate change impacts in these places, while simultaneously fostering a stronger relationship between people and nature.

Methods

Sampling Approach

We administered an online survey to NPS and USFWS staff and partners using the internet survey tool SurveyMonkey. Using a purposive sampling approach, a total of 92 NPS and USFWS staff members responded to the survey, which was attached to an email invitation and registration link for a regional climate change education workshop (hosted as part of the CCEP partnership and research in South Florida). The workshop invitation and survey link was sent to 150 staff and partners in the region, for a response rate of 61%. The purposes of this survey were: (a) to determine the extent that agency personnel and partners are concerned about climate change and perceive its impacts in their parks, refuges, and surrounding communities; (b) to investigate what respondents see as barriers and opportunities to communicating about climate change and; (c) to identify current climate change communication activities in each park/refuge. Respondents to the staff and partner survey were selected based on their involvement in ecological research, interpretation and/or programming, resource management, protected area law enforcement, or volunteer programs in national parks and wildlife refuges in the region. NPS and USFWS staff and partners completed the survey before participating in the regional climate change education workshop.

On-site surveys were also administered to a non-random sample of 66 respondents (park/refuge visitors) in three protected areas in South Florida, including Everglades National Park, Biscayne National Park, and National Key Deer Refuge. The majority of respondents (53) completed the survey in Everglades National Park. Seven surveys were administered in Biscayne National Park, and the remaining six were collected in National Key Deer Refuge. The response rate was not recorded, but the primary reasons visitors declined to complete the survey were the time commitment (10-15 minutes) or language barriers.

The visitor survey was loaded onto six Apple iPads using an application called iSURVEY. This survey method was chosen over other on-site alternatives because data entered onto iPads by respondents was loaded directly onto computers into an SPSS file, thus eliminating the need to manually enter survey data. Additionally, because iPads are a relatively new and popular technology, having the opportunity to use one offered a small incentive to participants who

completed the survey.

Many of the items included in the visitor survey were based on other national survey protocols regarding U. S. Americans' knowledge and beliefs about climate change, particularly studies conducted as part of the Yale Project on Climate Change Communication (Leiserowitz et al., 2010; Leiserowitz, Maibach, & Roser-Renouf, 2009). The survey was designed to assess visitors' knowledge and beliefs about global climate change and its causes as well as its potential solutions. Additionally, respondents were asked about pro-environmental behaviors that they are currently practicing. Items concerning visitor interest in climate change education in parks and refuges and general demographic information were also included.

Variables Measured

Four variables from the agency staff and partners survey are assessed in this study in order to illustrate NPS and USFWS staff members' perceptions of climate change, compared to their visiting audience, and to determine to what extent that communicating about climate change is a priority in South Florida parks and refuges. Respondents were asked, "On average, how concerned are you about climate change?" and were instructed to make a selection on a 5-point scale ranging from 1=not concerned to 5=extremely concerned. To evaluate how concerned staff and partners believe their audience is, respondents were asked, "How concerned do you think your stakeholders are?" and were given response options on an identical 5-point scale.

With regard to their perceptions of place-based climate change impacts, respondents were asked, "Do you believe the effects of climate change can already be seen in South Florida?" Response options included: "no," "unlikely," "perhaps," "probably," and "definitely." Respondents who believed that effects of climate change are already observable in South Florida were asked to provide examples of these impacts in an open textbox below the response options for this question.

The extent that communicating about climate change is a priority for staff and partners was assessed with the question: "Within your agency, organization, or community, to what extent do you think addressing climate change is a priority with visitors and the surrounding community?" Respondents were asked to make a selection based on the following response options: "not a priority," "somewhat of a priority," and "a top priority." Additionally, 79% of participants responded "yes" when asked if they were already communicating about climate change with the public in this region. Fifty respondents shared examples of specific activities in an open textbox following the yes/no question.

The visitor survey variables assessed in this study include a set of items concerning park/refuge visitor demographics as well as variables regarding visitors' beliefs about the occurrence of climate change, its impacts in South Florida, and the extent to which they would like to learn more about climate change in national parks and refuges. The demographic variables measured include age, gender, level of education, nationality, ethnicity, and political affiliation. See Table 1 for information regarding variable type and response options for each demographic item.

Table 1

<i>Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents (n = 66)</i>		
<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Age at time of survey (years)^a		
10 - 17	5	8
18 - 25	5	8
26 - 35	8	13
36 - 45	6	10
46 - 55	16	26
56 - 65	11	18
66 - 75	8	13
76 - 85	3	5
Gender		
Male	35	53
Female	28	42
Highest education level completed^b		
Less than high school	3	5
Some high school	4	6
High school graduate	9	15
Some college	3	5
Two-year college degree	5	8
Four-year college degree	19	31
Graduate or professional degree	19	31
Nationality^c		
United States citizen	49	78
Non-United States citizen	14	22
Ethnicity^d		
American Indian or Alaskan Native	0	0
Asian	0	0
Black or African American	2	3
Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	0	0
Hispanic or Latino/Latina	4	7
White or Caucasian	55	90
Other	0	0
Political Affiliation^e		
Republican	8	15
Democrat	25	48
Independent	15	29
No affiliation	0	0
Other	4	8

a There are four missing values for the age variable; sample percentages do not include these missing values.

b There are four missing values for the level of education variable; sample percentages do not include these missing values.

c There are three missing values for the U.S. residency variable; sample percentages do not include these missing values.

d There are five missing values for the ethnicity variable; sample percentages do not include these missing values.

e There are 14 missing values for the political affiliation variable; sample percentages do not include these missing values.

In order to assess visitor beliefs about the occurrence of climate change, visitors were asked, “How sure are you that climate change is happening?” Response options included: “extremely sure,” “very sure,” “somewhat sure,” and “not sure at all.” A set of survey questions evaluating visitors’ awareness of landscape-scale impacts of climate change was also included in this study, beginning with the item, “I believe that some of the effects of climate change can already be seen in this Park/Refuge.” On a 5-point scale (-2=strongly disagree, 2=strongly agree), visitors were asked to state how much they agreed or disagreed with this statement as well as all of the following variables in this set of survey items. With regard to visitors’ knowledge of specific climate change impacts in South Florida, respondents were asked how much they agree with the following statements: “On average, around the Earth, I believe that sea level is rising due to climate change;” “On average, around the Earth, I believe that coral bleaching is occurring on reefs due to climate change;” “On average, around the Earth, I believe oceans are becoming more acidic due to climate change.” Lastly, to determine visitors’ desire to learn more about place-based climate change impacts, respondents were asked how much they agree (using the same 5-point scale) with the statement “I would like to learn more about climate change impacts in our national parks/refuges.”

Results

NPS and USFWS Staff and Partner Survey

In conducting frequency test analyses of the four survey items included in this analysis, results indicate that agency staff and partners are concerned about climate change, with 88% stating that they are either very or extremely concerned about climate change. For all response percentages and counts, see Table 2.

Table 2

Agency Staff and Partner Concern about Climate Change (n = 83)		
Variable:	n	%
Not concerned	0	0
Slightly concerned	0	0
Moderately concerned	10	12
Very concerned	37	45
Extremely concerned	36	43

When asked how concerned agency staff members think their stakeholders are, the highest number of respondents (45.1%) stated that they think their stakeholders are only somewhat concerned, with the second highest number (26.8%) stating they think their stakeholders are slightly concerned. Among agency staff respondents, the most often cited reasons for the belief that the public is not very concerned about climate change are that the downturn of the economy has reduced peoples’ level of interest in this issue and that climate change has become a contentious and political topic. Response percentages and counts are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3

Agency Staff and Partner Perception of Stakeholder Concern about Climate Change (n = 82)		
Variable:	n	%
Not concerned	1	1
Slightly concerned	22	27
Moderately concerned	37	45
Very concerned	16	20
Extremely concerned	6	7

With regard to observable impacts of climate change already being visible in South Florida, the vast majority (68.3%) stated that the impacts of climate change are definitely already visible in South Florida, while 23% said that effects of climate change are probably already visible in this area (see Table 4). In the open textbox accompanying the response options for this question, respondents referenced a number of ways that climate change is already affecting South Florida ecosystems such as through the process of coral bleaching, sea level rise, abnormal weather patterns, and higher temperatures in the ocean as well as on land.

Table 4

Agency Staff and Partner Beliefs about Presence of Observable Effects of Climate Change in South Florida (n = 82)		
Variable:	n	%
No	1	1
Unlikely	0	0
Perhaps	6	7
Probably	19	23
Definitely	56	68

The results of the variable assessment of the extent to which communicating about climate change is a priority within the South Florida CCEP sites indicate that a majority (56.8%) of respondents see it is only somewhat of a priority at this time. The next highest number of respondents (24.7%) stated that communicating about climate change is not a priority within their agency. Open-ended responses to this survey question overwhelmingly reference the state of the economy as the reason that climate change communication is not a top priority. Additionally, respondents suggested that the priority level regarding communication of this issue is dependent on the perspective of individual organizations. Response percentages and counts for this variable are listed in Table 5.

Table 5

Agency Staff and Partner Beliefs about the Extent that Communicating about Climate Change with Stakeholders Is a Priority (n = 78)		
Variable:	n	%
Not a priority	20	25
Somewhat a priority	46	57
Top priority	12	19

Visitor Survey

Based on the results of the survey items assessing demographic variables, which are depicted in Table 1, it is evident that the vast majority of South Florida's park/refuge visitors who responded to our survey were college educated, white U. S. citizens. A slightly larger number of visitors (53%) were male, and the median age among respondents was 47 years old.

The survey results demonstrate that 97% of visitors thought that climate change is happening. Of visitors who thought that climate change is happening, 46% stated that they were extremely sure it is happening, 34% responded that they were very sure it is happening, and 20% stated that they were somewhat sure climate change is happening.

The results of the set of variables evaluating the extent of visitors' awareness of climate change impacts in South Florida suggest that the public is ambivalent. With regards to whether or not the impacts of climate change are already observable in South Florida, only 9% stated that they strongly agree that the impacts are visible, 27% stated that they agree, and 50% stated

that they were neutral. Furthermore, 47% of respondents stated that they were neutral about the occurrence of coral bleaching and ocean acidification around the Earth being caused by climate change. The South Florida national park and refuge respondents seemed more aware of sea level rise as a consequence of increasing global temperatures, with 70% stating that they either agree or strongly agree that sea level rise is happening around the Earth due to climate change.

Table 6

Park and Refuge Visitor Beliefs about Presence of Observable Effects of Climate Change in South Florida (n = 66)					
Variables:					
Visible impacts in this Park/Refuge					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
n	3	6	33	18	6
%	5	9	50	27	9
Sea level rise in this Park/Refuge					
n	1	4	15	33	13
%	2	6	23	50	20
Coral bleaching in this Park/Refuge					
n	0	3	31	20	12
%	0	5	47	30	18
Ocean acidification in this Park/Refuge					
n	2	4	31	23	6
%	3	6	47	35	9

The survey results indicate that there is interest among park/refuge visitors in learning more about climate change, as 53% agreed that they would like to learn more about climate change impacts in the park or refuge they visited. The response counts and percentages for each variable are illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7

Visitor Interest in Learning about the Effects of Climate Change in the Park or Refuge They Visited (n = 66)					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Variable					
n	1	3	27	23	12
%	2	5	41	35	18

Discussion

Despite the small sample size of this study, the findings of the above analyses yielded results that have a great deal of relevance for South Florida, particularly with regard to the public's lack of awareness of specific place-based impacts of climate change. The findings from the staff and partner survey compared to the results of the visitor survey demonstrate that there is a substantial gap in the extent that agency personnel and park/refuge visitors understand how climate change is affecting South Florida. A large majority (68.3%) of the respondents to the staff and partner survey stated that they think the impacts of climate change in South Florida can definitely already be seen, while 50% of park/refuge visitors were neutral about whether or not the

park/refuge they visited is being impacted by climate change.

Most of the visitors surveyed believe that climate change is happening but are largely unaware of how South Florida's national parks and wildlife refuges are being affected by increasing global temperatures. The majority of visitors (70%) do understand that climate change is causing the global sea level to rise, but the finding that only 36% believe the park/refuge they visited is being impacted by climate change suggests that visitors are mostly unaware that sea level rise is already occurring in South Florida. Most visitor respondents (47%) stated that they are neutral about the occurrence of ocean acidification and coral bleaching around the Earth, indicating that visitors may not realize that these climate change impacts are already observable within park and refuge boundaries.

It is disturbing that most respondents to the agency staff survey (88%) are concerned about climate change and believe it is already impacting South Florida even though communicating about climate change within these agencies is only somewhat of a priority. This study indicates that park/refuge visitors do not have a sufficient understanding of some of the global impacts of climate change, much less the ways that climate change affects South Florida and its national parks and wildlife refuges. Contrary to agency staff perceptions that visitors are likely uninterested in learning about climate change, 53% of visitor survey respondents agreed that they would like to learn more about climate change impacts in the park/refuge they visited.

The findings of this study demonstrate that place-based education and engagement programs in South Florida's national parks and wildlife refuges have the potential to substantially improve visitors' knowledge of the climate system as well as their involvement in it. South Florida's national parks and wildlife refuges attract hundreds of thousands of visitors each year, and because these ecologically important areas are so sensitive to climate change, they are an ideal setting to communicate with the public about this issue. As discussed above, recent studies suggest that the direct observation of climate change impacts is an important factor in determining peoples' beliefs about this issue. It is therefore likely that having the opportunity to directly perceive climate change impacts, such as coral bleaching, in places people care about and are connected to could significantly affect the extent that people understand the consequences of climate change and begin to see it as a serious and personally relevant issue.

Interpretive programs in parks and refuges could increase the public's investment in this issue not only through providing visitors with the chance to see climate change impacts firsthand, but also through facilitating a stronger sense of connection between people and the natural world. These programs could incorporate information about ecological changes resulting from increasing global temperatures into existing nature tours instead of focusing solely on climate change impacts in order to attract visitors who may not be particularly interested in climate change. For example, tours could be designed to educate the public about changes occurring in Biscayne National Park's reefs. Tourists could see these changes up close, learn more about how the climate system affects ecosystems, and develop a stronger connection to the environment in a single experience. Raising awareness about place-based climate change impacts through experiential education programs could lead people to perform more energy-conserving behaviors following their park/refuge visit. While rather small, this would be an important step in transforming the U. S. American public's perception of and engagement in this globally significant issue.

Future Research

Recent studies have elucidated some of the primary factors influencing the public's knowledge and concern regarding climate change (Borick & Rabe, 2010; Leiserowitz, Smith,

& Marlon, 2010), but more research is needed on the extent to which communicating the small-scale impacts of global warming increases peoples' knowledge about this issue and their perception of its relevance for their own lives and communities. Because the effect of one's energy-conserving behaviors on mitigating climate change cannot be directly perceived, it is important for people to know or be taught how their collective behaviors impact the climate system, and in turn, the places that are important to them such as national parks and wildlife refuges in South Florida. Studies that assess the influence of direct observations of climate change impacts as we have described in this essay could provide more detailed information about behavior change.

Further research on the extent to which participation in interpretive national park programs increases peoples' feeling of connection to the natural world would be useful in evaluating the mitigating effect of participation in place-based environmental education on global warming. Additionally, research examining the relationship between the perception of climate change as a relevant issue and public support for climate change policy initiatives would also be of value in assessing the outcomes of park and wildlife refuge climate change communication programs.

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DROWNING IN THE DEPTHS OF CLIMATE CHANGE: AN EXPLORATION OF RHETORIC ABOUT POLAR BEARS

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Abstract

This study explored campaigns that used polar bears to bring awareness to the climate change issue. The study analyzed the rhetoric of three environmental campaigns, two major corporations, one non-profit organization, and one zoo. Although polar bears are symbolically good visual representations of the effects of climate change, the specifics of the issue are often reduced solely to polar bears. Furthermore, while the campaigns focus on the effects of climate change, the cause(s) are vaguely addressed, which has broader implications for how audiences understand climate change.

Keywords: *Climate Change, Polar Bears, Emotional Appeal, Image Events, Anthropomorphism*

The issue of climate change has generated much debate among politicians and scientists in the last three decades, with different side having different opinions with respect to the causes of climate change and its environmental consequences (Hassol, 2004). In order to relate to the public, non-governmental organizations have used polar bears to bridge the gap between fact and fiction and generate climate change awareness. Campaigns portray polar bears as endangered species in need of the public's support and consideration. The purpose of this study is to explore how polar bears have become emblematic of climate change issues. Specifically, I analyze the efforts of three environmental organizations, Environmental Defense Fund (EDF), World Wildlife Federation (WWF), and Center for Biological Diversity (CBD), and two major corporations, the Coca-Cola Company and Nissan. Additionally, this study also examines one video from the non-profit organization, Plane Stupid, and media news stories about Knut, a famous polar bear from the Berlin Zoological Garden. These organizations and corporations are most prominent in their use of polar bears as visual representations of climate change. I examine the organizations' websites, videos, and other media disseminated to audiences.

I argue that, although these organizations effectively use polar bears as a visual representation of climate change, anthropomorphizing of the species may diminish audience understanding of climate change. Additionally, campaigns tend to minimize civic engagement and target a specific audience which then minimizes the severity of a global issue. To better understand these campaigns, I use textual analysis, which "involves examining the authors'

purposes for the text and asking whom the intended audience is” (Wall, Edwards, & Porter, 2007, p. 279). Specifically, the texts were analyzed using generative criticism method (Foss, 2004). In what follows, I provide an overview of polar bears, climate change, environmental advocacy, and environmental perception.

Polar Bears (Ursus maritimus)

As a result of climate change, the habitat of polar bears has been deeply affected by melting ice caps. Furthermore, “sea ice allows polar bears to exploit the productive marine environment by providing a platform from which they can hunt seals” (Durner et al., 2009, p. 26). Polar bears are “highly specialized surface-based predators on sea ice dependent phocid seals, primarily ringed seals (*Phoca hispida*) and bearded seals (*Erignathus barbatus*)” (Durner et al., 2009, p. 26). Amstrup (2003) argues that the dissemination and composition of Arctic sea ice is essential for the survival of wild populations of polar bears. On the other hand, several scholars contribute the decline in population in some regions to polar bear hunters. Taylor, Laake, McLoughlin, Cluff, & Messier (2008) state that “in the archipelago of Canada’s High Arctic, negative effects of climate change have yet to be reported for polar bears” and argue that bear hunting remains of major cultural and economic importance in the Canadian region (p. 144). However, currently under the U.S. Endangered Species Act (ESA), the polar bear is listed as threatened.

Climate Change

The issue of climate change has been much discussed publicly, politically, and internationally. Currently, the underlying dilemma seems to revolve around the potential cause(s) of climate change. Very few scientists blame natural causes, and many have indicated that the disturbance in climate change is also be the responsibility of human beings (Hassol, 2004). According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2007) climate change is a “complex, interactive system consisting of the atmosphere, land surface, snow and ice, oceans and other bodies of water, and living things” (p. 96). Climate is often defined as weather and characterized as the atmospheric component. The climate system changes over time by “influence of its own internal dynamics and changes in external factors (forcings)” (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007, p. 96). External forcings can include natural occurrences, such as volcanic activity. In addition, external forcings can be caused by human changes to the atmospheric composition.

The climate system is powered by solar radiation. Consequently, “there are three primary ways to change the radiation balance of the earth: 1) changing the incoming solar radiation (e.g. changes in the Earth’s orbit or in the Sun itself), 2) changing the fraction of solar radiation that is reflected (albedo) (e.g. changes in cloud cover, atmospheric particles or vegetation), and 3) altering the longwave radiation from Earth back towards space (e.g. changing green gas concentrations)” (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007, p. 96). The primary human influence on climate change has been through the increase of greenhouse gases. The greenhouse effect is defined as the rise in temperature which the Earth experiences due to the entrapment of solar energy from gases in its atmosphere, i.e., water vapor, carbon dioxide, and methane. The greenhouse gases have increased from the burning of fossil fuels such as coal, natural gas, oil and gasoline. “For instance, the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased by about 35% in the industrial era, and this increase is known to be due to human activities, primarily the combustion of fossil fuels and removal of forests” (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007, p. 97). Since the greenhouse effect warms the Earth, the additional burning of fossil fuels

increases the temperature, which is likely to affect global weather patterns and contribute to climate change (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 2009). The National Resources Defense Council (2005) reports “the largest single block of ice in the Arctic, the Ward Hunt Ice Shelf, had been around for 3,000 years before it started cracking in 2000. Within two years it had split all the way through and is now breaking into pieces” (para. 2).

The effects of climate change can be seen all over the world. Staudt (2009), from the National Wildlife Federation, argues that evidence demonstrates that the sea level is rising, such as increased tree mortality in North America and melting arctic ice. Furthermore, NASA satellite pictures indicated the arctic ice caps have been contracting at an alarming rate of 9 percent each decade (National Resource Defense Council, 2005). The changes in climate have endangered the habitat and survival of many species. The IPCC reports, “Changes in climate have the potential to affect the geographic location of ecological systems, the mix of species that they contain, and their ability to provide the wide range of benefits on which societies rely for their continued existence” (Watson, Zinyowera, Moss, & Dokken, 1997, p. 2). Furthermore, IPCC reports that “Climate change is projected to occur at a rapid rate relative to the speed at which forest species grow, reproduce and re-establish themselves” (Watson et al., 1997, p. 2).

Environmental Advocacy and Non-Governmental Organizations

According to Cox (2006), environmental advocacy is a symbolic discourse aimed at supporting conservation, preservation, and “support for both natural and human environments and the well-being of the life these environments sustain” (p. 244). An environmental advocacy campaign is therefore, “defined broadly as a strategic course of action involving communication undertaken for a specific purpose” (Cox, 2006, p. 244). In addition, Cox (2006) identifies nine modes of environmental advocacy: political, litigation, electoral politics, public education, direct action, media events, community organization, green consumerism, and corporate accountability. Each mode differs considerably in goals, media outlets and strategies, and targeted audiences. For example, political advocacy campaigns might seek to influence legislation or regulations while public education campaigns seek to influence behavior change (Cox, 2006). Political advocacy, litigation, and electoral politics fall under political and legal channels. Litigation campaigns pursue “compliance with environmental standards by agencies and business” and electoral politics “mobilize voters for candidate and referenda” (Cox, 2006, p. 247). Direct appeal to public audiences consists of public education, direct action, media events, and community organizing. Direct action influences “specific behaviors through acts of protest, including civil disobedience” (Cox, 2006, p. 247). Media events “create publicity or news coverage to broaden advocacy effects” and community organizing is used to “mobilize citizens or residents to act” (Cox, 2006, p. 247). The last category is composed of green consumerism and corporate accountability. Green consumerism uses “consumers’ purchasing power to influence behavior and corporate accountability” (Cox, 2006, p. 247).

Cantrill (1993) suggests that those people involved in environmental advocacy see themselves as participatory citizens who “use personal interest as an anchor in assessing argument and engaging the environment and display selective attention to environmental concerns and values” (p. 68). Cantrill (1993) further explains that an understanding of the environment is influenced by direct or immediate exposure to environmental concern. Furthermore, Cantrill (1993) states sociocultural influences function as information-seeking behaviors and assist in determining meaning. Cantrill (1993) states “much of what we ‘know’ about the environment may depend on our age, economic well-being, region of the country, and other demographic characteristics as well as the dominant cultural forces which surround us” (p.72). Cantrill (1993)

breaks down sociocultural influences into two factors: demographics and cultural. Cantrill (1993) declares that cultural factors are more dominant than demographic factors “in the construction and interpretation of environmental discourse” (p. 76). Although research findings demonstrate that a person’s age, education level, and gender have an influence on environmental perception, “the typical finding of no reliable relationship between social variables and environmental behavior (e.g., Honnold, 1984; Neuman, 1986) strongly suggest we focus on more than demographics in studying and advising advocacy campaigns” (Cantrill, 1993, p. 73).

Cantrill’s (1993) second mediator, informational bases, are formed by “a set of beliefs generated by personal experience, interpersonal networks, and the mass media” and “unlike sociocultural beliefs, this subsystem is more tangible to the extent it is reflected in overt cognition” (p. 76). Furthermore, Cantrill (1993) states that research investigating how a person’s experience affects the perceptions of environmental discourse is limited. The concept of *well informed futility* is described as a concept that is based on a person’s inability to take action upon an environmental issue finding contentment with merely being informed of an environmental issue (Cantrill, 1993). The last mediator, strategic-actional concerns, “refer[s] to individuals’ ways of thinking about themselves as participants in environmental settings, what they want for and anticipate happening in their environment, and what they intend to do to achieve their goals vis a vis the environment” (Cantrill, 1993, p. 82). Cantrill (1993) states that a way to understand environmental reasoning is to recognize the four different types of publics for advocacy approaches: all-issue, single-issue, involving-issue only, and apathetic. All-issue publics are concerned with a wide range of environmental issues, single-issue publics focus their attention on one or a few environmental issues, involving-issue only publics “are driven by immediate circumstance or popular agenda by the media,” and apathetic publics communicate little to no concern about environmental issues (p. 83).

Furthermore, it is important to examine from where the public receives their information on environmental issues. Corbett and Durfee (2004) contend that “like news coverage generally, media reporting of science is tied to classic definitions of news and is often event driven, using the occasion of a scientific meeting or publication in a major scientific journal to spur attention to an issue” (p. 130). Moreover, the public’s interest is usually elevated if there is a dramatic connection (Corbett & Durfee, 2004). Although the public might be exposed to environmental issues, there is a need for a clear understanding of the issues. Studies conducted on the public’s understanding of climate change concluded that people commonly had misconceptions on the causes, consequences, and solutions of the issue (Corbett & Durfee, 2004).

After an examination of the campaigns, four major themes emerged: image events, emotionality, anthropomorphism, and locus of the irreparable/rhetoric of hope. The use of image events allows the audience to correlate the melting of ice with the endangerment of polar bears. This in turn allows the audience to become emotionally connected to polar bears. Additionally, the depictions of polar bears by the campaigns strengthen the emotional connection already created. The representation of polar bears in the campaigns can be viewed as being anthropomorphic. Usually, human characteristics are embedded in the behavior of the polar bears. Lastly, campaigns tend to implore against the audience’s apathy.

Image Events

Delicath and DeLuca (2003) define image events as “staged acts of protest designed for media dissemination” (p. 315). According to Delicath and DeLuca, there are three main functions of image events: (1) they broaden the scope of participation in the public sphere, (2) they deliver arguments in powerful ways capable of creating opportunities for debate, and (3)

“image events and other critiques performed through spectacle animate the possibilities for public discourse and expand the range of relevant rhetorics in social controversies by generating new lines of argument” (p. 325). Furthermore, Delicath and DeLuca (2003) suggest image events are “a postmodern form of argument that employs acts of protest to deliver images as argumentative fragments that serve as inventional resources for public deliberation and which shift the responsibility for argument construction to audiences” (p. 317). DeLuca (1999) argues that “when taken seriously as rhetorical activity, image events challenge a number of tenets of traditional rhetorical theory and criticism, starting with the notion that rhetoric ideally is ‘reasoned discourse,’ with ‘reasoned’ connoting ‘civil’ or ‘rational’ and ‘discourse’ connoting ‘words’” (p. 14). DeLuca (1999) believes environmental groups use image events as “tactics that operate in the territory of the system but outside the sense-making rules or the lines on the grid of intelligibility of the system – a necessary condition if they are to create social movement” (p. 20). Moreover, DeLuca (1999) states “environmental groups practice image events not merely to call attention to particular problems but also to challenge the discourse of industrialism and to move the meanings of fundamental ideographs” (p. 52). Delicath and DeLuca (2003) believe image events provide the responsibility for argument construction to audiences, offer unstated propositions, and advance indirect and “incomplete claims in ways that function to block enthymemes and advance alternatives” (p. 315). While polar bear images are not used for protest rhetoric per se, organizations and campaigns that employ these polar bear images rely on similar tools for rhetorical success.

There are four key image events that are seen throughout the campaigns: melting of ice caps, polar bear(s) swimming, polar bear(s) floating on ice, and polar bear(s) drowning/dying. These were classified as image events because they offer a way for campaigns to further illustrate the interpretation of climate change. Although DeLuca’s (1999) typical representations of image events feature individuals protesting the destruction of nature (Delicath and DeLuca, 2003; DeLuca 1999), the image events described in this analysis were classified as such because they are a visual protest of the ideological negation of the disruption of Earth’s climate. Furthermore, the illustration of such acts (melting of ice, polar bears swimming, polar bears floating on ice, and polar bears drowning) make claims to the rhetorical legitimacy of climate change and the endangerment of polar bears.

First, each campaign illustrates the melting of ice caps. For example, WWF Belgium (2008) and climatetracker.net created an ad video titled “Polar bear – victim of climate change.” The video features two different images of ice caps melting. The first is a panoramic view of an ice cap surrounded by pieces of ice that have melted off. The second image is that of an actual ice cap melting. The same image event is observed in two other videos. Additionally, the video advertisement for the Nissan Leaf™ begins with the close up of melting ice. After the second drop, a full view of melting ice caps is displayed. The “Save the Polar Bear Campaign” opted for a digitalize version of ice caps melting. The video featured for this campaign shows a polar bear walking on the ice caps as part of it is melting. It also shows the piece of the ice cap completely melting into the sea.

The second image event is a polar bear swimming. WWF Canada (2008) broadcasted a video titled “Polar Bears in Peril” featuring Noah Wyle, actor and WWF supporter. A female polar bear jumps in the sea and her cub follows after. The video then illustrates how the polar bears are swimming and are only surrounded by water in which no floating ice can be seen. The same clip is used in the ad for WWF Belgium (2008). The Nissan Leaf™ (2011) advertisement also uses the image event of a polar bear swimming. Unlike the WWF ads, the Nissan Leaf™ uses a close up of a single polar bear and an underwater view of the polar bear as it is swimming.

The third image event is a polar bear on floating ice. This image event can be seen in the campaign advertisements of WWF Belgium, WWF Canada, WWF Finland, Save the Polar Bear, and in the Nissan Leaf™ advertisement. The Nissan Leaf™ advertisement features a single bear sitting on ice, whereas other campaigns feature a female polar bear with her cub. WWF Finland (2008) captures the image event in a creative way. The female polar bear and her cub are seen sitting on what appears to be a piece of melted ice in the middle of a busy intersection in a major city.

The last image event is a polar bear drowning, and most likely, dying. One of the major concerns the campaigns have regarding polar bears is the possibility of them drowning because of the lack of ice that will support the polar bear's body weight. Though this concern is featured mainly in the campaigns' language, there are two campaigns that address this issue in a campaign video. Plane Stupid broadcasts a rather disturbing video of polar bears falling from the sky to their death to illustrate the carbon footprint of plane travel that increases greenhouse gases and will ultimately contribute to the death of polar bears as ice caps continue to melt. "Save the Polar Bear Campaign" draws on the notion of polar bears drowning. In the video, a polar bear is seen walking on a large piece of floating ice. As he walks, the ice melts and it is abruptly underwater. The polar bear is seen struggling to get out of the water and unexpectedly another polar bear appears. The ad abruptly ends after the last scene.

As a whole, these videos have a dramatic impact on the audiences' perception of climate change and polar bears. Additionally, the image events presented in the videos can be read as (1) a claim: "climate change is affecting the polar bear's habitat" or "climate change is a legitimate issue," or (2) as evidence for claims such as: "polar bears are drowning because of climate change" or "polar bears will become extinct because of climate change."

Emotionality

Similar to the ad referenced in the previous paragraph, these campaigns also feature emotionally appealing ads. Huang (1997) explains that there are two types of emotions, basic emotions and social emotions. Basic emotions are defined as instinctual biological reactions. There are five basic emotions (two positive and three negative): happiness, love, anger, fear, and sadness (Huang, 1997). On the other hand, social emotions (e.g., humor and guilt), derived from basic emotions, are defined as social reactions, which are developed at another stage in human development through the socialization process (Huang, 1997). Furthermore, Huang (1997) states that "due to the universal tendency of basic emotions, consumers tend to have similar emotional responses," therefore, making basic emotions more appropriate for advertisements (p. 23). Emotional appeals in advertisements are defined as "ads that elicit consumers' emotional responses, either pleasant or unpleasant" (Huang, 1997, p. 25). The images in campaigns and advertisements regularly feature both positive and negative emotional appeals. However, the campaigns and advertisements analyzed in this study predominantly feature negative emotional appeals.

Positive Emotional Appeals

The images used in WWF's polar bear website feature a polar bear and her cubs. When clicking on the section titled "More on the Polar Bear," the image displayed in the main page does not change. Similar images of a female polar bear and her cubs are used extensively on the website. For example, navigating toward the "Adopt a Polar Bear" (Gift Center) section of WWF's website, another image of a female polar bear and her cub emerges. Images that display positive

emotions allow the audience to associate that emotional state toward polar bears. Another example can be found on the EDF's website, "Global Warming" section, which features a female polar bear in an embrace with her cubs. Although there are other images that can be associated with climate change (global warming), EDF selected the polar bear as a strong representation of the change in our environment. It is evident the EDF proposes to their audience to create a connection between climate change and polar bears.

The use of maternal affection in the images provides a positive emotional appeal to the audience. In both images the mother is seen embracing her cubs which can be interpreted as a warm embrace between a mother and a child. Additionally, these images can be seen as having a "cute factor." Angier (2006) explains that scientists say "cute cues are those that indicate extreme youth, vulnerability, harmlessness and need" (para. 6). The images that are used to create a positive emotional appeal tend to have several cute cues. The images created a sense of the polar bears' vulnerability and harmlessness. Furthermore, the image of climate change affecting the polar bear's environment creates the illusion of need, making the audience more likely to help the polar bear in the ways the campaigns and advertisements promote.

Negative Emotional Appeals

The illustrations of negative emotional appeals are displayed in the campaigns by depictions of a polar bear(s) on ice platforms. The image of a polar bear(s) on ice platform extends back to the explanation of image events. It has been argued that research suggests the sea ice is melting and therefore, the polar bear is losing its habitat. By using images that display this scenario, the campaigns are trying to emotionally draw their audience's awareness to the severity of the issue. Accordingly, campaigns use images that reflect upon the issue of melting ice and the struggles polar bear encounter, such as drowning. As an illustration, Figure 1 exemplifies the concept of melting ice. In the video, a female polar bear and her cub are seen on a slender ice platform and surrounding them are water and a few other thin platforms. The female polar bear is later seen diving in the water swimming away as her cub follows (WWF Belgium, 2008).

The second edition of *Polar Bear Odyssey* also has an unfortunate ending. The story narrates that after swimming for two straight days, Aakaga and her cubs are confronted with a storm and an ice pack is nowhere in sight. A wave hits the polar bears and sends Aakaga's cub, Qannik away from her and her other cub, Siku. Although the story does not state that Qannik has died, it can be assumed that she drowned. "Before she sinks down to rest, she looks carefully and sniffs for Qannik. If the current carried them, perhaps it carried her as well... but there is no sign of her strong, faithful daughter. Aakaga begins to accept that Qannik is dead" (Environmental Defense Fund, 2011).

Furthermore, negative emotional appeals use fear-evoking images as a tactic to get the audience to contribute to the organization's

Polar bear - victim of climate change

WWFBelgium 143 videos



Figure 1: Polar bear - victim of climate change (WWF Belgium Video).

cause, in this case the conservation of polar bears. However, some campaigns take fear-evoking images to an extreme. For example, a European based grassroots organization named Plane Stupid, which targets the aviation industry in Europe, released a polar bear commercial in order to inform the audience of the amount of greenhouse gasses a flight emits. The film explains “an average European flight produces 400 kilograms of greenhouse gases for every passenger... that is the size of an adult polar bear” (Directactioncam, 2009). However, in visualizing this information the film takes a gruesome approach. Polar bears are seen falling from the sky to their death, as displayed in Figure 2. Plane Stupid’s polar bear video directly relates human involvement to climate change and drastically presents this outcome to the audience. Although the campaigns in this analysis approach fear-evoking images in a more subtle way, direct human involvement is never mentioned.

The fear-evoking images seen in the campaigns only address the fear of polar bears becoming extinct and/or drowning as a result of depleted sea ice. As an illustration, CBD’s polar bear campaign addresses fear by making the audience aware that due to the melting sea ice, polar bear populations are decreasing and two-thirds of polar bears might be extinct by 2050 (Center for Biological Diversity, 2011). Incidentally, the campaigns use fear-evoking images to get the audience to contribute to the conservation of the polar bear habitat and/or the research and activities performed by the organization. Although these actions can aid organizations in their research and campaign activities, habitat conservation depends on the audience’s contribution in reducing the effects of climate change. These emotional appeals in campaigns serve as a method to grasp the attention and interest of the audience and in turn create a link between their emotions and polar bears. In addition, emotional appeals persuade the audiences to believe that the polar bears need to be saved.

It’s really not about polar bears any more...



Figure 2: It's really not about polar bears any more (Plane Stupid video).

Anthropomorphism

Anthropomorphism is defined as “the tendency to imbue the real or imagined behavior of nonhuman agents with humanlike characteristics” (Epley, Waytz, & Cacioppo, 2007). Specifically, this study looks at the humanlike characteristics given to polar bears. De Waal (2001) suggests that “closeness to animals creates a desire to understand them, and not just a little piece of them, but the whole animal;” by doing so, “we employ all available weapons in this endeavor, including extrapolations from human behavior” (p. 40). Furthermore, de Waal (2001) implies the need to distinguish between animalcentric anthropomorphism and anthropocentric anthropomorphism. De Waal (2001) explains that animalcentric anthropomorphism takes the animal’s perspective and anthropocentric anthropomorphism takes the human’s perspective. De Waal (2001) states:

Anthropomorphism comes in many shapes and forms. The type to be treated with caution is the naïve, humanizing (anthropocentric) type. Most students

of animal behavior, however, try to understand animals on their own terms. Animalcentric anthropomorphism is a common heuristic tool: it generates testable ideas. (p. 77)

De Waal (2001) explains to use anthropomorphism properly it should be viewed as means rather than an end, and “It should not be our goal to find some quality in an animal that is precisely equivalent to some aspect of our own inner lives. Rather, we should use the fact that we are animals to develop ideas we can put to test” (p. 78).

For example, the Environmental Defense Fund published a story about the difficult journey a polar bear family encounters in a world affected by climate change. In the story titled *Polar Bear Odyssey*, the polar bears are given an Inuit name (indigenous people of the Arctic): Aakaga (mother), Qannik (snowflake), and Siku (ice) (Environmental Defense Fund, 2011). According to Sowards (2006), the “process of naming gives [animals] individuality and emphasizes their human characteristics” (p. 53). EDF personalizes the polar bears in the story and designates a section for readers to meet them. The section describes the polar bears with greater detail and describes the polar bear using human characteristics.

In 2010, Nissan released an advertisement for their new electric car, the Nissan Leaf.™ In the commercial, a polar bear journeys from its environment in a polar region through North America, and finally to a house to embrace the new owner of the Nissan Leaf.™ One scene is that of the polar bear under a bridge while it is raining outside, the polar bear appearing to be sad. The final embrace with the human can be perceived as anthropomorphizing the polar bear. The polar bear and human embrace represents that the polar bear knows the effects of the automotive industry on its habitat, and is grateful to this Nissan Leaf consumer for choosing an electric car.



Figure 3: Nissan Leaf™

WWF campaigns are contingent on the audience's financial contribution for the construction of a successful campaign. Usually the contribution is rewarded with some form of incentive. The concept of adopting an animal encourages audience interaction and identification, in hopes of increasing donations. For this reason, WWF allows the audience to symbolically adopt a polar bear. The adoptions range from US\$25 - US\$250 and incentives range from a certificate to a 30" plush polar bear. Although the adoption is purely emblematic, the idea of adopting a polar bear can be constructed simultaneously as a bridge and separation between the human world and the natural world. The concepts of climate change and polar bears are much more complex and require more action from the audience. While adoption of a polar bear might make the audience feel like they are contributing to the cause, the issue of climate change requires much more commitment to action.

Additionally, several zoos worldwide allow for the symbolic adoption of animals with proceeds of the adoption going towards the conservation of the adoptive animal. However, the dilemma over zoos has been around since the mid-1900s and by the 1970s “rose to a constant critique that has shaped much of the ongoing dialogue among zoo professionals, interdisciplinary scholars, animal rights activists, and others” (Milstein, 2009, p. 29). Hanson (2002) argues that

zoos are “a middle ground between science and showmanship, high culture and low, remote forest and cement cityscape, and wild animals and urban people” (p. 7). Furthermore, Mullan and Marvin (1999) state that “the presentation of captive wild animals in the zoos reveals more about the human societies which have constructed them – and whose members roam freely through them – than about the animals which are confined within them” (p. xviii). The German polar bear Knut was an international sensation and a famous attraction at the Berlin Zoo when he was born in 2006. The polar bear captivated the hearts of German citizens and people around the world. Consequently, the news of his sudden death in March 2011 was mourned worldwide. Although many speculations of his death were made, i.e. taunting by female bears or negligence, on April 1, 2011 reports stated that Knut’s sudden death was due to drowning after falling into his pools because of brain swelling (Moulson, 2011).

According to Sowards (2006), personification of animals “occurs through describing them as babies who could be human and need to be mothered just as human infants require” (p. 53). The personification of Knut began when his zookeeper, Thomas Dörflein, decided to care for the polar bear. At times Dörflein slept in the same room as Knut in order to give the polar bear his required bottle every two hours (Moulson, 2011). Dörflein and Knut formed a special bond that was noticeable to visitors and other zookeepers at the Berlin Zoo. The anthropomorphizing of polar bears constructs a connection between the human world and the natural world. It also serves as an exploration into unfamiliar territory such as that of the polar bear. Furthermore, the audience is able to relate with the polar bears because they project human qualities, which enables identification, but perhaps contributes to anthropocentric anthropomorphism in which audiences do not understand the broader implications of what polar bears mean in terms of climate change and species protection.

Irreparable/ Hope

In attempting to create audience action, there are three forms in which polar bears are discussed in the campaigns. First, polar bears are seen as harmless, defenseless creatures that need to be helped. Second, campaigns tend to alarm the audience of the danger of apathy, by using the locus of the irreparable, to address “a way of organizing our perceptions of a situation involving decision or action; its use calls attention to the *unique* and *precarious* nature of some object or state of affairs, and stresses the *timeliness* of our relationship to it” (emphasis in original, Cox, 1982, p. 229). Furthermore, Chadwick (2009) states that the locus of the irreparable “often leads to longer contemplation of action, more information seeking, incremental action that leaves open the option of deciding later,... and/or extraordinary measure to protect the unique for being lost” (p. 7). According to Chadwick (2009), “instead of creating a problem-focused vision that encourages limits and restraint, the rhetoric of hope would create an opportunity-focused vision that builds excitement and enthusiasm” (p. 18).

Several videos represent the locus of the irreparable and the possibilities of hope, such as those from WWF were “Polar Bears – Victims Of Climate Change” from WWF Belgium, “WWF – Help Save Polar Bears” from WWF United Kingdom, and “Polar Bears In Peril” from WWF Canada. These videos addressed the importance of audience participation for the welfare of polar bears, while using locus of irreparable as a mechanism. The ad from WWF Belgium was made as if the polar bears were communicating with the audience. The informative ad enlightens the audience of the polar bear’s habitat and addresses major issues that are causing its endangerment. For example, the polar bear articulates to the audience how it is able to survive in the arctic, “With a good layer of fat and a thick fur, I’m well equipped to face the severe cold,” and talks about the threat of climate change: “With global warming the ice is melting and I have to swim

further and further away to find food. It's exhausting. For us it is more than time. Choose public transport. Act now" (WWF Belgium, 2008). The ad suggests that the use of public transportation will decrease the effect of climate change and in a subtle way, informs the audience that it is a matter of time before polar bears vanish.

The ad from the United Kingdom takes a more drastic approach by insinuating that the polar bears are already becoming extinct and the audience needs to take action immediately. For example, the ad starts by saying, "Are you ready to say goodbye to the polar bear?" and proceeds to explain that polar bears hunt and raise their young in the Arctic but the "ice is shrinking" (WWF United Kingdom, 2009). Furthermore, the ad poses a question to the audience, "When the ice goes where do the polar bears go?" (WWF United Kingdom, 2009). In order to protect their Arctic habitat, WWF pleads to their audience to call, text bear to 82727, or go online and adopt a polar bear today; "because we don't want to say goodbye forever" (WWF United Kingdom, 2009).

WWF Canada (2008) followed the same model in their ad "Polar Bears in Peril." Actor and WWF supporter Noah Wyle narrates the story. Wyle explains that polar bears are struggling to survive due to the ice "melting all around them" and food "becoming harder to find as they lose their hunting grounds" (WWF Canada). As an explanation for the melting of the Arctic, WWF Canada (2008) implies that, "Climate change is happening right now and it's leaving mothers weaker and unable to provide for their young, and cubs are dying without enough to eat" and "polar bears are one of the first victims at risk of extinction" (WWF Canada, 2008). Furthermore, Wyle urges the audience to take action by either calling or going to the WWF website: "If we don't act now it could be too late for polar bears. It's all up to us, please call or go online right now" (WWF Canada, 2008). Pleading to the audience, WWF implies that the lives of polar bears depend upon audience empathy.

Although *Polar Bear Odyssey* is a fictional story, the Environmental Defense Fund tale tries to educate the audience on the dangers polar bears encounter in the Arctic while they venture from the inland maternity den to the Arctic sea. Throughout the story, EDF reiterates the importance and intricacy involved in finding a good ice pack. For example, the story states that getting to an ice pack "before it breaks up and melts is like making or missing the only train out of town – and the 'train' is leaving a bit earlier every year because global warming is melting the pack ice faster" (Environmental Defense Fund, 2011). EDF implores their audience to take action and help fight climate change by either contacting a member of Congress or donating to the organization:

You can do your part right now by making a donation and/or by contacting your members of Congress to support a strong climate and energy bill. With your help, we can save Aakaga, Qannik, Siku, and thousands of other polar bears just like them. (Environmental Defense Fund, 2011)

In the second publication of *Polar Bear Odyssey* (2011), EDF published more detailed information on the risk polar bears face. For example, in the previous edition EDF explained that climate change was changing the polar bears' habitat. Although the first edition did mention that climate change has had an impact on the Arctic sea ice, it did not provide an explanation of how this is achieved. However, in the second edition an overview of climate change is provided. The story explains that, "pollution from around the world leads to the accumulation of greenhouse gasses in the atmosphere; the gasses trap solar heat and increase temperatures" (Environmental Defense Fund, 2011, part 2, para.5). Furthermore, "Once the Arctic was icebound year-round; now the amount of open ocean is increasing each year as rising temperatures melt the ice a little earlier each spring" (Environmental Defense Fund, 2011, part 2, para.5). The EDF provides

information on climate change in an attempt to keep the reader informed of the dangers polar bears are confronted with.

Although the Coca-Cola Company speaks of the risk polar bears are threatened with, it does not frame the issue as irreparable. With its polar bear support fund, the Coca-Cola Company is contributing to four main research areas: polar bear patrol in Russia, research and collaring, conservation planning, and impact studies. A website has been created in order for the audience to familiarize themselves with polar bears and “what you can do to help the planet” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011b). The audience is encouraged to “send a polar bear e-card to a friend, make a donation to WWF or ‘adopt’ a polar bear. Whether you do one thing or do them all, you can make a difference” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011b). Additionally, the website serves as an education tool for the audience to familiarize themselves with polar bears and climate change. For example, the website displays a map of the polar bear population’s location in the Arctic. Below the map, the caption reads, “spread out across the Arctic, polar bears can be found in northern Canada, Alaska, Greenland, Norway and Russia. Estimated to number approximately 22,000, polar bears live on the sea ice, a platform from which they hunt for food” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011b). Since “polar bears are dependent on the sea ice, the changing climate and subsequent melting of the ice puts the polar bear at risk” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011b).

The website also informs the audience of how they can help fight climate change. Suggestions on how to reduce our human impact on climate change are listed under the “Take Action” tab. These suggestions are broken down into three categories: “Be Climate Conscious,” “Conserve Water,” and “Recycle and Reuse” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011b). The suggestions listed are simple steps anybody can take. For example, under the “Be Climate Conscious” tab, the Coca-Cola Company advises the audience to “unplug your phone, laptop, and MP3 charger when you’re not using them” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011b). Another recommendation under “Conserve Water” is “turn off water while you brush teeth” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011b).

In another corporate campaign, the Nissan Leaf™ commercial also opts out of using the locus of the irreparable. Instead, the commercial has a positive message and does not insist on the financial contribution of the audience. Rather than using a scare tactic, it gives the audience hope that the automotive industry is taking the effects of climate change seriously. The description of the commercial reads as follows, “Seeing its arctic home melting away, a lone polar bear sets out on a great journey to thank someone who’s trying to help” (Nissan USA, 2010). We learn from the “Nissan Leaf™ Commercial – Behind The Scenes” (Autoblogvideo, 2010) that a real polar bear, Aggie, was used for many of the scenes, particularly for the bear and human embrace (see figure 3). The images of the Arctic and the polar bear were taken from nature documentary footage and other images were digitalized (Autoblogvideo, 2010). The commercial crew members described the polar bear as “astonishing,” “real beautiful,” “cuddly,” and “pretty cool” (Autoblogvideo, 2010). The commercial finalizes with the phrase, “The 100% electric Nissan Leaf™. Innovation for the planet, innovation for all” (Nissan USA, 2010).

Polar Bears and Commercialization

It is significant to note that polar bears have also been featured in advertisements that have no relation to climate change. For example, the Coca-Cola Company has featured polar bears in their product advertisements for several years. In 1993, the Coca-Cola Company released its first polar bear commercial (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011a). In the commercial, a group of polar bears gathered to watch the aurora borealis (the Northern lights) while drinking a Coca-Cola. Ken Stewart, the creator of the commercial, developed the commercial from the idea that people drink soda when they are at the movies (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011a). For the polar

bears, the aurora borealis represented the movies. After this successful advertisement, the Coca-Cola Company released several commercials during the winter holidays, making the polar bear a symbol of family unity during the holidays.

Similarly, an Australian company has a polar bear as part of the design of their label, Bundaberg Rum (Bundaberg Distilling Co., 2011). In 1994, Bundaberg Rum released an ad that featured polar bears drinking the rum. The polar bears are seen interacting with humans at a bar while drinking. Additionally, Bundaberg Rum has a polar bear mascot to promote their product. Bundy R. Bear is featured in their modern advertisements. Unlike the previous representations of polar bears who mother their cubs, Bundy is depicted in a more masculine way. The image of a vulnerable, harmless polar bear is stripped creating an image that appeals to a consumer audience.

To summarize, throughout this study, four major themes were evident in the campaigns: image events, emotionality, anthropomorphism, and irreparable/hope. The campaigns in this analysis strive to bring awareness to the issue of climate change and the endangerment of polar bears through various means such as video advertisements and visual illustrations found in campaign websites. Moreover, the campaigns target audiences that recognize climate change as a problem by connecting polar bears to the issue of climate change. Audiences who perceive something can be done to solve the problem are able to contribute to the cause by donation to the campaign, adoption of a polar bear, or by the specific required action in the advertisement (e.g., choosing public transportation). The campaigns also targeted audiences with different levels of involvement by allowing the audience to participate through various resources (e.g., donation, adoption, social networking, and organization membership).

Conclusion

Despite the fact that the campaigns in this study purport to successfully use polar bears to raise awareness for climate change, the issue is much larger and requires additional public collaboration. The reduction of the climate change issue to the problems facing polar bears leads to the loss of information, which leaves the audience unaware of the severity of climate change and how it impinges on their lives. However, audiences can relate to polar bears which therefore make them a good symbolic representation of climate change problems. Campaigns have used illustrations of polar bears to create an emotional connection with the audience. Usually images of happiness/love are used to engage the audience, such as the commonly used images of a mother polar bear and her cub(s). These images depict a softer side of the great white bear and enable the audience to see them as nurturing. However, when it comes to requesting financial contributions from the audience, campaigns use images that can be considered as appealing to negative emotions as well. Images portraying polar bears alone on ice, swimming, and/or drowning are commonly used as a means to invoke audience action through appeal to emotion.

Audience participation in environmental campaigns must go beyond a simple donation or adoption. The low-effort solutions proposed by these campaigns allow only for a temporary reduction in personal guilt. The only campaign that promoted individual change was the Coca-Cola Company. The Coca-Cola Company made the audience aware of their active role in combating climate change, even though their advertisements are highly commercialized. Moreover, a better understanding of the polar bear's habitat is required in order to fully comprehend the magnitude of the issue. Kaplan and Rogers (1995) state that, "by recognizing that nature has its own laws and rules for survival, it is possible to live with nature and use it, but also put something back and allow it to be maintained" (p. 6). In addition, the majority of the campaigns, WWF, EDF, CBC, focus on the effects that climate change has on the polar bear's

habitat, but fail to address any of the causes of climate change. One advertisement, Plane Stupid, focuses solely on aviation as a cause of climate change, but provides no additional resources about polar bears.

The two companies in this study are also associated with the ideology of consumerism. Although the products may want to promote climate change awareness, the underlying strategy is to create an identity with consumers. If the public buys products that promote climate change awareness, then the consumers are indirectly contributing to the cause the company is promoting. However, in consuming these products the audience tends to contribute more to the problem of climate change by being unaware of the manufacturing and distribution of the product. In order to implement successful climate change campaigns, it is vital to address the causes and effects of climate change. In doing so, we must take responsibility for our actions and rethink our individual lifestyles. The tragedy of the commons for allows a re-evaluation of the way individuals use and understand our environments. Hardin (1968) stated that “the individual benefits as an individual from his ability to deny the truth even though society as a whole, of which he is part, suffers” (p. 1244). Since individuals are concerned with individual fulfillment, available resources are in turn exploited. Hardin (1968) suggested the management of such resources is necessary in order to achieve sustainability.

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VII. ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO CRISES

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A CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY AND VOICE IN EMERGENCY RESPONSE EFFORTS

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Abstract

Effective and efficient communication during all phases of an emergency response effort has the potential to impact the outcome of the situation. The results of a case study analysis of a semi-rural community in Pennsylvania led to the identification and understanding of where and how the multifaceted emergency response protocol became ineffective. This analysis supports the view that emergency response efforts should be scaled up or rehearsed, using simulations in the community with responders and community residents rather than relying on table top simulations or discussions with key responders regarding how an emergency response effort should be managed.

Keywords: *Crisis Communication, Emergency Response Protocol, Community Involvement*

When a society is affected by a sudden perturbation in which life, property, the environment, or social values are threatened, various organizations become involved in an attempt to reduce the negative consequences of the event in question. The personnel and artifacts involved in a response operation forms an emergency response system. (Uhr, Johansson, & Fredholm, 2008, p. 80)

General systems theory posits that a system is a gestalt and features three characteristics: hierarchical ordering, or the organization of the system components; interdependence or the reality that the actions of one system component impacts the performance of the other system components; and permeable boundaries or the ability for information to flow and be addressed, which leads to a decision that again impacts the functionality of the entire system. The management of an emergency response situation requires profound organization, response to feedback, and continuous improvement. Responders and response plans must be designed to manage two types of crises instigated by diverse sources: human-induced, such as: workplace violence, accidents and fraud; and, natural disasters, such as: hurricanes, tornadoes, floods, fires and earthquakes. Two types of exercises can be employed to test, evaluate, and assess response readiness, planning, and effectiveness: discussion-based exercises and operations-based exercises. In the Columbia University Center for Health Policy publication, *Public Health Emergency*

Exercise Toolkit, the difference between the two types of exercises is described as discussion-based and action-based. Action-based drills are categorized as using operations-based exercises, which can be functional or full scale. Functional exercises focus on testing and evaluating an emergency response system's capabilities, while a full-scale drill requires physical participation by all involved in the effort, and is designed to test and evaluate the emergency operations plan in an interactive manner over time.

This case study explores an emergency response hierarchy and the effectiveness of the discussion-based table top drill, to prepare responders to manage all the elements of a live crisis event. Fowkes, Blossom, Sandrock, Mitchell and Brandstein (2010) explain that table top drills work as "professionals gathered at a conference table, assigned roles to play in a specific disaster scenario, enacted the scenario and evaluated together their approaches and needs for improvement" (p. 513). Table top drill participants discuss what they would do to manage the crisis based on the given scenario. An associated strength of table top drills is the ability to discuss anticipated actions and potential consequences of inaction. An associated weakness of table top drills is participants' exposure to the management of personal and community emotions, and physical limitations caused by the crisis.

Review of the Literature

Emergency Planning

Past research suggests that any improvement in emergency response generates a positive outcome. Fegley and Victor (2005) studied employee perceptions of crisis and disaster planning and found that less than 60% of respondents identified their organization's plan for managing a crisis as acceptable. Earlier research by Mitroff and Alpasian (2003) revealed that less than 30% of organizations were rated as being prepared for crisis. The August 28, 2005 natural disaster in the western Gulf Coast, Hurricane Katrina, was another emergency planning prompt. Hutchings, Annulis, and Gaudet (2008) studied performance improvement professionals in organizations from the Katrina-impacted areas and found organizations acknowledged understanding crisis plan components as: crisis communication plans, crisis management teams, simulations and drills, and business continuity plans. However, less than 50% reported having all the aforementioned components.

Evidence supports the view that emergency response plans were ineffective despite the heightened awareness ignited by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks (9/11) and Hurricane Katrina. Fowkes et al. (2010), while studying the impact of specific training modules for emergency preparedness in the Community Health sector, found that 91% of the organizations involved in table top drill exercises improved one or more components of their emergency response plans. Further, the researchers indicated that table top exercises provide a means to "begin a dialogue before an emergency happens" (p. 518). Research supports that conversing about crisis response and generating and rehearsing plans is a starting point. Peterson and Perry (1999) prepared a comprehensive review of training exercises to promote dialogue about response strategies. However, effective response efforts include development and execution of the components of an entire crisis plan: crisis communication plans, crisis management teams, simulations and drills, and business continuity plans.

As experienced during the critical wake-up call delivered on 9/11, the interdependent nature of emergency management became real. Emergency response procedures and responders' roles in our everyday lives were front page news during and after the attacks on the United States.

As a result of the massive threat to U. S. citizens' safety, major changes were implemented and the Committee on Homeland Security was formed. Close scrutiny of a master plan to more efficiently and effectively address emergency response measures also occurred. Unfortunately, the ineffective implementation of emergency response measures and subsequent misallocation of resources during Hurricane Katrina forced the Federal Emergency Management Association to reassess its effectiveness again, and, more closely examine the interrelated parts of the highly dynamic emergency response system.

Government Perspective

As a result of the aforementioned crises, our elected officials have attempted to strategically analyze the current state of emergency response efforts at a more individualized level of analysis. According to the testimony of Corey G. Gruber on June 13, 2007 before the Subcommittee on Emergency Communications, Preparedness and Response of the Committee on Homeland Security of the House of Representatives, "Emergency responders in America make up less than one percent of the U.S. population. This roughly translates to one firefighter for every 280 people, one sworn officer for every 385 people and one EMT/paramedic for every 325 people." Our elected officials and their respective advisory groups grappled with the reality of emergency response; contingent upon where people reside, access to emergency responders and sophisticated emergency response plans differ. For example, considering that there are seven people per square mile in Montana and one person per square mile in Alaska while the U. S. average is 87 people per square mile (*USA Today*, 2011), it is realistic to conclude that rural communities will face significant challenges, both financial and personnel, related to manage emergency response situations. In communities where there are dense populations, it is paramount that the Committee's findings be shared and appropriate measures be put in place to train community members about emergency response procedures.

Incident Command Structure

The structure of the emergency response process and the specific protocol executed at the time of a plan's implementation differs between and across communities; although there has been a strong effort at the state level to work with local emergency planning committees to generate similar plans based on templates provided by the state government. The United States Department of Labor has spearheaded improvement of emergency planning efforts through the Occupational Health and Safety Administration's website located at (http://www.osha.gov/SLTC/etools/ics/prepare_implement.html). The site provides a voluminous array of e-tools for all aspects of emergency response and outlines the components of the Incident Command System (ICS). ICS is a response structure initiated in the early 1970s to manage jurisdictional boundaries associated with wildfire response efforts and ensure that a specific person is in charge of the response effort and key areas such as: operations, planning, logistics, finance and administration, safety, information, and liaison. In the 1980s, state Incident Command Systems were transitioned into a national federal program, the National Interagency Incident Management System (NIMS) and numerous agencies have replicated their response system. The on-scene coordinator is the liaison between the myriad agencies. Responders at federal, state, and local levels are urged to work on contingency planning together to ensure that cross-trained participants understand what the other is managing during crisis events. While our elected officials have communicated the dire need for citizen involvement and local emergency responders have enhanced the training initiatives and relied on the American Red Cross to support their efforts, based on the case study

findings, there are still problems that need to be addressed to ensure effective management of future crises. The following section describes and analyzes how a community response effort was managed using community engaged research.

Method

Community Engaged Research Project

To explore the problems and potential solutions for crisis management, I worked with a Salvation Army coordinator for community efforts (referred to as Mr. S in the rest of this paper). The seeds of our service-learning relationship were planted in 2008 and have blossomed since that time as we have worked on various projects designed to enhance the quality of life of the local community. As a community partner, we often discussed how to motivate student involvement in community engaged research. Moxley (2005) explains community engaged research this way:

Researchers who undertake investigations through the lens of civic engagement may see their social responsibility as paramount and, as a consequence, they may gravitate towards those models of research that turn on action, incorporate service and research, and that are driven as much by the participants as they are by the investigators whose expertise actually may be limited by the controls and rigor colleagues in the academy may prize. (p. 236)

Due to a crisis situation in Mr. S's community and his direct involvement with the crisis, we realized that a macro- and micro-level understanding of what happened had the potential to generate ideas regarding how to improve the emergency response protocol for the community. Five students who enrolled in the graduate course, Professional Cases in Communications & Information Systems, agreed to undertake a community-engaged research project with the goal of generating a case study for academic presentation. The course components included: 1) learn case study method; 2) conduct secondary research on the legal, cultural, regulatory, and social aspects of emergency response planning, processes, and procedures; 3) conduct primary research (in-depth interviews, artifact analysis, focus groups) to understand familiarity and experience with emergency response planning, processes, and procedures in the community; and 4) apply the course readings, the text (Bolman & Deal's (2008) *Reframing Organizations*), and political, managerial, structural, and cultural components to the case. Aside from serving as the course instructor, I agreed to write a conference paper and publication if the results warranted such actions.

Case Study

Creswell (2007) acknowledges the different perspectives on case study as an approach or a method. For the purposes of this research effort, I adopt Creswell's definition of the case study method:

An investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes. (Creswell, 2007, p.73)

This single instrumental case study focuses on the issue of emergency response planning and the concern of a second-tier responder of being ill-prepared to perform the duties associated with

his position. Purposeful sampling was conducted with emergency responders and community residents, who were made easily available to our research team. Three in-depth interviews were conducted with the fire chief (FC), the local emergency management coordinator (EMC), and a second-tier responder (STR). Artifact analyses involved a thorough review of the community's newspaper until it ceased printing, texts written about the community and posted on websites, and a book published about the historical significance of the early residents of this community, and its economically thriving period as a result of industrialization. Secondary research was conducted to identify and understand the federal, state, and local laws governing emergency response protocol and planning procedures. The community's Emergency Response Plan was also analyzed.

The research questions that guided the in-depth interviews, artifact analysis, and secondary research were:

RQ1: What emergency response procedures does a small community in northwest Pennsylvania enact during crisis events?

RQ2: Do community residents have "voice" in emergency response planning and procedures?

RQ3: Are citizens prepared to help themselves and others during a natural (fire, hurricane, tornado), human-made (rail car derailment, act of terrorism) and/or technological (chemical release due to malfunction of equipment) crisis resulting in adverse impact to human health and/or the environment?

X Community Overview

To ensure the confidentiality of those who participated in our research project, real names have not been disclosed; participants are referenced with abbreviations: fire chief (FC), local emergency management coordinator (EMC), and second-tier responder (STR). The community's name will be referred to as X Community.

An analysis of the 2010 Census data describes the demographic characteristics of X Community as: predominately elderly, lower income, moderately educated (<50% pursue college) and white. Further, 51% of the current homes are rental properties and the average household income is less than \$35,000.00. From the 1920s through the early 1980s, residents found abundant employment opportunities in steel manufacturing and bridge construction. Those workers supported a checker board pattern of restaurants, bars, shopping establishments, and specialty shops on a bustling and sprawling Main Street. Today, the doors of those proverbial gold mines have shut and the once beautifully decorated storefronts now display "For Sale" or "For Rent" signs, or have become home to retailers and entrepreneurs that cater to an economically struggling community. X Community is repositioning itself to pursue new forms of commerce under the leadership of Mr. S., who has devoted this phase of his life to rebuilding the community. He is concerned that youth have limited recreational and work options. Bridges connect both sides of the community with other communities; bridges that lead residents to employment elsewhere and move passers-by quickly through the heart of town via Main Street. Several manufacturing sites lie at the end of one bridge and due to the type of products manufactured in these factories, there is a need for on-going attention to emergency response measures. Running parallel to X Community's population of approximately 5,000 people, is a river that has tormented community residents with floods. The railroad serves as a line of demarcation with lower income residents living near the river and literally beside the railroad tracks. According to the latest available emergency plan, (*X Community Borough Emergency Management Agency Natural or Man-caused Emergency Disaster Operations*, 2001), the community is threatened by the following

potential crises: flooding, hazardous materials accidents, storms, tornados, dam failure, droughts, nuclear power plant accidents, and nuclear attacks.

In an unusual incident, the temperature, precipitation, and technology collided one evening in January to prompt testing of the emergency response plan. Storms pounded the East Coast with a series of what appeared to be never ending snow. One storm, in particular, had significant impact on communities in and around Pennsylvania, where the preponderance of snow events had virtually blanketed the area in frozen ice and snow. Relentless travel advisories were issued, highways were closed, and pleas by the governor, state police, and local media to stay indoors until the snow stopped and snow removal crews had the ability to carve a path through the thick snow monopolized all forms of communication. Power outages were rampant leaving many communities' residents scrambling for a means to keep warm. In this quaint aging community nestled between a heavy industrial area and a university, residents live in homes perfectly aligned on tiered mountainsides that are difficult to traverse on a warm sunny day.

On one frigid evening, the unfathomable occurred: the community's only plow truck died during the storm that blanketed the already glistening hillsides with another 48 to 72 inches of pristine white snow. With no power, no access to roads, and no end to the blinding swirling frozen water, those who were young enough to grab a shovel and "dig out" started their extensive workouts. They soon realized they had no place to go with the snow. To complicate the situation, it became apparent that something was going to have to be done to address the number of elderly residents who needed to be rescued and taken to shelters for warmth and nutrition. The decision to implement the community's emergency response plan was made and the transformation of common townspeople to snow mobile-riding sled-carrying saviors was quickly underway. The first level of response protocol unfolded smoothly as it has always done. The Emergency Management Coordinator (EMC) commented that his men "were ready for the challenge and delivered like they always do" (EMC, personal communication, March 18, 2010). Folks were found, bundled, and brought to a location with a generator to ensure they were safe and comfortable. "I had ensured that everyone who needed to be moved to a safe place was moved and was safe. My job wasn't to manage the next phase of the response effort" (EMC, personal communication, March 18, 2010). It was the second-tier of the emergency response plan or those who support the initial rescue effort that ran amuck. First-tier responders typically rehearse response strategies to simulated crisis events using a table top protocol or "talking through" what each participant in the process should do. Second-tier responders do not always participate in the table top drills (EMC, STR, personal communication, April 5, 2009).

Second-Tier Responders

An individual from the community who is intimately involved with the people of this small town also doubles as the Salvation Army coordinator during emergency response events. When he learned that certain residents would be moved to safer conditions, he contacted the Emergency Response Coordinator to identify where to take people without heat and food. He learned through word-of-mouth that the local high school was the staging area during crisis. One person proclaimed that the road to the high school was "like a roller coaster ride with snake turns every 500 feet on a road that rises and falls at regular intervals as you climb to the top of a large mountain" (focus group participant, personal communication, March 24, 2010). Another problem with the school's location is its distance from the center of town, and snow removal. The second-tier responder had not secured cots, food, or a means to get to the school. "I was completely clueless. I didn't know where to go or how to help the very people I was supposed to protect in a crisis situation," explained STR. "In fact, I really wasn't certain that all these tasks

belonged to me. I also realized that I had no lists, no contacts or any real go-to person. I was alone and I don't want this to happen again" (STR, personal communication, March 26, 2010).

Trinity of Voice

To explain the problems that the second-tier responders faced, I now turn to scholarship on what is called, "Trinity of Voice." Communication scholars generally and environmental scholars specifically have called for colleagues within the discipline to develop theories that describe and explain our respective phenomena (Cox, 2007; Cantrill, 2004; Depoe, 2007; Walker, Senecah, & Daniels, 2005). The ability for a person or group to "voice" or "have a voice" has been studied by numerous scholars in a range of disciplines as well as the use of the other's voice in decision making in different contexts (Ekali, 2006). While there has been some progress in this area, the on-going research on participation and communication in environmental decision-making by Susan Senecah has culminated in the development of her Trinity of Voice theory. Senecah (2004) adapted her theory from Schultz's (1958) Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation (FIRO) theory where inclusion, control, and affection influence behavior in small groups. Senecah's work analyzes the complex, omnipresent, and competing voices in the decision-making process typically associated with government sponsored public meetings. She hones the context to decision making issues surrounding the environment and promotes the perspective that: 1) science/technical concerns are communicated in a vernacular designed to confuse or disorient the listener; 2) government agency voices are established as the "norm" of how something will occur; and 3) the amount of authority the government agency actually wields in the decision-making process overwhelms those who wish to voice concerns. Thus, they are often public voices that are not heard. Senecah addresses how the public is included in decision making processes by studying what level of involvement is invited and if participation is ritualistic, bona fide, or simply a hoop through which the public jumps.

Her research culminated in the development of a three pronged theory. The three fundamental components of the Trinity of Voice include: 1) Access – opportunities to feel safe to communicate as well as to garner access to express ideas/concerns and critically review information; 2) Standing – civic legitimacy, respect, and esteem; and 3) Influence - respectful consideration of all stakeholders' perspectives in decision-making. Senecah explains that when the Trinity of Voice is functional there is the development and maintenance of an "on-going relationship of trust building to enhance community cohesiveness and capacity" (2004, p. 23). Case study data were used to analyze emergency response processes and procedures through the lens of the Trinity of Voice.

Results

The first research question was designed to explore what documents the community responders maintained and how the response structure was designed. The EMC explained that he and his men had been working together for years and that they had very little need to introduce outsiders into the process: "Emergency response is as much about the people you know in similar roles as the plan you develop to respond to an event" (EMC, personal communication, March 18, 2010). For example, the EMC discussed how when the plow broke, he was able to make a few telephone calls and locate a new plow. Because it was an extenuating situation involving emergency conditions, the purchase of the plow did not need to be approved by the Borough Council and the deal was done. He explained that the emergency response culture is like family: "We are all there to help each other" (EMC, personal communication, March 18, 2010).

In response to the second research question, regarding the enactment of emergency response procedures, the EMC reviewed with our research team the community's response plan, dated from 2002. We contacted several of the telephone numbers associated with individuals who would be aiding the effort and found they were no longer in service. X Community's Emergency Operations Plan mimics the traditional Incident Command Structure – hierarchical, military-like structure with no deviation. The first-tier responders know responsibilities and perform duties. Second-tier responders are not given much direction nor held accountable for assessment. In fact, the diagram simply had a box that included the person with no substantive or guiding additional information. While the EMC served the community as a fire fighter for 30 years, he also served as fire chief for 10 years and the Emergency Management Coordinator for a number of years. In his role as EMC, he maintains a copy of the Pennsylvania Emergency Management template which is a fill-in-the-blank document detailing standard operating procedures for the state. The EMC explained that the procedures are regularly reviewed and cover first response issues of getting people out of potentially unsafe situations. Figure 1 depicts the Emergency Operations Plan (EOP) that is activated during a crisis event.

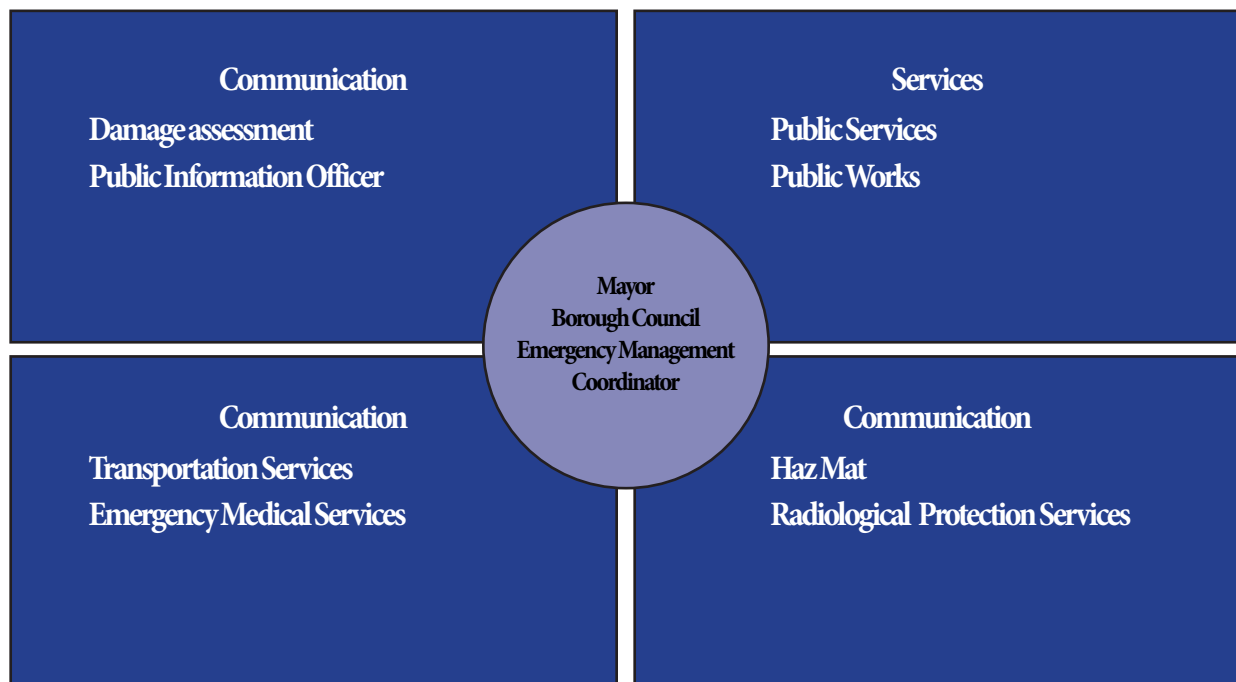


Figure 1: Members of the Emergency Operations Plan (EOP) for X Community

The power to implement the EOP resides with the Mayor and Borough under the guidance of the Emergency Management Coordinator. The Public Information Officer communicates with media and other government agencies while the other units are focusing on establishing and maintaining the resources to perform their respective tasks, which are delineated in the plan for first-tier responders. During the event, the EMC is the commander and the other units are subordinate to him. Thus, the EOP is hierarchical in structure and interdependent in operation.

Research question two focused on understanding the Trinity of Voice and its role in emergency planning, specifically, how did the EMC communicate and listen to a diversity of perspectives (access) while being respectful (standing) and considerate of other's views (influence). The STR's in-depth interview was exceptionally telling regarding how little voice not only he, but other second-tier responders, had in the emergency response initiative. The

short answer to the question, “Do community residents have “voice” in emergency response planning and procedures?” is absolutely not. The Emergency Management Coordinator consistently communicated that he and his team were “doing our job” and any changes to the job description comes from the Borough Council through the Mayor or from the County Emergency Management Association through Pennsylvania Emergency Management Association through the Federal Emergency Management Association through the Department of Homeland Security. His focus on “his job” and not the effectiveness of the entire response initiative was troubling. During the in-depth interview with STR, he commented, “I am glad you folks are going to review this process because it’s obvious that my words fall on deaf ears and I am viewed as incompetent” (STR, personal communication, March 24, 2010).

X Community’s plan is developed using the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Association’s template under the guidance of the County Emergency Response Plan. Select participants develop the plan and while the plan is available, few review or provide comment. Those who developed the plan were satisfied with the results achieved to date: “We’ve had some minor problems with people not complying with our request, but by and large, we get it done” (EMC, personal communication, March 18, 2010). The EMC suggested that the public is not interested in participating in emergency response due to “lack of knowledge and expertise” with the process. The EMC does not reach out to the community to explain emergency response and does not conduct community drills to review what people should do and how they should do it. For example, shelter-in-place is a command given when a release from the chemical plant down the road has migrated or has the potential to migrate near the community and impact human health. When sheltering-in-place, the individual is to stay where he or she is located, close and cover the doors and windows to prevent external air flow, and listen to local media for additional information. When asked if people know what “shelter-in-place” means and how to do it, the EMC responded that “community knowledge wasn’t a part of his job” (personal communication, March 18, 2010). Emergency responders reside in a closed community; only those associated with the emergency planning process appear to have civic legitimacy and respect. Thus, standing for the community does not exist. The EMC explained that the mayor relies on his judgment in determining when to activate the plan: “This isn’t for novices; we are highly trained and capable responders.” Unfortunately, STR attempted to have voice, but was deafened:

I don’t want to be the one who abandons a community member. I wasn’t able to get a straight answer about where to go to find out what I am supposed to be doing and with whom to work. There are a lot of other volunteers out there who are asking me for guidance. We needed help and, hopefully, we’ll get answers about where to go from here. (STR, personal communication, March 24, 2010)

Research question three addressed the broader focus of effective emergency response: Are citizens prepared to help themselves and others during a natural (fire, hurricane, tornado), human-made (rail car derailment, act of terrorism), and/or technological (chemical release due to malfunction of equipment) crisis resulting in adverse impact to human health and/or the environment? As members of the emergency response team, volunteers were prepared to help themselves and others. Based on critical review of the emergency operations plan and in-depth interviews, it was determined that if the EMC leaves or is not available during a crisis, many areas would not be addressed with specific in-depth information. In short, the EMC maintained a call-out list on his cellular phone that would not be available to another commander. Second-tier responders were responders in name only. They were not trained to a level of adequate preparedness to aid others. When they requested additional clarification for their roles, their

questions were left unanswered.

Discussion

This research project aids our understanding of how important communication is to all aspects of an emergency response effort. The case study findings aid understanding of why residents in a small community were not moved to appropriate accommodations during a debilitating snow storm event. When those involved in the decision-making process attempted to communicate their concern about the lack of standing and influence they shared in emergency response procedures, they were denied access as well. At the present time, there exists limited trust in the ability to move forward together to continuously improve the effort. Residents and second-tier responders of X Community don't share a Trinity of Voice in emergency response planning and processes. The current development and implementation of the EM response process involves few community members in a non-response member capacity.

The current EM protocol relies on table top (discussion-based) drills rather than scale up (action-based) drills involving all members of a response effort to determine usability and reliability. Thus, second-tier responders are still denied access, standing, and influence. To exacerbate the situation, the EMC has not prepared emergency response personnel to effectively manage crises using existing structures, but relies on "old boy networks" for favors and to identify who in the emergency response system is interdependent and who is alienated. While the EMC's perspective is that "local citizens are disengaged from the process" due to myriad reasons: transient members of the community, age, interest, and awareness, he continues to assume that there is no community interest in participation rather than seeking out, cultivating, or motivating interested community members to participate in training programs for crisis response.

Using Bolman and Deal's organizational frames to analyze problems and processes, we offer a viable solution to STR's problem of being unprepared and feeling incompetent despite requests for assistance. Those members of the community who are interested in playing a more active role in the emergency response process have a viable alternative: the American Red Cross. This organization offers free volunteer training to ensure community preparedness in emergency events. Upon review of the program, Red Cross offers valuable response materials on their web site (<http://www.redcross.org/en/volunteer>) as well as opportunities to engage a trainer to assist the community with volunteer efforts. The next hurdle for the second-tier responders to overcome is the ability to motivate volunteer participation in the training as well as to demand standing, access, and influence in emergency response table top and scale up drills.

Research focused on the exploration of community infrastructure theory, which was developed within the Metamorphosis Project at the University of Southern California's Annenberg School for Communication for health communication campaigns, presents an interesting mode of information distribution. This is a community-based intervention system that has the potential to be adapted to emergency response situations. In short, a communication infrastructure consists of storytelling networks (STN) that are embedded with a communication action context (CAC). STNs are comprised of residents, community organizations, and local/ethnic media organizations that operate in clusters within and across community cliques. The CAC constrains or enables the STNs to function. In short, the components of community infrastructure theory have the potential to be used as a framework to motivate community involvement in the volunteer aspect of emergency response and link to the premise of emergency response initiatives to achieve independence.

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THE EFFECTS OF LEADERSHIP STYLES ON PUBLIC RECEPTIVENESS TO SPECIFIC CRISIS SITUATIONS: A SOUTH AFRICAN ENERGY CRISIS CASE STUDY

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Abstract

A public's able and willing support during a crisis is an important factor for organizations. The most effective forms of communication in such situations are likely to depend on the precise mix of the willingness/ability of the specific public. This exploratory study seeks to investigate the effects of leadership styles on public responsiveness to crisis communication. A pilot empirical study was implemented to test the most appropriate leadership style as perceived by university students in response to the South African energy crisis. If leaders understand and are better able to predict public responsiveness to specific leadership styles adopted in organizational communication during crisis, they can maximize their effectiveness in engendering appropriate responses and behaviors. Leadership styles are identified as powerful factors influencing effective individual performance and can be operationalized using the model defined by Hersey and Blanchard: incorporation of telling, selling, delegating, and participating modes (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982).

Keywords: *Leadership, Energy crisis, Crisis Communication, Public Responsiveness*

The importance of leadership and what constitutes good leadership has been a long time interest to researchers (Turner & Muller, 2005). More specifically, the importance of communication by leaders during times of crises has become paramount and has further sparked interest in this topic. This paper will focus on identifying the most effective leadership style in communicating with the public during an energy crisis. The case study which is analyzed is the Eskom energy crisis experienced in recent years in South Africa. Starting in 2007, South Africa saw its demand for electricity exceeding the supply. Eskom, which is Africa's largest supplier of electricity and generates 95% of the electricity used in South Africa, did not have a plan in place to deal with this situation which led to the widespread use of power blackouts to relieve the

pressure on the national grid (Company information, n.d.).

In this paper, I first discuss organizational crisis and specifically the energy crisis experienced by Eskom. I then examine the importance of leadership as a construct, and finally I look at which leadership styles are most effective in communicating with the public in order to gain their support in dealing with the crisis in the most efficient way.

Literature Review

Hersey and Blanchard's (1982) situational leadership theory postulated that leaders should adapt their leadership style to the maturity levels of their followers based mainly on how willing and able the followers are to perform the task required of them. This view differs substantially from that of Fiedler's (1967) contingency theory which focused on how leadership styles are difficult to change, surmising that different leaders would be needed to be successful in different situations. Situational leadership theory, however, states that leaders are able, and as such need to match their leadership style to the developmental level of their followers. Situational leadership theory is particularly useful in understanding crisis situations. Organizational crisis can broadly be described as situations which have the potential to escalate in intensity, fall under government or media scrutiny, jeopardize an organization's positive public image, or interfere with regular business operations (Fink, 1986). From this definition, it is clear that the public and other stakeholders may be affected by organizational crisis and therefore communication with these groups is vital for an organization. Mitroff & Pearson (1993) further describe organizational crisis as an incident or event that poses a threat to the organization's reputation and viability. According to these theorists, crises are comprised of five factors: they are highly visible, require immediate attention, contain an element of surprise, have a need for action, and, finally, are outside the organization's complete control. Adams and Roebuck (1997) further elaborate on the definition of crises and state that they often include threats to human lives, property, or the environment. Public support during a crisis has therefore been identified as an important success factor in dealing with a crisis and, in fact, group opinion formation process theory (Sturges, 1994) states that public opinion can apply pressure on an organization by conveying social norm steps.

This research project identifies which leadership is most effective in communicating with the South African public about the energy crisis in order to gain their support in effectively dealing with it. The research questions are as follows:

- o In the Eskom energy crisis, what are the effects of different leadership styles on public responsiveness to crisis communications?
- o What are the leadership style preferences of the South African population from a cultural standpoint?

The Eskom Energy Crisis Background

Eskom is the largest producer of electricity in Africa and operates a number of notable power stations, which mainly generate coal-fired electricity (Company information, n.d.). The energy crisis currently experienced in South Africa is of an extremely complex nature and it involves political, social, and environmental issues. From a political viewpoint, one of the major reasons why South Africa is currently experiencing this crisis is because in the late 1990s, the government attempted to privatize Eskom and as a result, their request to the government for funds to build a new power station was denied. The major problem was that private investment initiatives largely failed (Bayliss, 2008). From a social perspective, there seems to be a view that a culture of non-payment exists within the South African population. However, recent research

has shown that instead, many South Africans are simply not in a financial position to pay for water, let alone electricity (McDonald & Pape, 2002; Khunou, 2002; Fiil-Flynn, 2001). From an environmental view, theorists such as Eberhard and Van Horen (1995) highlight the fact that a lack of access to energy would be environmentally detrimental and dangerous for human well-being since many households in South Africa would be forced to use wood as fuel (leading to deforestation) or paraffin which is both poisonous and highly flammable. Extensive electrification was for the most part, the most practical solution to these potential environmental problems as energy was being consumed at a higher rate than it could be produced (Bennett, 2001).

Critics of Eskom's energy policy, like Bond (2002), argue that the policy of cut-offs (or load-shedding as it is more commonly known within the South African public) was a human rights disaster which undermined sustainable growth. Load shedding is basically planned blackouts to certain parts of the national grid based on a rotating schedule in order to relieve some of the demand pressures (Company information, n.d.). Despite this critique, load shedding continues to happen and in many cases the South African public does not have any advance knowledge nor have they been communicated with in an adequate manner regarding the crisis as a whole. Innovative and sustainable solutions to this problem need to be identified and to a large extent, the South African public may become essential in achieving these goals.

On the other hand, demand-management strategies have focused on encouraging the public to conserve energy during peak periods in order to reduce the incidents of load shedding (Company information, n.d.). However, I argue in this essay that leaders need to adapt their approach in communication with the public by looking at how willing and able and to what extent the public could become involved in attaining a more sustainable solution to the challenges currently faced. The problems experienced by Eskom can be summarized as follows: coal supply is diminishing, demand for electricity is increasing, and a lack of skilled labor continues to exist (Bayliss, 2008).

Crisis Communication

According to Mitroff & Pearson (1993), crises will almost always manifest through similar stages. In the first stage, there are usually early warning signs of the pending disaster which may either be dealt with or disregarded. During the next stage, which involves preparation and prevention, crisis teams and training are implemented if the crisis is not ignored. The third stage is damage containment which is designed to minimize the effects of the crisis. The next stage is recovery and the final stage is learning from the experience of managing the crisis. For the most part, the Eskom energy crisis is currently in the third stage of damage containment.

Questions around cause, public perception, resolution and consequences are inherently imbedded in the uncertainty which surrounds organizational crises (Lerbinger, 1997). Understanding which leadership style would be most strategically useful in communicating with the public during these times proves to be an important factor in reducing uncertainty around these concerns. Stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984) identifies groups or individuals who are affected by how organizations and managers respond to or deal with these groups or individuals (Frooman, 1999). Organizations need to constantly be aware of who their stakeholders are in order to effectively communicate with them. More specifically, in terms of Hersey and Blanchard's situational leadership theory (1982), they need to be aware of the developmental maturity of the stakeholders in order to effectively communicate with them.

The public can fall within different stakeholder categories as explained by Dougherty (1992). These categories include enabling publics, functional publics, normative publics, and diffused publics. In this case, the South Africa public with whom Eskom has to deal with would

include individuals from all these groups such as stockholders, trade unions, environmentalists, and the community at large. One of the intentions of strategic communication during a crisis is to manage public perception of the organization, and in many cases, some of the key objectives of communication may be to inform, convince, or motivate the public to action (Ray, 1999). With knowledge of the developmental stage of the public, leaders are therefore better able to predict which leadership approach would be most successful in achieving these objectives. A final element which may influence how leaders communicate with the public would be considerations of culture since it dictates what the audience considers appropriate and may ultimately impact whether an organization accepts responsibility or makes excuses during a crisis (Ray, 1999). Culture may also play a role in which qualities the public values in a leader (Dickson, Hartog & Mitchelson, 2003).

Importance of Public Support During a Crisis

The study of crisis communication is highly dynamic and an increasingly important area for leaders to understand since intense crises are ubiquitous in our current global economy. Charles Perrow (1984), for example, stated that as society's desire to build increases, our dependence on technological elements will ultimately increase our vulnerability to crises. Therefore, public support during a crisis is an important factor for organizations when faced with the issues of a global economy. Group opinion formation process theory (Sturges, 1994) states that public opinion can apply pressure on an organization by conveying social norms, which means that leadership styles are powerful factors influencing effective performance of an organization. Heath (2006) identified a number of best practices with regards to crisis communication, highlighting that collaboration and coordination with credible sources often facilitates identification of experts who are able to provide credible or useful suggestions to the organization. This best practice is most sensible if the public is identified as having high competence and are willing to get involved in dealing with the crisis.

Leaders play a key role in crisis situations and often act as a repository for people's fears as well as ensuring that the vision of the organization is kept in sight (Sapriel, 2003). One practice that many organizations could profitably utilize involves the establishment of pre-crisis relationships with stakeholders. Heath (1997) contends that it is beneficial for organizations as well as relevant stakeholders to build relationships with an emphasis on corporate responsibility. Organizations should aim to meet public expectations by establishing standards of corporate responsibility. The two-way communication which results from this process may assist the organization in averting the full effects of a crisis. The chosen leadership style also has an effect on the extent and nature of this communication.

Leadership and Crisis Management

Literature on crisis management emphasizes the importance of effective leadership communication (Benoit, 1995; Coombs, 1999; Newsom, Turk, & Kruckeberg, 2000). Volumes of literature exist that cover the topic of leadership, and many leadership theorists believe that leadership really makes a difference, (Bass, 1990; Burke & Day, 1986) yet leadership still remains one of the least understood concepts of human behavior (Hooper & Potter, 1997). Ralph Stogdill (1974) identified more than 160 different definitions of leadership and today there are probably many more. Jago offers this definition of leadership that is useful in understanding the broader processes of leadership:

Leadership can be defined as both a process and a property. The process of

leadership is the use of non-coercive influence to direct and coordinate the activities of the members of an organized group toward the accomplishment of group objectives. As a property, leadership is the set of qualities or characteristics attributed to those who are perceived to successfully employ such influence [sic]. (emphasis in original, Jago, 1982, p. 315)

The three dominant leadership theories seem to be those which fall into either the universalist (trait) approaches, the behavioral approaches, or the situational approaches (Johns & Saks, 2005).

Universalist Approaches

The major discussion surrounding leadership from the universalist approach is about whether leaders are made or born. Trait theories are part of the universalist approaches and they assume that leaders possess a specific set of traits that set them apart from other people. Up until the 1940s, leadership theorists devoted much of their effort to identifying certain traits that they associated with leadership in an attempt to develop a worldwide set of characteristics common to all leaders (Swanepoel, Erasmus, Van Wyk, & Schenk, 2003). Traits in this case refer to physical attributes, intellectual ability, and personality. Certain traits are then assumed to be associated with leaders (Stogdill, 1948). Some of the traits associated with leadership effectiveness include intelligence, energy, self-confidence, dominance, motivation to lead, emotional stability, honesty, integrity, and the need for achievement. The aim of this approach is mainly to identify characteristics displayed by leaders and then from that effort to make it possible to identify qualities needed to be a leader.

There are important limitations to this theory. The biggest question is whether the traits make the leaders effective. This universalist approach also does not address how leaders actually behave which has been the major critique of this theory (Sorge, 2002). Another major critique has been the observation that there is no distinction made between leaders who have the interest of their followers and the general well being of humanity as their focus and those who are merely driven by their own self-interest. Furthermore, there is no rank given to the relative importance of the various traits. This makes it difficult to ascertain whether some traits are more important than others when it comes to excellent leadership (Swanepoel, et al., 2003). In the late 1940s these flaws led to the decline in the popularity of the trait theory. Behavioral theories soon took over and the focus shifted to how leaders behave instead of simply identifying and listing leadership traits/qualities.

Behavioral Approaches

Mary Parker Follett has studied leadership from a group and organizational perspective (Humphreys & Einstein, 2003). These views developed into the fields often referred to as organizational behavior and human relations, of which leadership studies are a critical component (Van Seters & Field, 1990). Behavioral theorists have focused on identifying determinants of leadership in order to train people to be effective leaders (Armandi, Oppedisano, & Sherman, 2003). They endeavor to establish what successful leaders do; not just how they are seen or perceived by others (Halpin & Winer, 1957; Hemphill & Coons, 1957; Likert, 1961; Blake & Mouton, 1980; all as cited in Horner, 1997). Unlike the universalistic approaches, behavioral theorists believe that leaders could be shaped through proper training (Swanepoel, et al., 2003).

Some of the earliest behavioral theories began with studies conducted at Ohio State University and the University of Michigan. These theories included both task and relationship elements. The Ohio State University studies identified two main leadership behavioral

dimensions: consideration and initiating structure. Consideration refers to the extent to which the leader establishes trust, mutual respect, and rapport with the group and shows concern, warmth, support, and consideration for the subordinates (Mullins, 2005). Employees' feelings and interpersonal relationships are a key factor within this dimension. Initiating structure reflects the extent to which the leader organizes group activities and defines and structures group interactions towards attainment of formal goals (Mullins, 2005). There is also a strong focus on tasks in order to achieve goals. Leadership goals include establishing standards, deadlines, detailed descriptions of work, and clear channels of communication (Bass, 1990). Research on which dimension is most effective is not conclusive although some research has found that a balance is needed between the two dimensions to attain employee satisfaction as well as to achieve organizational goals. The Ohio State University research, however, has been criticized for not taking into account situational uniqueness such as the makeup of the subordinates, the organizational constraints, tasks, and goals.

The research conducted at the University of Michigan under the direction of Likert (1961) produced similar results to those of Ohio State University research. Likert summarized the findings of the study into two dimensions: employee-centered or relations-oriented leadership and production-centered or task-oriented leadership. Leaders with a strong concern for production and the achievement of goals are considered to be task-oriented (Fiedler, 1967). Hersey and Blanchard (1982) describe a task-oriented leader as a leader who defines the roles of others, explains what to do and why, establishes well defined patterns of organization and channels of communication, and determines the ways to accomplish assignments. Fiedler (1967) suggests that a relations-oriented leader is primarily concerned with attaining a position of prominence and achieving good interpersonal relations with subordinates. Blake and Mouton (1964) refer to relations-oriented leaders as concerned for people. These studies suggest that there is no single behavioral category that determines the effectiveness of leader behavior, because such a determination is highly dependent upon situational variables.

Situational Approaches

According to this approach, the type of leadership behavior a person displays is a result of a number of factors. These factors could be classified under two main areas. First, are those factors which are specific to the individual, such as the person's attitude, their level of motivation, the extent of their knowledge, and other personal experiences. Second, a person's leadership behavior is the result of factors which pertain to their environment or context. These would include variables such as the reward systems in place, the organizational climate, and the general nature of the person's job (Hooper & Potter, 1997).

Fiedler's contingency theory (1967) showed that effective leadership was dependent on the interaction between individual and environmental factors. Environmental conditions would either be favorable or unfavorable. Examples of favorable environmental conditions include the presence of good incentives and support from subordinates. Additionally, an individual who is provided with all the necessary tools to perform the tasks required of her/him would be working under a favorable environmental condition (Sorge, 2002). He proposed that there was an association between the leadership orientation and the effectiveness of the group. Their effectiveness depends very much on the extent to which the situation is favorable for them to exercise their power and influence. Basically this means that some situations would be more favorable than others and would, therefore, require distinct leadership orientations. This situational theory not only focuses on situations but on leader behavior as well (Johns & Saks, 2005).

Although Fiedler's model dominated leadership studies during the period when situational leadership approaches were prevalent, it also had notable weaknesses and was criticized in its conceptualization for its relative simplicity in its approach in explaining complex situations (Sorge, 2002). House's path-goal theory (1971) on the other hand, emphasized the fact that leaders' main activities involve identifying the paths which lead employees to achieve goals which are of interest to them. Achieving their goals should lead to an increase in their job satisfaction, leader acceptance, and effort levels. House basically proposed that effective leaders are those who formed a direct link between subordinate goals and the goals of the organization. In order for leaders to be effective in promoting the efforts of their subordinates, they should make their rewards dependent on their performance and in addition to that, there should be clarity as to how they can achieve these rewards. House's path-goal theory identified four different kinds of leader behavior: directive behavior, supportive behavior, participative behavior, and achievement-oriented behavior. Directive behavior involves delegating and organizing subordinates and tasks. Supportive behavior includes assisting and coaching subordinates to help them achieve their goals in order to gain the rewards they desire. Participative behavior involves getting opinions and asking subordinates questions to assist them in leading effectively. Achievement-oriented behavior is organized around creating incentives and setting goals. Ultimately, the effectiveness of these different behaviors is contingent on the situation within which the leader is placed. The major factors here are the specific characteristics of the subordinates and contextual factors. Subordinates who prefer to be told what to do operate most effectively under the directive leadership behavior style. Those with a high need for achievement thrive under an achievement-oriented leadership style. When tasks are clearly outlined there is less of a need for a directive leader. If the job being performed is frustrating or not very satisfying for subordinates then a supportive leader is more effective. According to this theory, leaders need to match their behaviors to specific situations and people. Leaders should adapt their behavior in line with the needs and abilities of the individuals in the organization (Johns & Saks, 2005). However, DuBrin (1984) criticized this theory, stating that it is difficult to operationalize, and its complexity hinders wide acceptance. Furthermore, it is difficult to test the theory deductively.

Hersey and Blanchard's Model

Hersey and Blanchard's situational theory focuses on the follower. This theory has similarities to House's path-goal theory as the leader is assumed to have the ability to modify her or his leadership style. However, in this case, it is based on the readiness of the followers (Kreitner & Kinicki, 1989). The readiness of the follower is referred to as the "extent to which a follower possesses the ability and willingness to complete a task" (Swanepoel, et al., 2003, p. 347). Therefore, in a situation where followers possess low levels of readiness and maturity, the leader will be required to monitor them closely and ensure that they know exactly what is expected of them. On the other hand, if subordinates show high levels of readiness, it is more appropriate for leaders to give them the authority to control some areas of the tasks. Leaders should also be prepared to listen and accommodate subordinates' needs and concerns.

Leaders are expected to adapt their leadership style based on the competence and motivation of the subordinates to complete the tasks at hand. According to Hersey and Blanchard (1982), four leadership styles are identified to match the development of subordinates. These can be summarized as follows:

- (i) Telling/Directing: The leader is highly directive and but low in supportive styles; one-way communication is used when the public has little task or socio-emotional maturity (i.e., is neither willing nor able) to

offer effective interventions. The leader defines the roles of the individual or group and provides the what, how, why, when, and where to do the task. This may be most useful when the public is unwilling and unable to offer assistance or is insecure about what exactly the crisis is about and what is needed.

(ii) Selling/Coaching: The leader's behavior is highly directive and supportive, providing direction and using two-way communication. The public is better able to understand the importance of behavior modifications but still requires support and direction since they lack the abilities to initiate changes.

(iii) Participating/Supporting: The leader uses shared decision making, providing less task-oriented behavior while maintaining high relationship behavior. There is shared decision making about aspects of how the task is accomplished.

(iv) Delegating/Observing: The leader is involved in decisions; however, the process and responsibility is passed to the group. The leader monitors progress and the public is fully able and willing to deal with the crisis and is best left to doing so itself.

Situational approaches basically emphasize the flexibility element which is required in order to be an effective leader. According to this approach, there is no one best style; it is always contingent. Participation and empowerment are seemingly more crucial to the success of leaders. Hersey and Blanchard's situational leadership theory was chosen as the basis for this research since it explicitly emphasizes the importance of understanding the group as individuals who a leader needs to motivate, and specifically with regards to the Eskom crisis, the public with whom leaders would be required to communicate.

Culture and Leadership: Where South Africa Fits In

This section gives a brief account of the South African context of leadership, and the leadership theory of African leadership, which is applied in many South African organizations. The value of this discussion is to show which leadership traits are valued by the South African public which further highlights the importance of the followers in the leader-follower relationship. African leadership is primarily centered on the concept of *ubuntu*, which means that "I am, because we are." This concept can be linked to Hersey and Blanchard's concept of understanding the development level of subordinates, proving their importance in leadership choices.

Ubuntu, a Nguni word which is derived from the adage *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, meaning "a person is a person because of or through others," can be described in South African culture as the capacity to express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, humanity, and mutuality in the interest of building and maintaining communities with justice and mutual caring (Bekker, 2006). An appreciation of these values will assist leaders in identifying the most effective leadership approach. These values include a focus on compassion and community which can be translated into a management approach which emphasizes equal participation in decision-making, supporting risk taking, developing a sense of community among team members, conveying passion and strong emotional conviction, and instilling values which generate a sense of belonging and belief in the organizational goals (Kuczmarski & Kuczmarski, 1995). For leaders to be effective their leadership style needs to be congruent with what followers value in leaders.

Within a society that is so culturally diverse, this goal is further complicated (Mbigi, 1997), but the knowledge that leadership style should match what followers expect will be valuable for leaders communicating with the public and may assist them in structuring their approach.

Research Methodology

A preliminary investigation was conducted with a sample consisting of second year students studying human resource management in the School of Economic and Business Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand. Participation was entirely voluntary and participants were assured of confidentiality. A total of 206 students participated. Over two thirds of the students completed the survey which suggests that the sample is likely to be representative of this group. The survey described the energy crisis experienced by Eskom in a short paragraph explaining that due to the demand of electricity exceeding supply in recent years, Eskom has had to use power blackouts to relieve pressure on the electricity supply national grid. It then asked students to rank four leadership styles as identified by Hersey and Blanchard according to their preferences with regards to Eskom communicating the crisis to them. A Likert scale was used, with 1 being the most preferred and 4 being the least preferred.

Results and Preliminary Findings

57% of participants ranked the *Telling* leadership style as least preferred.

40% of participants ranked the *Delegating* leadership style third (second least preferred).

31% of participants ranked the *Selling* leadership style second (second most preferred).

49% of participants ranked the *Participating* leadership as most preferred.

	Telling	Selling	Delegating	Participating
N Valid	206	206	206	206
Missing	0	0	0	0
Mean	3.2087	2.1748	2.8058	1.7913
Median	4.0000	2.0000	3.0000	2.0000
Mode	4.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
Std. Deviation	1.073	0.97708	0.9005	0.95259
Range	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Minimum	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Maximum	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Sum	661.00	448.00	578.00	369.00

Discussion of Preliminary Results

57% of participants ranked the *Telling* approach as their least preferred approach for the government to communicate the crisis to them. The telling approach is characterized by the lowest follower readiness, meaning that followers are unable and unwilling to engage with the government in dealing with the crisis (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982). This approach may be most useful if dealing with a group of followers who do not have any knowledge, skills, ability, or desire to be involved in problem solving. Given that this group of participants comprises university students, the fact that significantly more than half of the group least preferred the telling approach makes sense because university students are expected to have knowledge, skills, ability, and/or desire to engage in problem solving. The telling approach may be most useful in a situation where one is dealing with rural communities in South Africa which are marked by high skilled worker

shortages and a lack of basic resources such as electricity therefore rendering them unable and unwilling to engage in dealing with the energy crisis.

40% of participants ranked the *Delegating* leadership style as their second least preferred. This approach is characterized by offering minimal leadership intervention, where decisions are left to be made by the followers who have high task-readiness based on their ability, willingness, and confidence in accomplishing the task (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982). This approach is evidently not highly favored by the university student participants and the reason for this could be that they may not want to be left to deal with crisis on their own since they do not necessarily have a specific knowledge set for dealing with the energy crisis at a national level. They may also feel that the government needs to take responsibility for dealing with the crisis and should gather support or ideas from the public. This approach may have been the most useful for the government if they had identified a skilled organization to specifically deal with the energy crisis.

31% of participants ranked the *Selling* leadership style as their second most preferred. This style is recommended for situations where follower readiness is moderate to high (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982). In this instance, followers lack the capabilities but are willing or confident about completing the task. Here, the emphasis on task guidance aims to facilitate performance through persuasive explanation. In the case of the university respondents, they may not possess the capabilities to deal with the specifics of an energy crisis but their willingness to assist the government renders this approach desirable. This approach may also be useful in communicating with school children and other publics about energy conservation in dealing with the energy crisis.

Finally, almost 50% of participants ranked the *Participating* leadership style as their most preferred. This style is most effective in situations where followers have low to moderate task-readiness. Here, followers may not have the willingness or confidence to complete the task but possess the capabilities to do so. The emphasis in this case would be on building relationships that would encourage followers to share their ideas creating task understanding and confidence (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982). Such leadership styles would be appropriate in getting the public to reduce energy consumption and finding new ways of doing so to avoid an impending crisis. There is also a strong emphasis on shared decision making in the participating style of leadership. These results suggest that as South African students, they want to engage with government in dealing with the energy crisis. This is congruent with the fact that South African culture has been characterized as collectivist in nature (Nussbaum, 2003) as the concept of *ubuntu ngubuntu ngabantu*, or “I am because we are” illustrates. Most of the sample displayed either moderate or high follower readiness, that is, either able and/or willing to engage with government entities, which is likely because they are more highly educated and therefore have increased ability to assist the government in dealing with the crisis.

The survey results imply several considerations which may be useful for leaders, particularly at a university level. The Vice Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, for example, may want to create a platform where students are able to share their ideas on how to deal with the energy crisis in a safe environment. This could be a weekly seminar where students share ideas and discuss recent developments with leaders. These ideas could be implemented at a university level and would have greater buy-in since the students themselves would have been involved.

At the governmental level there are definitely important implications in terms of how best to communicate with the public. It seems that government first needs to assess the ability and willingness of different groups in order to communicate with them in the most effective manner. Different leadership styles should be adopted for different groups depending on these factors.

The preliminary data collection survey was limited in content since it was administered to students. The sample should be extended to include different demographic sectors of the population and particularly, different education levels to assess differences in willingness and ability to engage with the government. Other factors which could be included are social status, age, and geographic location (rural or urban). Future research could investigate whether there are differences in these different demographic sectors of the population in terms of their willingness and ability to assist the government in dealing with the energy crisis. A more in-depth analysis could be conducted to assess issues such as how much these different groups know and understand about the crisis and to what extent they would want to be involved in dealing with it.

Conclusion

There is currently a lot of resistance from the public to engage in energy conservation and to assist government in dealing with the problem or even just understanding the need for planned power blackouts because people do not fully understand the energy crisis, what is required of them, nor do they understand the magnitude of the problem in the larger context of supply and demand for electricity. However, there is increased awareness of environmental issues since the energy crisis began. For Eskom at this stage, based on the preliminary findings presented in this study, the public may be more willing and able to get involved. This is at least true for university students sampled, which may prove to be an important group since they are mostly comprised of younger individuals who may have fresh and creative ideas in terms of finding sustainable solutions to energy problems. If the government leadership communication approach is in line with what the South African public expects, they will be more receptive to governmental interventions.

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HYDRAULIC FRACTURING AND ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS: UNDERSTANDING MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES THROUGH GROUPTHINK THEORY

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Abstract

Hydraulic fracturing, also known as fracking, has become a common practice used to extract natural gas throughout the United States. The companies conducting these operations have created an extensive marketing campaign in order to sell the audience on their product and practice. This particular product, natural gas, has created a lot of controversy because of the fracking process in which the product must be obtained, which has been linked to contamination of water, increases in seismic activity, and life threatening illnesses among local residents. A documentary that was recently created on hydraulic fracturing, Gasland, has shed some light on the dangers of the process, leading to a demand for tighter restriction. This paper analyzes Gasland and the natural gas industry's responses to this film. The findings are important to help determine how the approaches may be viewed and understood by their target audiences.

Keywords: *Gasland, Hydraulic Fracturing, Energy, Natural Gas, Organizational Response*

Hydraulic fracturing, more commonly known as fracking, is a method used to extract natural gases that are found below the ground, using water and chemical pressure (Marsa, 2011). Hydraulic fracturing is a method that has been used since the early 1940s, yet not much information on the process has been made available to the public until recently, which is slowly becoming more talked about in media and other public outlets because a large natural gas deposit known as the Marcellus Shale was discovered in an area that spans from New York to Virginia. However, the hydraulic fracturing approach has caused concern from environmentalists, public health advocates, and others. In an August 2011 report, the Marcellus Shale was said to contain 84

trillion cubic feet of recoverable natural gas (Urbina, 2011a). Natural gas is considered by some to be a more environmentally friendly source of energy than coal, because of the harmful emissions and ash released into the atmosphere when coal is burned (Natural Gas, 2010). Natural gas is marketed as a cleaner source of energy because it is lighter than air and emits a smaller amount of emissions when burned. However, the natural gas extraction method has received backlash due to the alleged negative environmental effects that it produces.

Though many of the effects of fracking are still under investigation, there is substantial evidence that hydraulic fracturing plays a direct role in various harmful environmental conditions. These threats include increased greenhouse gas emissions, water contamination, destruction of wildlife and its habitat, air pollution, and minor earthquakes. For example, Ohio recently experienced a slew of minor earthquakes, with at least one as large as a 4.0 magnitude earthquake. Although there was no definitive determination of the cause, four fracking sites were closed down indefinitely until investigations can demonstrate that the sites were not directly related to the seismic activity (Schneider, 2012).

This essay examines the rhetoric surrounding the hydraulic fracturing process by examining advocacy websites, the communication strategies used in the documentary film *Gasland* (Adlesic, Fox, & Gandour, 2009), and a pro-fracking rebuttal video created by the American Natural Gas Alliance (ANGA, 2011). We studied the availability of the films as well as how children, music, language, actors, and interviewees were used in the films. Since *Gasland's* debut, the film has received several awards including the best documentary from the Environmental Media Association and the Special Jury Prize Documentary from the Sundance Film Festival. The director, writer, and star of the documentary, Josh Fox, went on several national television shows and brought the issue of the environmental harms of fracking to light for many who were unaware of the controversial process. The film's popularity caused in part, natural gas companies to create their own campaigns to discredit the *Gasland* documentary. We also contend that one of the reasons the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is currently conducting a second study is because of the attention the film brought to the unregulated practice of hydraulic fracturing. Since there were no full-length videos that ask for support for fracking, we examine the rebuttal video created by the American Natural Gas Alliance which was released two years after the documentary's initial circulation.

We will also use Irving Janis' groupthink theory, which was first articulated in the early 1970s. We argue that the American Natural Gas Alliance video does not provide answers to questions raised in the documentary; rather it creates a groupthink mentality to protect the natural gas industry even though concerns have been raised. According to Janis:

The symptoms of defective decision-making arising from the "groupthink" syndrome tend to lead to unsuccessful outcomes, ranging from minor failures from which the organization can rapidly recover to disastrous fiascos that endanger the survival of the policymakers and of the organization itself.
(1989, p. 63)

We argue that the rhetoric used in the pro-fracking websites and video are moderately successful in selling their point to their target audience, and prevent more critical dialogue and discussion from taking place on the effects of hydraulic fracturing.

The Dangers of Hydraulic Fracturing

Among the most well-known fracking effects is the pollution of water sources that are close to the fractured sites (Perkins, 2011). This method requires the use of nearly 20 million liters of fresh water for each hydraulic fracturing operation (Nelson, 2011). It takes 1.7 million

liters to frack an initial well, but once a well has been created, it may be fracked up to 18 times in order to be able to obtain all of the natural gas from the well and surrounding area (Adlesic et al., 2009). In order to create a fast and easy fracture, the water can be laced with up to 596 different chemicals (Adlesic et al., 2009). The substance that is injected into the shale rock formations is a mixture of water combined with sand, pesticides, and several other toxic chemicals, including some carcinogens. The disposal of the water after the fracking operation is a practice that currently requires little or no government monitoring (Adlesic et al., 2009; Pelton, 2011). Some states also do not have regulated or approved facilities for wastewater treatment to manage the by-products of hydraulic fracturing. As a result, some companies export the water to other states or use underground injection wells or coal mines to dispose of the wastewater (Carluccio, 2010). Therefore, when the chemicals involved in fracking, including methane, show up in residential water sources, it is possible to connect and trace their origin back to the hydraulic fracturing that was done in a nearby disposal site (Pelton, 2011).

Since the procedure requires the use of several different potent chemicals, there is also concern about how to remove the chemicals from the water once injected (Pelton, 2011). In some cases, the water must be sent to be treated twice in different treatment plants due to the residue of highly dangerous chemicals that are left in the water. A pesticide known as DBNPA or 2,2-dibromo-3-nitrilopropionamide, which has been used for fracking practices, can kill some species even when its concentration is under its chemical detection limit (Pelton, 2011). States like Pennsylvania, allow for the dumping of partially treated water back into creeks and other waterways, which serve as a drinking water supply for millions of people (Wilkins, 2011).

Though knowledge of how methane travels to the wells and aquifers is still not clear, it is believed that chemical leaks from underground pipes escapes from the rock layers fractured during the fracking process (Perkins, 2011). What is certain, however, is that methane is an asphyxiation and explosion hazard, and similar chemicals also used in the process pose grave health threats to humans and animals. Consequently, several people in different towns from the U. S. and Canada have opposed this method after they noticed a significant difference in the quality of their water supply after fracking began near their homes. The extent of the damage to the residential water supply in those areas can be represented by what occurred in Dimock, Pennsylvania, where residents' water had reached such undrinkable levels due to chemical contamination believed to have resulted from fracking nearby, that residents were forced to drink water from temporary tanks (Nelson, 2011).

Additionally, air pollution problems occur when shale formations are fractured and small pockets in the porous rocks that contain the gases are pressured out. The problem is that not all of the methane is captured and, therefore, some of the gas escapes into the atmosphere. A recent study done by Robert Howarth, a bio-geochemist from Cornell University, and his colleagues found that the level of methane releases from natural gas shales is significant (cited in Lovett, 2011). Between 0.6% and 3.2% of the gas stored in fracked shale deposits can leak during the extraction process (Lovett, 2011). Though it is a long-held belief that natural gas is a less environmentally damaging fuel than coal, that idea is now being refuted since the methane that escapes during the extraction process, along with the environmental cost of transporting the natural gas may be worse for the environment than the use of coal (Lovett, 2011).

Methane is considered a more potent greenhouse gas than carbon dioxide and is calculated to be up to 70 times more powerful in heating up the atmosphere during a 20-year period (Lovett, 2011). Those who support fracking defend the process by claiming that it takes decades for methane to break down while carbon dioxide can remain in the atmosphere for up to thousands of years and, therefore, reduces its potency by a factor of 25 over a 100-year period

(Lovett, 2011). There have been some tests done to the overall quality of the air in regions where fracking has begun, specifically in the Western U. S. where it is a common procedure. The tests show a tripling in levels of nitrous oxide and exceptionally high levels of benzene (Carluccio, 2010). Moreover, Lovett (2011) urges people to pay attention to the rocks themselves which, because of the consecutive drilling, then become toxic chemical pathways into the atmosphere.

This process also causes detrimental environmental effects for natural wildlife and surrounding habitat. The species that have suffered the consequences of fracking are mainly those that live in the water (Pelton, 2011). When the fracking procedure is completed in a particular area, the water that was used during the process erupts out of the well carrying not only the chemicals that were added, but also other contaminants from the deep formations such as benzene, arsenic, and heavy metals. This water is then partially treated and sent back into water supplies or creeks thus endangering the wildlife that inhabit those waters. Spills of the flow-back water have already caused severe fish casualties in Dimock, Pennsylvania after it spread in Stevens Creek and the surrounding wetlands in 2009 (Carluccio, 2010). There are reports of dead mussels, oysters, salamanders, muskies, trout, and other fish as a result of wastewater contamination (Carluccio, 2010). Other land animals, such as mule deer in some regions of Wyoming, pronghorn antelopes, and sage grouse have also declined in population over the past couple of years, possibly related to water pollution resulting from fracking (Blevins, 2011).

The air and water pollution that results from fracking is not only taking its toll on wildlife but on humans as well. A health study in Dish, Texas calculated that 61% of health problems reported by residents were associated with toxic air emissions. Recent blood and urine test results confirmed that pollutants found in the air affect residents in the area; the pollutants have been connected to the chemicals used in the hydraulic fracturing practices (Carluccio, 2010).

Finally, the least studied effect that fracking may have on the environment is the activation of earthquakes. Through the injection of contaminated water, underground seismic dynamics are altered, which can trigger minor earthquakes (Svoboda, 2010). Even though these small earthquakes are said to be harmless, a 5.5 magnitude earthquake near Denver, Colorado in 1967 triggered from years of underground disposal of chemical waste, indicates otherwise. A study from *Earthquake Science Journal* identified more than 150 earthquakes that occurred due to fracking; the study also found that in the fracking hub of the Dallas-Fort Worth area, eleven earthquakes occurred in less than one month (cited in Svoboda, 2010).

Despite all of the negative health and environmental effects that fracking potentially causes, the practice remains a preferred process to extract natural gas due to the substantial profit to be gained as well as to meet the U. S. and worldwide demand for energy. With the contribution of more than \$385 billion dollars to the U. S. economy, and an estimated three million jobs supplied to the workforce, arguments raised by fracking opponents have so far generated little concern from politicians (Svoboda, 2010). Furthermore, rhetorical strategies used by proponents of fracking play a big role in swaying supporters to the side of the natural gas industry even though because of the aforementioned health and environmental concerns, all fracking projects have been placed on hold until results are reported from an extensive EPA investigation expected to be completed by 2012 (Environmental Protection Agency, 2011).

Energy in Depth

Those in favor of the fracturing practice have responded to these environmental and health concerns. Strong supporters for example, deny the harms that fracking may cause and attempt to defend it, as is the case with Energy in Depth, an organization associated with gas and oil companies. Energy in Depth devotes their webpage to providing an extensive list of articles

that refute the potential negative effects of fracking; at one point the website opened with the line of a Beatles song to introduce Louisiana congressional representative Steve Scalise's article: "You say you want a [shale] revolution...Don't you know it's gonna be alright" (Scalise, 2011). The information and articles available offer information about safe fracking procedures and debunk the claims of the environmental effects that fracking is believed to cause. They also portray the process of fracking as a misunderstood but safe practice (Energy in Depth, 2011).

Fracking supporters continually address any concerns that arise from the fracking process as solvable (Nocera, 2011). Advocates contend that the escape of methane into the atmosphere, the safety of wells, and all of the other issues that have been brought up by critics can be addressed by employing better drilling practices, investing in better technology, and rigorously controlling oversight (Nocera, 2011). In this regard, the careful and strategic use of communication has been a good ideological tool for supporters. The various rhetorical strategies that different supporters create and rely on are targeted to frame solutions for environmental issues by projecting an image of innovation and environmentally sound practice, a type of greenwashing effect (Cox, 2010). Cox (2010) describes how corporations market their products as environmentally friendly by using packaging that may seem more environmentally friendly or by printing facts on their products that will make their products appear more environmentally friendly. The facts stated on the label may not necessarily be an attempt to make their products more environmentally friendly but the wording and product labeling makes the consumer believe they are buying an environmentally friendly product (Cox, 2010). Similarly, fracking companies have marketed themselves in much the same way, in order to attempt to gain consumer and political support.

Janis (1989) suggests that a major condition for groupthink is insulation, which results from not having contact with the people who are affected by decision making, preventing decision makers from addressing an issue from multiple perspectives. In the pro-fracking discussions online, groupthink is apparent in their rhetoric and arguments as they discount every criticism of fracking rather than trying to explore the possible negative environmental and health effects of the hydraulic fracturing process in a meaningful way. For example, one of the techniques that recently has been used to prevent groundwater contamination was recycling the flow-back water from the process. The Energy in Depth website has several contributing sources and scholarly articles on their site that discuss this process. One such article lists Range Resources, a fracking company, as the innovators who invented this method that recycles the frack water and then dilutes it with fresh water so it can be reused for the injection into shale formations (Groundwater Protection Council, 2009). Because about 30% of the water that was used for a hydraulic fracturing procedure eventually flows back out—in addition to saving the companies the money involved in having to treat it or use that percentage of fresh, new water—they also do not have to worry about improper disposal (Cookson, 2010). However, not many companies have started doing this and unfortunately, even this recycling practice can still leave behind highly concentrated and contaminated material (Urbina, 2011b).

These natural gas mining corporations and support organizations, in effect, portray themselves as innovative, pioneering, and environmentally friendly. From the Energy in Depth website, it is possible to see the national corporate image that these companies project. Energy in Depth offers two sets of information for their readers: one is "Frack in Depth" and the other is the "Environment in Depth." Both topics are placed side by side to create the impression of responsible industry research since they claim they are open to exploring the environmental effects of fracking. "Frack in Depth" describes fracking as an innovative process that has been around for over 60 years (Energy in Depth, 2011). Moreover, Energy in Depth (2011) states that fracking is used as an alternative procedure "to enhance well performance, minimize drilling,

and recover otherwise inaccessible resources” because it “has a longstanding record of safety” and is a method that has been “misrepresented in the public light.” They then offer to explain the process and give the reader the “correct knowledge” about the issues raised by fracking. Not only are they claiming that fracking is misunderstood, but they market the process by referring to possible positive effects on the environment. The website asks questions such as “What are the environmental advantages [that fracking brings]?” and “Why does it remain a critical tool for creating new jobs, generating new revenue and putting us on a path toward greater energy security?” The website then portrays fracking as the answer to our economic and ecological problems (Energy in Depth, 2011). As a result, the public’s opinion about fracking, at least those who are employed by and make money from this industry, may be greatly influenced if they are not aware of the possible environmental effects of fracking, or perhaps believe that there are environmental benefits that result from the hydraulic fracturing process.

The “Environment in Depth” section also has an extensive section of informational data about fracking in relation to the environment. It appears that Energy in Depth is attempting to direct and frame environmental discourse by addressing some of the issues that are of concern to detractors of fracking. For example, in the different available tabs, one can find information about clean air and creating a smaller carbon footprint through fewer emissions that natural gas produces. These sections talk about fracking as the answer to these issues instead of speaking about them as consequences to its extraction procedure. In one section, the site provides statistics explaining that 50% of an energy producer’s invested \$175 billion was dedicated to improving the quality of air (Energy in Depth, 2011). Moreover, they give the examples of how they are able to build fewer wells because the newest technologies are more efficient. Consequently, they claim to produce fewer emissions and thus have a smaller carbon footprint not only because the public demands it, according to Energy in Depth, but because “in some cases this is what’s most important” (Energy in Depth, 2011). Given these examples, it is evident that the gas and oil companies are portraying themselves as visionaries who care for the environment.

Research for this paper began in the mid months of 2011; by January of 2012 the Energy in Depth website had revamped their site to only include the debunking of scholarly articles and steering away from any sort of environmental advantages fracking may offer. Instead, on their main page the site now offers a list of authors who work for the company and constantly updates the site with positive news and research-based articles (Energy in Depth, 2012). The update of the site could be attributed to the recent negative publicity the process has received from newspaper sources that are highlighting environmental effects that are now appearing in fracking sites (Schneider, 2012). The site no longer claims that fracking is environmentally friendly and instead focuses its attention on discrediting those scholarly articles that have offered critiques of the fracking process (Energy in Depth, 2012). Keeping in line with groupthink theory, the website does not attempt to look at both sides of the story to make the most credible and data-driven decisions, they instead try to persuade audiences that any paper written against hydraulic fracking can easily be discredited by examining the politics of those detractors (Energy in Depth, 2012). There are separate links on the site that discredit these authors and use such words like “folks” and calling each point they are debunking a “thing” rather than a point (Energy in Depth, 2012). This language may be a step to rhetorically appeal to lay audiences and to make the opposing authors seem imprudent in their assessments of hydraulic fracturing.

Gasland *and* The Truth About Gasland

Gasland is widely available for purchase and was originally aired on HBO’s documentary Mondays on June 21, 2010 (Stuever, 2010). The rebuttal video that we reviewed is only found on

the American Natural Gas Alliance website and on YouTube. We argue that the disproportionate availability of both films plays into the message both films are trying to convey. Since the rebuttal video is not widely available and is only four minutes in length, ANGA conveys through its video the belief that the documentary has not affected their progress enough to address the issue publicly. The attempt to discredit the full length documentary in four minutes, where only one minute of the rebuttal video actually talked about the documentary, may be an attempt to diminish the success of the documentary. In our analysis, several themes also emerged as key tactics for both *Gasland* and the rebuttal video, *The Truth about Gasland*. The themes we found to be important in both videos were how they use children, interviewees/actors, music, and language to convey their messages in meaningful ways.

The Use of Children: Future of Fear Versus Hope

Both the documentary and *The Truth About Gasland* play on the innocence of children. Though there are very few children in *Gasland*, the message of being the youngest and most vulnerable victims is clear. Throughout the documentary, Josh Fox, the director, shows kids innocently running, playing on a trampoline, and searching for eggs during Easter. These scenes have an even greater impact because of the previous scenes in which their parents are talking about the health problems their children have suffered ever since fracking began near their homes (Adlesic, et al., 2009). The most influential images are scenes of empty yards next to frack sites filled with children's toys. Fox uses the children to show how the adults are already being affected by this process and to indicate that there is no telling what health effects these children will have growing up. From the beginning, the documentary instills fear about the future of these children and their families.

The rebuttal video, *The Truth About Gasland*, does just the opposite; most of the scenes consist of children. Throughout the video there are scenes of a child ostensibly taking his first step, a toddler kissing his mother, a child jumping into a pool, and a child jumping into a bed of clean linens. Throughout these shots, the audience hears a soothing female voice telling viewers how important it is to accept this new clean practice for energy extraction in order to ensure economic security for their children. During one of the last scenes, the film shows a family of four playing on a swing set while the narrator claims that natural gas is the cleanest form of energy available. Through the use of children, *The Truth About Gasland* attempts to convey the message that creating a cleaner environment and a more secure future for our children can only begin through the acceptance of natural gas (ANGA, 2011).

The Use of Interviewees Versus Actors

Gasland is filmed in an organic setting without makeup or digital effects; just real people telling their story. Fox uses a lot of camera movement and during some of the interviews switches to shots of towers, contaminated water, and people looking scared (Adlesic et al., 2009). One of the recurring effects in the film is the idea that most of these people are alone in dealing with their problems, not only because of where they live, but because of what natural gas companies and governments have done in employing and promoting hydraulic fracturing techniques to extract natural gas. Fox's main rhetorical tool is the use of real people's personal stories. The fact that the interviewees did not dress up for the camera and they were filmed doing daily activities, demonstrates that these individuals are real people with real problems. Furthermore, these images paint a picture of the common hard working U. S. American affected by fracking.

In *The Truth About Gasland* the scene starts off with a baby, in what appears to be his

first steps, the scene of a busy street, a child jumping into a swimming pool, and children on an amusement park ride (ANGA, 2011). The short film uses actors and in the first seconds, the video already appears to be more slickly packaged and produced than Fox's documentary. The people in the film are camera ready. The film focuses on our two most vulnerable human age groups, children and the elderly, but provides the audience with a sense that the natural gas companies are doing great things to provide for the economic futures of these communities.

The Use of Music: Atmosphere of Anxiety Versus Optimism

The music in *Gasland* is carefully placed within the documentary to create and build emotion about how life would be without clean drinking water as a result of fracking. There is a scene where a woman under a spotlight, is playing a violin on a dark night while Fox presents a map of fracking sites around the U.S. on a projection screen (Adlesic, et al., 2009). Fox has a love for bluegrass banjo music and it shows throughout the documentary. He recalls when he first heard banjo music on television when Pete Seger created a protest through song in "This land is your land" (Adlesic, et al., 2009). On the film cover Fox is shown wearing a gas mask playing the banjo in front of a fracking site. In the film the audience can hear that "This land is your land," was his song of choice for that particular scene. In using the bluegrass banjo music, Fox accomplishes a sense of foreboding concern and anxiety throughout the film because using such an upbeat tempo for such a serious topic creates a juxtaposition in mood and tone.

As in the documentary, *The Truth About Gasland* uses a particular type of background music to convey their message as well. Though the film uses a guitar instead of a banjo, the same violin accompanies the music and the beat and tempo are similar to the background music in the documentary. The music is used in a more upbeat manner in order to convey the message of the good life to come from natural gas extraction companies. Much like car and bank commercials, using a popular upbeat song or tempo of the song demonstrates how happy their customers are and how their products have helped them in ways they never would have imagined. The type of music used is very important to the type of message one wishes to convey, and this video creates a sense of optimism for audiences.

The Use of Language: Instilling Doubt Versus Tranquility

In *Gasland*, there are many screen shots of a list of chemicals as they are being fractured into the ground, and throughout the film Fox pronounces many of these chemicals' names, despite the apparent difficulty of naming unfamiliar chemical compounds. According to the film, the idea for the documentary originally began when Fox received a contract where a natural gas company asked him to sell his land for \$100,000 (Adlesic et al., 2009). Throughout the documentary, Fox repeats a lot of contract jargon as well as legal jargon. Presumably, Fox does this in order to create an unnatural feel for the entire practice. By articulating the technical language used in contracts, legal agreements, and lists of chemicals, Fox draws attention to the unnatural process of natural gas extraction. Fox suggests, in effect, that if you cannot pronounce it, then it is not natural.

Throughout the rebuttal film, green pastures are shown as well as families playing with their young ones. Words like "abundance of natural resources," "safe," "clean," and "domestic energy" occur throughout the four minute film (ANGA, 2011). The film uses these small and specific words in order to portray an organic image of using our own resources to reduce foreign trade, improve the economy, and reduce unemployment. After speaking about the importance of natural gas for the nation, the film attempts to discredit *Gasland* by directly naming it and saying

that the film maker should not try to get his point across by instilling fear and doubt. Within the four minute video, there are never more than twelve words on the screen at one time. The message in the film is simple and easy to understand. In creating a simple message, ANGA has increased their audience range. The film and the organization itself carefully play on words to make themselves seem like a viable and safe option. They also call themselves an alliance rather than a corporation or company and list their video in the nonprofit and activism category on youtube.com, thereby creating a grassroots image. The use of the term “natural” gas also indicates that there are no harmful chemicals in the substance and that it is in fact all natural.

Conclusion

In studying these strategies, it is important to understand that though both films and the websites used similar tactics to get their point across, one film was in fact more successful than the other. We argue that *Gasland* had more of a success rate because it related more to the common audience and steered away from the groupthink practices found in the Energy in Depth website. Energy in Depth and *The Truth About Gasland* seem to be susceptible to the groupthink process, as they continually deflect concerns about environmental degradation and possible health effects. Groupthink is perpetuated by U.S. American focus on a recovering economy, jobs, and other economic factors that contribute to our demand for the natural gas industry.

Whether through documentaries, short films, websites, or journals, it is important for the public to be informed of environmental issues like fracking and the consequences that methods like these bring to the environment. Through *Gasland*, one is able to understand the negative effects of fracking as told by people who have witnessed the consequences firsthand. In contrast, *The Truth About Gasland* offers an incomplete view of fracking because it does not address the issues that are directly related to the process. The comparison and analysis of both films have served as a window for better understanding the hydraulic fracturing debate that is currently in progress.

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AT-A-GLANCE SCHEDULE

SATURDAY, JUNE 25

4:00 – 7:00 pm	Open registration
6:00 – 7:00 pm	Reception, UTEP Chihuahuan Desert Gardens
7:00 – 8:30 pm	Dinner, El Paso Natural Gas Conference Center
	Introduction and Welcome to UTEP and El Paso, Dr. Frank G. Pérez & Dr. Richard Pineda, Dept. of Communication

SUNDAY, JUNE 26

8:00 -9:00 am	Registration and Continental Breakfast provided at Tomás Rivera Conference Center (TRCC)
9:00 – 10:10 am	Panels A & B
10:30 – 11:40 am	Panels A & B
11:40 – 1:30 pm	Performance & Lunch provided at TRCC
1:30 – 2:40 pm	Panels A & B
3:00 – 4:10 pm	Panels A & B
4:30 – 5:40 pm	Panels A & B
5:40 – 7:30 pm	Dinner on own
7:30 – 8:40 pm	Garden Chat, Chihuahuan Desert Gardens

MONDAY, JUNE 27

	Breakfast on own
7:30 am	Pickup at Hilton Garden hotel for optional tour of border area
12:00 pm – 12:45 pm	Lunch at local Mexican restaurant for Border Tour participants Lunch on own for non-tour conference participants
1:00 – 2:10 pm	Panels A & B
2:30 – 3:40 pm	Panels A & B
4:00 – 5:10 pm	Panels A & B
5:30 – 7:00 pm	Business Meeting: IECA & COCE 2013
7:00 – 8:30 pm	Dinner provided at TRCC Dr. Patricia Witherspoon, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts Keynote address, by El Paso County Judge Veronica Escobar

TUESDAY, JUNE 28

8:00 – 9:00 am	Continental breakfast provided at TRCC
9:00 – 10:10 am	Garden Chat at Chihuahuan Desert Gardens & Panel B
10:30 – 11:40 am	Panels A & B
12:00 pm	Conference conclusion, lunch on own

■ NOTE: Online sessions are offered for specific panels on Sunday, June 25 and during IECA business meetings. For all sessions broadcast online, online users may join panels as specified in the program via the below link. Users should enter their first and last names to join the conference panels or IECA business meetings:

<https://sas.illuminate.com/m.jnlp?sid=2008287&password=M.30398E4961C78BE560B8D3008E407F>

INTRODUCTION



Welcome to UTEP!

It is my great pleasure to welcome you to The University of Texas at El Paso for the 11th Biennial Conference on Communication, hosted this year by the UTEP Department of Communication.

UTEP is located in one of the largest binational communities in the world, a few hundred yards from the Rio Grande and our sister city Ciudad Juárez, México. With 22,000 students, UTEP is the largest university in the United States with a Mexican-American majority (75%) student population. Our robust research portfolio and increasing number of competitive doctoral programs — along with our staunch commitment to provide both access and excellence in higher education to the Paso del Norte region we serve — have positioned UTEP to become the first national research (Tier One) university with a 21st century student demographic.

UTEP is the ideal venue for this year's conference focusing on Environmental Justice in International Contexts. Located in an environment with a binational airshed and watershed, UTEP is a leader in the U.S.-Mexico border-related research and educational programs. Our physical location provides a unique vantage point for conference participants to expand their understanding of both border culture and a border environment.

The conference's theme on environmental justice in international contexts is both relevant and timely, given the transnational character of today's global environment. The discussions of environmental issues along the U.S.-Mexico border, as well as the interconnected nature of border politics and economics, will be germane to the national and international discourse on environmental challenges in countries such as Sweden, Portugal, Indonesia, Brazil, Panama, Colombia, Germany, South Africa and Australia.

I hope your participation in the conference proves enlightening and inspiring, and we thank you for your contributions to its success. All of us at UTEP are delighted to have you with us.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Diana Natalicio". The signature is fluid and cursive, written on a light-colored, slightly textured background.

Diana Natalicio
President

UTEP AND EL PASO FACTS



UTEP, formerly known as The Texas State School of Mines and Metallurgy enrolled 27 students on opening day, September 23, 1914.

The University of Texas at El Paso became the official name of the university on March 13, 1967.

The University of Texas at El Paso architecture has been shaped by Bhutan, the last of the three Forbidden Kingdoms hidden deep in the Himalayas, between the great Tibetan plateau and the plains of India. The inspiration for its architecture is credited to Kathleen Worrell, wife of the School's first dean, who was fascinated with an 88-page photo-essay on Bhutan that appeared in the April 1914 issue of National Geographic magazine.

El Paso, Texas, was first established in 1850, with San Elizario serving as the first county seat. The city has since flourished into a metropolitan area with a population of more than 700,000 people.

The City of El Paso is the fifth largest city in Texas and the 23rd largest city in the United States.

For two years El Paso was ranked second on the list of America's Safest Cities (list compiled by Morgan Quitno, Kansas-based publishing and research company) and in 2010 El Paso was named the city with the lowest crime rate in the United States with a population of over 500,000 residents (CQ Press).

The El Paso star is 459 feet in length and 278 feet in width. It has 459 light bulbs and can be seen for 100 miles from the air and for 30 miles on the ground.

BORDER TOUR

Tour Stops Along the U.S.-Mexico Border: Río Bosque, Chamizal, Asarco, Río Grande River Park (Upper Valley).

7:30 am	Meet at Hilton Garden Inn Hotel Lobby
7:45 am	Depart for Tour
7:45 am – 8:30 am	Drive along U.S.-Mexico Border (Border Freeway)
8:30 am – 9:15 am	Tour of Río Bosque Wetlands Park
9:45 am – 10:00 am	Brief Tour of the Chamizal National Park
10:30 am – 11:30 am	Tour of ASARCO
11:30 am – 12:00 pm	Brief Tour of Río Grande Riverpark System (New Mexico)
12:00 pm – 12:45 pm	Lunch at local Mexican Restaurant
12: 45 pm – 1:00 pm	Return to UTEP campus/Hilton Garden Inn

MAKE SURE TO WEAR
COMFORTABLE CLOTHES
AND WALKING SHOES

RÍO BOSQUE WETLANDS PARK

tour led by John Sproul

Rio Bosque Wetlands Park is a 372-acre City of El Paso park the University of Texas at El Paso manages through its Center for Environmental Resource Management. It is located in southeast El Paso county near the town of Socorro, Texas. The park is enclosed by irrigation canals and drains on three sides, and the western boundary of the park lies adjacent to the Rio Grande, which forms the international border between the U.S. and Mexico. Wetlands and riverside forests once graced the banks of the Rio Grande in the Paso del Norte region. They were the most productive natural habitats in the region, but today they are virtually gone. At Río Bosque, the environment is still changing, but in a new way. A partnership is working to bring back meaningful examples of the unique and valuable ecosystems once found in our river valley.

CHAMIZAL NATIONAL PARK

“The Chamizal National Park is a 55 acre national memorial that features art galleries, a theater, and an amphitheatre. In 1966, Congress established Chamizal National Memorial to commemorate the Chamizal Convention (treaty) of 1963. The Chamizal treaty finally ended a long-standing border dispute between the U.S. and Mexico. In 1963 U.S. President John F. Kennedy and Mexican President Adolfo López Mateos met to discuss the “Chamizal Issue” and through diplomatic negotiations, they solved the Chamizal Issue with the signing of the Chamizal Treaty. Today, the memorial commemorates the diplomatic resolution of the long-standing Chamizal boundary dispute between the U.S. and Mexico. Chamizal National Memorial flies both the U.S. and Mexican flag to preserve the sentiment behind the Chamizal Treaty. The memorial provides a center to present activities that celebrate cultural exchange.

ASARCO

The American Smelting and Refinery Company (ASARCO) is a 120-year-old smelter, where metals were once extracted from ore and is located in between the Río Grande and the University of Texas at El Paso. The company was once a pillar of El Paso’s economy however, what remains is a site, which is contaminated with lead, arsenic, cadmium, chromium, selenium and zinc. Although the smelter shut down in 1999, Asarco sought to renew its air emissions permit to resume operations. Widespread opposition in El Paso and across the river in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, became a case study of the community’s fight for environmental justice. The City of El Paso, along with support from various civic, governmental and community members, stands strong in its resolve against the reopening of ASARCO. The city of El Paso is currently undergoing plans for tearing the plant down as well as remediating the surrounding land.

RIO GRANDE RIVERPARK TRAIL SYSTEM

The Rio Grande Riverpark and Trail System is planned to meander along the banks of the Rio Grande. The trail begins at the New Mexico state line near Vinton and extends southward for 32 miles to Tornillo, near the Hudspeth County line. It is a multi-use trail and open space network along the entire length of the Rio Grande as it flows through the El Paso region. The \$30 million project is a joint effort between the City of El Paso and the County of El Paso, with most of its funding coming through grants from the National Park Service, Texas Parks and Wildlife Commission, the Texas Department of Transportation and the Paso del Norte Health Foundation.

■ THANKS TO: John Sproul, Roberto Puga, Steve Ortega, Richard Pineda, and Luzmarina García for their contributions in organizing this tour.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER



VERONICA ESCOBAR

VERONICA ESCOBAR was sworn in as El Paso County Judge on January 1, 2011. She works on issues related to healthcare, including healthcare policy, mental health, University Medical Center and the successful effort to create El Paso's first Children's Hospital; economic development; downtown revitalization; Border policy; nature tourism; and, government consolidation.

Escobar received a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1991 from the University of Texas at El Paso, and a Master of Arts degree from New York University in 1993. She has spent her professional life working for non-profits, in education, and more recently in politics, public policy research and local government (she served as Communications Director for Mayor Raymond C. Caballero from 2001-2003 and as Precinct 2 County Commissioner from 2006-2010).

Her civic involvement has included participation in such organizations as the Hispanic Leadership Institute, Las Americas Immigrant Advocacy Center, the Border Rights Coalition, El Paso Now!, the Women's Political Action Committee of El Paso, Community Scholars and the Border Network for Human Rights. She has been the recipient of the CYnergy Fellowship award (Civic Youth Energy), the "Women of Integrity" award given by Women for an Ethical El Paso, and the "Elected Official of the Year" Award given by the National Association of Social Workers, Texas Chapter, El Paso Branch, the "Human Rights Safe Communities" award given by the Border Network for Human Rights and the "Elected Official of the Year" presented to her by the Rio Grande Council of Governments.

The University of Texas at El Paso

Campus Map and Building Directory



Map and Building Directory

Academic Advising Center	12	de Wetter Center	16	Holliday Hall	52	Quinn Hall	37
Academic Services Building	70	Durham Sports Center	66	Honors House	13	Ross Moore Building	54
Administration Building	15	El Paso Natural Gas Conference Center (EPNGCC)	20	Hudspeth Hall	28	Satellite Energy Plant	57
Barry Hall	23	Education Building	42	Kidd Field	22	Seamon Hall	35
Benedict Hall	19	Energy Conservation Project	56	Kidd Memorial Seismic Lab	47	Stanlee and Gerald Rubin Center	35
Biology Building	10	Engineering/Science Complex	7	Liberal Arts Building	14	(INSET B)	64
Bioscience Research Building	69	Engineering Building Expansion	68	Magoffin Auditorium	32	Student Health Center	21
Brumbelow Building	58	Fox Fine Arts Center	31	Memorial Gymnasium	55	Sun Bowl	53
Burges Hall	26	Geological Sciences Building	34	Metallurgy Building	8	Swimming and Fitness Center	65
Business Administration Building	3	Graham Hall	43	Military Science Building	59	(INSET A)	
Centennial Museum	27	Haskins Center	60	Miners Hall	30	Undergraduate Learning Center (UGLC)	25
Center for Inter-American and Border Studies (CIABS)	5	Hawthorne Building	6	Miner Village Student Apartments	50	Union Building East	41
Central Energy Plant	17	IT Help Desk	A	Old Main	38	Union Building West	40
Chihuahuan Desert Gardens	24	Energy Center	B	Parking & Trans. Svcs. - Admin. Offices	72	University Library	2
Child Care Center	9	Health Sciences Building (INSET B)	63	Physical Plant Complex (INSET A)	62	University Police (INSET A)	62
Classroom Building	4	Helen of Troy Softball Complex	71	Facilities Svcs./Central Receiving	A	University Relations	67
Computer Science Building	36	(INSET A)	44	University Police/Office Supplies	B	University Ticket Center	66
Cotton Memorial	33	Heritage House	1	Physical Sciences Building	11	Vowell Hall	45
		Hertzog Building		Psychology Building	39	Worrell Hall	29

2011 CONFERENCE ON COMMUNICATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE DAY BY DAY

SATURDAY, JUNE 25

4:00 – 7:00 pm

Open registration

6:00 – 7:00 pm

Reception, UTEP Chihuahuan Desert Gardens
sponsored by Taylor & Francis

7:00 – 8:30 pm

Dinner, El Paso Natural Gas Conference Center
Introduction and Welcome to UTEP and El Paso:
Dr. Frank G. Pérez, Chair of the Department of Communication
Dr. Richard Pineda, Associate Director of the Sam Donaldson Center for

SUNDAY, JUNE 26

9:00 – 10:10 am

Panels A & B

Panel A, University Suite: Global Issues and Perspectives in Environmental Change (Available via Elluminate)

Chair: Danielle Endres, University of Utah

Mapping Risk: E-waste, Cyberisk, and the Digital Divide

Sabine LeBel, York University

“It’s More Than Planting Trees, It’s Planting Ideas”: The Rhetorical Power Of Bodies In Kenya’s Green Belt Movement

Kathleen Hunt, University of Utah

Perceptions Of Reusable Bag Use In Panama: A Formative Evaluation And Recommendations For Communication Strategies

Jennifer Kane & Monique Mitchell Turner, University of Maryland, College Park

Francisco Fong, María del Carmen Ruiz Jaén, Saskia Santamaría, Raúl Chang, Panamá Más Verde

Dialogue And Agenda: Communication Challenges Faced By Traditional Peoples And Communities In The Brazilian Amazon

Thaís Brianezi, Daniel Fonseca de Andrade, & Marcos Sorrentino, University of São Paulo

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Recipes for Natural Resource Policy: The Economics, Politics and Science Soup

Chair: Andrea Feldpausch-Paker, Texas A & M University

Wind Energy: Political and Economic Spin Fueled by Science

Kaitlyn M. Dawson, Andrea M. Feldpausch-Parker, & Tarla Rai Peterson, Texas A & M University

Constructing a Free-Flowing River: How Economics and Politics Shape Best Management Practices

Cristi C. Horton, Texas A & M University

E. coli Wars: Potential Social Ramifications of “Natural” Pollution

Israel D. Parker & Andrea M. Feldpausch-Parker, Texas A & M University

Banned: How International Politics and Economic Disparity Impact the Science Behind Sea Turtle Conservation

Michael J. Liles & Tarla Rai Peterson, Texas A & M University

Who’s the Real Scientist?: Politicizing the Science Behind Whooping Crane Management

Leigh A. Bernacchi & Chara J. Ragland, Texas A & M University

10:30 – 11:40 am Panels A & B

Panel A, University Suite: Media, Advertising, and Campaigns (Available via Elluminate)

Chair & Translator: Luzmarina García, University of Texas at El Paso

Toxic Vortices: Environmental Justice Perspectives on Media Coverage of Hurricane Katrina and the BP Oil Blowout
Russell Stockard Jr., California Lutheran University

Comunicación, Educación y Medio Ambiente: Una Relación Visible para el Otro Desarrollo

Ana María Guerrero, Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios, Bogotá

Environmental Knowledge, Values, Attitudes, and Behavior in Paso del Norte: Implications for Environmental Communication Campaigns

Lorena Mondragón, University of Texas at El Paso

Message In A Bottle: How Coca-Cola India Presents Itself As Environmentally Sustainable

Tonya Frizzell, Royal Roads University

Toward an Ethical Framework for the Evaluation of Environmental Advertising

Lee Ahern, Penn State University

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Tourism, Border Issues, and Nuclear Controversy

Chair: Carlos Tarin, University of Utah

Engaging Visitors in Climate Change Communication at Popular Tourist Destinations: A Case Study of Southern Florida's National Parks and Wildlife Refuges

Caroline A. Beard, Colorado State University

An Atomic Tourist in New Mexico: Place, Space, and the Rhetorical Environment at Trinity Site

Richard D. Pineda, University of Texas at El Paso

Sacred Land or National Sacrifice Zone: The Role of Polysemous Values in the Yucca Mountain Controversy

Danielle Endres, University of Utah

Do Environmental Issues Play a Role in the Decision for Cross-Border Cooperation?: The case of Saxon and Czech SME

Tina Obermeit, Chemnitz University of Technology

11:45 am – 12:30 pm

Lunch provided at TRCC

IECA Board of Directors Meeting, University Suite (also available via Elluminate)

12:30 – 1:30 pm

Performance by Susanna Bunny LeBaron, TRCC

Introduction Jonny Gray, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale

Performance: "Many Returns of the Day", by Susannah Bunny LeBaron, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale

1:30 – 2:40 pm

Panels A & B

Panel A, University Suite: Environmental Justice Perspectives (Available via Elluminate)

Chair: Steve Schwarze, University of Montana

The Populist Argumentative Frame in the Environmental Vision of Van Jones

JiangBo HuangFu & Ross Singer, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale

Looking Both Ways: The Intersection of Climate Justice and Reproductive Justice and the Implications of Rhetorical Alignment of Social Movement Concerns

Kathleen M. de Onis, University of Montana

Greening Climate Justice Through More Color: Latinas and the Green Movement

Erin Drake, Colorado State University

Please Don't Waste Me: Majora Carter's "Greening the Ghetto" TED Talk

Joseph Clark, Florida State University

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Building Bridges through International “Pride” Campaigns: Case Studies of Environmental Social Marketing in Local Contexts, Part 1

Chair: Richard Pineda, University of Texas at El Paso

Spanish-Language Pride Campaigns in México, Argentina, and Watershed Areas in the Andes

Frank G. Pérez, University of Texas at El Paso

Campaigning for Environmental Conservation: An Ethnographic Investigation of Indonesia’s Contemporary Cultural System

Anthony M. Jimenez, University of Texas at El Paso

Rare in Indonesia: Building Bridges and Relationships with Communities and Environmental Advocacy

Alejandra Diaz, University of Texas at El Paso

Environmental Campaigns in Indonesia: The Use of Visual Elements in Local Campaigns

Sara Sánchez, University of Texas at El Paso

“Dangdut is the Music of My Country”: A Look at the Use of Traditional and Popular Music in Environmental Campaigns in Indonesia and Malaysia

Crystal Segura, University of Texas at El Paso

Rare Conservation: Organizing for Environmental Change

Carlos Tarin, University of Utah

3:00 – 4:10 pm

Panels A & B

Panel A, University Suite: International Journalistic Endeavors, Media Coverage and the Environment (Available via Elluminate)

Chair: Tom Ruggiero, University of Texas at El Paso

Mass-Media Coverage of Climate Change in Peru: Framing and the Role of Foreign Voices

Bruno Takahashi & Mark Meisner, State University of New York

Predicting Journalists’ Attitudes Toward the BP Oil Spill: Community Structure, Ideology, and Professional Roles

Brendan R. Watson, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Nuclear Radiation is Good for You: The Poetics of Radioactive Mutation in Hollywood

Eduardo Barrera, University of Texas at El Paso

Mediated Invisibility and Political Engagement

Libby Lester, University of Tasmania

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Building Bridges through International “Pride” Campaigns: Case Studies of Environmental Social Marketing in Local Contexts, Part 2

Chair & Translator: Stacey K. Sowards, University of Texas at El Paso

Pride Campaign for Halimun-Salak Mountain National Park, West Java, Indonesia

Nani Saptariani, Rimbawan Muda Indonesia (RMI)

Pride Campaign for Ujung Kulon National Park, Banten Province, Indonesia

Indra Harwanto, Ujung Kulon National Park Office

Case Studies of Rare’s Pride Campaigns: Measuring Campaign Success

Jacob Barde, Salvador Flores, Karina Enriquez, Michael Martinez, Elida Portillo, Araceli Puente, Daniel Reyna & Robert Blanchette, University of Texas at El Paso

4:30 – 5:40 pm

Panels A & B

Panel A, University Suite: International Discourses and Environmental Conflicts (Available via Elluminate)

Chair: Sarah Upton, University of New Mexico

Pluralism, Community Voices, and Emergency Response Procedures: Assessing What Went Wrong in Coraopolis

Ann D. Jabro, Robert Morris University

ASARCO Controversies and Environmental Justice

Luzmarina García, University of Texas at El Paso

Environment and Violent Conflicts across Borders: Opportunities for Justice and Conciliation

Nadarajah Sriskandarajah, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Transforming a Resource Extraction Conflict in Suriname

Karina C. Mullen, Colorado State University

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Theoretical Perspectives on Nature/Culture

Chair: Tracy Marafiotte, SUNY Fredonia

Techno-Scientific Control or Apocalypse? Media Visions of Human Relationships with Nature

Anabela Carvalho, University of Minho

Intrinsic Value as an Avenue for Introducing Material Aspects into Critical Communication Research

Mark DeLaurier, Washington State University

Honeybee Colony Collapse: Mediated Construction of Rhetorical Situation

Kurt Stavenhagen, Syracuse University

Security Creep: A Critical Sketch of Anglo-American Climate Security Discourse

Chris Russill, Carleton University

5:40 pm

Dinner on own

7:30 – 8:40 pm

Evening Garden Chat

Chihuahuan Desert Gardens: Environmental Dialectics: Exploring the Material-Symbolic Tensions of Human-Nature Relations

The Gynocentric-Androcentric Dialectic: Gendered Conceptualizations of Nature in Ocean and Forest Contexts

Elizabeth Dickinson, Salem College

Tema Milstein, University of New Mexico

Animal-Human Dialectics: Toward a Rhetoric of Behaviorism

Emily Plec, Western Oregon University

Mach's Principle, Phenomenological Dialectics, and Environmental Communication

William Kinsella, North Carolina State University

Dialectics and Disruption: Challenging Systems of Meaning through Symbols of Hegemony and Nature

Valerie Thatcher, University of Texas at Austin

7:00 am	Breakfast on own (for tour and non-tour participants)
7:30 am	Meet at Hilton Garden Inn Hotel Lobby
7:45 am – 8:30 am	Drive along U.S.-Mexico Border (Border Freeway)
8:30 am – 9:15 am	Tour of Río Bosque Wetlands Park
9:45 am – 10:00 am	Brief Tour of the Chamizal National Park
10:30 am – 11:30 am	Tour of ASARCO
11:30 am – 12:00 pm	Brief Tour of Río Grande Riverpark System (in New Mexico)
12:00 pm – 12:45 pm	Lunch at local Mexican Restaurant
12: 45 pm – 1:00 pm	Return to UTEP campus/Hilton Garden Inn

(Lunch on own for non-tour conference participants)

1:00 – 2:10 pm Panels A & B

Panel A, University Suite: Borders: Constructed, Conflicted and Crossed in Natural Resource Management

Chair: Nadarajah Sriskandarajah, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Wild Boar and Borders: Communication and Coordination Dilemmas in Swedish Game Management

Lars Hallgren, Elin Ångman, & Per Haglind, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Transgressing the Boundaries of Predetermined Stakeholder Positions (via Skype)

Helena Nordström Källström & Hans Peter Hansen, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

“You Do Not Believe It” – Re-viewing Natural Resource Management Conflict as the Process of Co-constructed Decrease of Trust to Social Interaction

Lars Hallgren, Elin Ångman & Per Haglind, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Social & Political Legitimacy of Nature Resource Management: The Creation of Community Agoras in Rural Sweden

Nadarajah Sriskandarajah & Hans Peter Hansen, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Discursive Unconsciousness in the Implementation of Swedish Natural Resource Management Policy: Investigating Co-construction of Participation

Lotten Westburg, Elin Ångman, Hanna L Bergeå, & Lars Hallgren, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

National Park Management in Nicaragua: Systemic Action Research as methodology for enabling cross border communication

Alex R. Arévalo Vásquez

Nadarajah Sriskandarajah, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Climate Change Communication and Practical Action: Influencing Change Locally and Globally

Chair: Miriah Russo, Oregon State University

Practical Strategies for Effectively Communicating Climate Change with the American Public

Miriah Russo, Oregon State University

350.org: A Case Study of an International Web-Initiated Environmental Movement

Andrea M. Feldpausch-Parker, Leigh A. Bernacchi, Israel D. Parker, & Tarla Rai Peterson, Texas A & M University

Exploring the Impact of Media Messages about Climate Change Action

Susanna Priest & Ted Greenhalgh, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Dialogue, Deliberation, and Innovation: Procedural Resilience in the 2010 Climate Change Negotiations

Gregg B. Walker, Oregon State University

2:30 – 3:40 pm

Panels A & B

Panel A, University Suite: Environmental Discourse through Place, Literature, and Music

Chair: Tracy Marafigote, SUNY Fredonia

Constructing Contemporary Senses of Place: The Politics of Memory in Appalachia

Tom Bowers, Northern Kentucky University

Unearthing the Feminine: Yin/Yang Spirals in Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines

Jorge Gómez, University of Texas at El Paso

Stories that "Make Sense": Is Nature Writing an Oxymoron?

Julie Kalil Schutten, Northern Arizona University

Unfolding Paper Cranes: Nature Writing and Rhetoric through a Single Experience

Leigh A. Bernacchi, Texas A&M University

Environmental Discourse in Popular Music

Roberto Avant-Mier, University of Texas at El Paso

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Climate Change and Community Engagement

Chair: Lorena Mondragón, University of Texas at El Paso

Local Warming: Daily Temperature Change Influences Belief in Global Warming (via Skype)

Lisa Zaval, Ye Li, & Eric J. Johnson, Columbia University

Radical Optimism: Expanding Visions of Climate Politics in Alternative Media

Shane Gunster, Simon Fraser University

Drowning in the Depths of Climate Change: An Exploration of Polar Bear Rhetoric

Gloria Bebbler, University of Texas at El Paso

A Comparative Look at Sources of Support for Environmental Causes and Their Influence on the Future of the Environmental Justice Movement

Kevin J. Calderwood, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale

Richard S. Flores, University of Texas at El Paso

4:00 – 5:10 pm

Panels A & B

Panel A, University Suite: Attitudes, Behavior, and Environmental Social Change

Chair: Anthony Jimenez, University of Texas at El Paso

Predicting Environmental and Health Behavioral Intentions: A Test of Persuasive Hope Theory

Amy E. Chadwick, Ohio University

Do Actions Bespeak Words? Environmental Attitudes and Lifestyle Politics

Justin Rolfe-Redding, George Mason University

Do Wealthy Women Make Better Environmentalists?: Green Consumerism in the Media and its Effect on Feminist Solidarity

Alexandra Nutter Smith, Penn State University

Mythic Fragments & Environmental Activists: Rhetorical and Mythic Justifications for the Locavore Movement

Justin Eckstein, University of Denver

Sarah Partlow-Lefevre, Idaho State University

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Spanning Intellectual, Institutional, and Community Boundaries to Manage Environmental and Sustainability Problems

Chair: Laura Lindenfeld, University of Maine

Linking Knowledge with Action: Crossing University-Community Boundaries to Build and Study Solutions-Oriented Partnerships

Laura Lindenfeld, University of Maine (presenter)

K. P. Bell, J. Leahy, L. Silka, K. Hutchins, University of Maine

Collaboration and Complexity: Using Knowledge Action Systems (KAS) Research to Cross Disciplinary Boundaries in a Sustainability Science Research Portfolio

Bridie McGreavy, University of Maine (presenter)

L. Lindenfeld, L. Silka, D. Hall, A. Sutton, K. Hutchins, H. Smith, M. Quartuch, C. Budzinski, L. Utley, A. Becker,

N. Kacer, M. Richards, L. Thornbrough, University of Maine

Facilitating Organizational Innovation: Strengthening Maine's Sustainability Solutions Network through Communication Research

Colleen Budzinski & Linda Silka, University of Maine (presenters)

L. Lindenfeld, University of Maine

Lessons from Original Liaisons: Connecting Environmental Communication Research with Cooperative Extension Practices

Damon M. Hall, University of Maine (presenter)

John Jemison & Cathy Elliott, University of Maine Cooperative Extension

5:30 – 7:00 pm

IECA Business Meeting #1, University Suite (also available via Elluminate)

7:00 – 8:30 pm

Dinner provided at Tomás Rivera Conference Center

Dr. Patricia Witherspoon, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts

Keynote address, by El Paso County Judge Veronica Escobar

TUESDAY, JUNE 28

8:00 – 9:00 am

Continental breakfast provided at UTEP campus

IECA Business Meeting #2, University Suite (also available via Elluminate)

9:00 – 10:10 am

Panels A & B

Panel A, Chihuahuan Desert Gardens Garden Chat: Straddling Pedagogical Borders Within Environmental Communication and Between Other Disciplines

Teaching to Connect: Environmental Communication Within and Across Disciplines

Julie Kalil Schutten, Northern Arizona University

Negotiating Student Boundaries: Teaching Environmental Communication to Non-Communication Students

Danielle Endres, University of Utah

Environmental Communication is a Ubiquitous Matter and Less so an Evangelical One

Damon M. Hall, University of Maine

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Global Energy Issues: Possibilities for Environmental and Intercultural Communication

Chair: Tina Obermeit, Chemnitz University of Technology

E-Waste Disposal in International Contexts

José Argüelles, University of Texas at El Paso

The Communication and Potentiality of a Common Nuclear Power Policy in Europe

Kathrin Lena Ramke, Chemnitz University of Technology

Renewable Energy as a Global Environmental Issue: Possibilities for Global Communication Between Peer Parties

Markus Pellegrini, Chemnitz University of Technology

The Green City: A Vision for the Future?

Kathleen Mueller & Ivan Tchernook, Chemnitz University of Technology

10:30 – 11:40 am Panels A & B

Panel A, University Suite: Politics of Food and the Environment

Chair: Roberto Avant-Mier, University of Texas at El Paso

Consumers as Oppressors: The Politics of Food on the Mexico/U.S. Border

Sarah Upton, University of New Mexico

What's for Lunch? A Rhetorical Inquiry into the National School Lunch Program (NSLP)

Justin Eckstein, University of Denver

You are What You Eat: The Struggle Between Economic Circumstances and Food Choice

Arthur A. Aguirre, University of Texas at El Paso

Farmers as Legitimate Participants within Environmental Decision Making? Downplaying and Discursive Closure as Communicative Strategies for Meeting Farmer Initiatives (via Skype)

Hanna L. Bergeå, Elvira Caselunghe & Helena Nordström Källström, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Panel B, Templeton Suite: Organizational Responses to Environmental Problems in International Contexts

Chair: Klaus-Peter Schulz, Chemnitz University of Technology

The Effectiveness of Intercultural Communication and Differential Emotional Labor Propensities in an Environmental Disaster Like the BP Oil Spill

Bradley Mendelowitz, University of the Witwatersrand

Hydraulic Fracturing and Environmental Effects: Understanding Public Perception through Cultivation Theory

Adriana Salas & María del Mar Salazar, University of Texas at El Paso

Visual Environmental Communication in Germany After the Nuclear Reactor Disaster in Fukushima: A Qualitative Pictorial Analysis of Articles in Online Newspapers

Anja Weller & Julien Bucher, Chemnitz University of Technology

Public Expectations about an Organisations Stance in Crisis Communication Based on Perceived Leadership Styles in Water Demand Management: A Case Study from South Africa

Althea Jansen Moodley, University of the Witwatersrand

12:00 pm Conference conclusion, lunch on own



ECOFEMINISM AND RHETORIC

Critical Perspectives on Sex, Technology, and Discourse

Edited by Douglas A. Vakoch

Summary

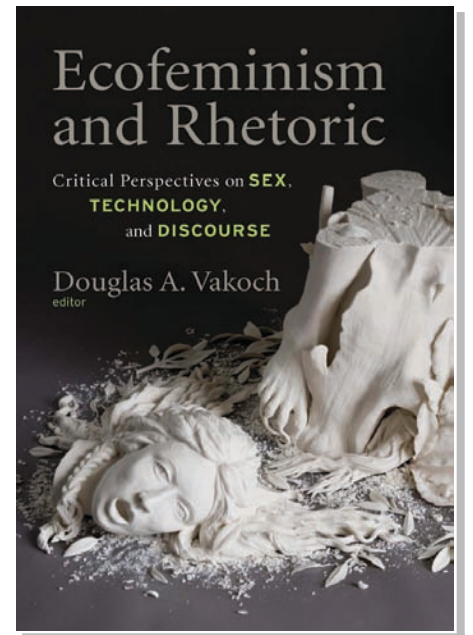
By drawing on the complex interplay of ecology and feminism, ecofeminists identify links between the domination of nature and the oppression of women. This volume introduces a variety of innovative approaches for advancing ecofeminist activism, demonstrating how words exert power in the world. Contributors explore the interconnections between the dualisms of nature/culture and masculine/feminine, providing new insights into sex and technology through such wide-ranging topics as canine reproduction, orangutan motherhood and energy conservation. Ecofeminist rhetorics of care address environmental problems through cooperation and partnership, rather than hierarchical subordination, encouraging forms of communication that value mutual understanding over persuasion and control. By critically examining ways that theory can help deconstruct domineering practices - exposing the underlying ideologies - a new generation of ecofeminist scholarship illuminates the transformative capacity of language to foster emancipation and liberation.

"...one of the very few books to have been published in the last 10 years on the declared topic of ecofeminism...the volume is a necessary and timely rethinking of ecofeminism; it includes some strikingly original essays that challenge and extend current ecofeminist thinking in exciting ways; and its general insistence on action and intervention (including rhetoric) as a way of collecting and evaluating ecofeminist thought is intelligent, effective and important." · **Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands**, York University

"The overall approach of an ecofeminist analysis focused on rhetoric (discourse and persuasion) is original and interesting in its promise of a new and valuable form of, or perspective on, ecofeminist analysis. Many of the chapters struck me as flat-out fascinating: both wonderfully written and truly ground-breaking in their originality of focus and integration. In fact, what I think is most wonderful about this book is its real, almost startling, originality." · **Catherine Roach**, University of Alabama

Douglas A. Vakoch is Professor in the Department of Clinical Psychology at the California Institute of Integral Studies, as well as Director of Interstellar Message Composition at the SETI Institute. He serves as Chair of both the International Academy of Astronautics (IAA) Study Group on Interstellar Message Construction and the IAA Study Group on Active SETI: Scientific, Technical, Societal, and Legal Dimensions. His books include *Communication with Extraterrestrial Intelligence* (CETI) and *Psychology of Space Exploration: Contemporary Research in Historical Perspective*.

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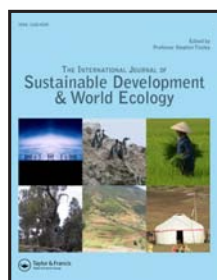
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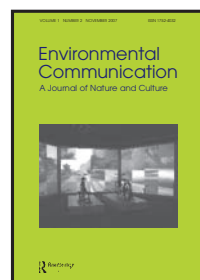
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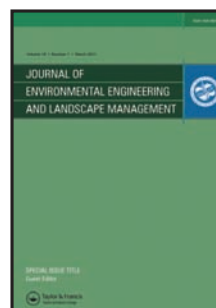
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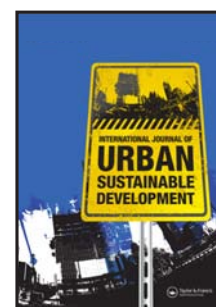


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