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BENITO CAO

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EDITORIAL

Courtney Bristow

It is with great excitement and pride that I welcome you to the first issue of *Illustratio: Adelaide Journal of Politics and International Relations*. This is a peer-reviewed journal that focuses on presenting excellent undergraduate papers and research from across the discipline of Politics and International Relations at the University of Adelaide. This journal began as the vision of the founding committee of the University of Adelaide Politics and International Relations Association (PIRA). Their ambition was to offer students opportunities to develop their research and writing through peer-review, and to then publish high calibre papers that explored new and exciting ideas as they emerge in an ever-changing political landscape. It is my great privilege to say, that with help of the PIRA Executive, the academic staff, and the Editorial Committee, this vision has been realised.

This journal is first and foremost a celebration of our students. However, it is also a timely, and much needed reminder of the value that the study of politics and related disciplines hold, not only for the individuals that are passionate about them, but to society as a whole. The Arts are being sidelined, and the increasing costs of Arts degrees makes their study prohibitive for all but a few. This year the Australian Parliament passed a new bill that more than doubles the cost of most courses in Humanities and Social Sciences. This is a cost that will be first felt by those prospective students who are now unable to pursue their passions. For those that are able to take on this increased student debt, they will be left continuing to make repayments long after their peers in significantly subsidised STEM programs. This financial burden is set to disproportionately affect women. Women make up the majority of enrolments in Humanities and Social Sciences courses and yet they still face a gender pay gap that will see them pay more for their education but earn less than their male colleagues. As a result, women take longer to pay off their student debt, further deepening the financial inequality. This cost will also be shared by the departments, faculties and teaching staff who are already facing staff and budget cuts. But ultimately this cost will be felt by all Australians.

The Arts offer invaluable insights into culture and development, and the critical analysis cultivated in these classrooms produces high calibre, critical thinkers with the ability to shape the direction of Australia's policy and strategy. The particular gift of the Arts and its disciplines is to consider human achievement, past and present, and project into the future. It takes the time to learn from past mistakes, grapples with the problems of the present, and prepares for the issues of the future. We need the Arts and those that study and practice in its array of disciplines.

This journal offers just a sample of the brilliant work that is being achieved by our young political scientists. It is our hope that with each issue, we can spotlight excellent insight and analysis across the wide spectrum of issues encompassed by the umbrella of politics and international relations, as well as showcasing student achievement.

The creation of this journal would not have been possible without the efforts and passion of several people who believed in this project as much as I did. Accordingly, I offer my thanks to the Editorial Committee and editors whose hard work has helped to develop both the papers in the journal and the processes that created it, and to the PIRA Executive for their support.

Special thanks to Dr Benito Cao, whose enthusiasm, guidance, and contributions have helped to steer us through the murky waters of peer-review and publishing, and given the journal a brilliant foundation upon which I hope it will continue to grow and flourish.

Finally, thanks to all the authors who have contributed to this issue. It is your hard work and talent that make this journal so special. Thank you for trusting us, for your patience, and your willingness to embrace this opportunity and this project. It is thanks to you that the future of this journal, and of political studies is so exciting.

INTRODUCTION: GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Benito Cao

Environmental politics is one of the most exciting sites of political contestation, as well as a fascinating field of study in politics and international relations. The field covers a wide range of important topics and areas, including the politics of climate change, food and water security, nuclear energy, environmental refugees, and the rights of nature, to name just a few. This inaugural issue of *Illustratio: Adelaide Journal of Politics and International Relations* offers a collection of essays that reflect the complexity and diversity of environmental politics. The essays have a theoretical and a comparative dimension. They deploy concepts and frames to provide a comparative analysis of the green (and not so green) politics of a range of environmental movements, political parties, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

The theoretical dimension comes from the conceptual frameworks presented and deployed in Timothy Doyle, Doug McEachern and Sherilyn MacGregor, *Environment and Politics*, 4th edition (2016). In particular, the essays draw on "the three posts" (post-industrialism, post-materialism, and post-colonialism) and "the three Rs" (rejection, reform, and revolution) to organise the findings, categorise the actors, and inform the analysis. In addition, most essays also explore the anthropocentric (human-centred) and ecocentric (nature-centred) character of the actors studied. The comparative approach serves to sharpen the power of description and extract analytical insights, by bringing into focus suggestive similarities and differences among the cases explored. The papers examine what political actors think and do when acting environmentally in different parts of the planet. That is, they examine and compare their collective ideologies, values, and cosmologies, as well as the actions themselves, including tactical repertoires, strategies, and broad political and campaign approaches. The outcome is a rich portrait of environmental politics within and across the global North and the global South.

The volume is broadly divided into three parts. The first three essays examine contemporary manifestations of environmental politics within a single global region: two environmental movements in the global North (the Dakota Access Pipeline protests and Extinction Rebellion); the anti-deforestation policies of two political parties from the global South (the Alliance for Brazil or APB, and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle or PDI-P); and two conservation approaches to trophy hunting in the global South (in Sub-Saharan Africa), although the actors examined are conservation NGOs from the global North (Safari Club International and Humane

Society International, both based in the United States). The next three essays compare environmental movements and NGOs across the global South and the global North: the Food Sovereignty Movement in Mexico and the Social Ecology Movement in the United States; the Women's Initiative The Gambia and the UK-based Women's Environmental Network; and the Kurdish Women's Movement (based in northern Syria), and the Feminists for Animal Liberation Movement (based in the United States). The final three essays compare the incorporation of environmental issues by political parties in three different ways, albeit all of them in the global North: a green party, across time, within the same country (the pre- and post-unification German Greens); two green parties from two countries (the German Greens and the Australian Greens); and two parties, one green and one not-green, within the same country (the Australian Greens and the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party).

The essays illustrate the myriad manifestations of environmental politics around the world. They reveal the widespread dominance of anthropocentric approaches (e.g. Safari Club International) but also the presence of ecocentric approaches (Humane Society International). They show the diversity of environmental activism across "the three posts": post-industrial (associated with the impact of industrialisation on the environment e.g. the *fundis* faction of the German Greens); post-material (associated with the emergence of post-material values in affluent societies e.g. the *realos* faction of the German Greens); and post-colonial (associated with the struggle against colonisation in the form of environmental exploitation e.g. the Dakota Access Pipeline protests). The three posts are not mutually exclusive, and in some cases arguments can be made to categorise some of these movements across several posts or perhaps even past the posts. Similarly, the essays reveal articulations across "the three Rs": rejection (resistance to place environmental concerns onto the political agenda e.g. Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party); reform (adoption of an incremental approach to change with the dominant system e.g. Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle); and revolution (demand for urgent and radical political and economic change e.g. Extinction Rebellion). They also reveal a myriad of actions and repertoires, including: road blockings, marches and rallies, traditional ceremonies, land and public space occupations, campaigns for political participation, legal action, petitions and letters, public education campaigns, lobbying, community gardens, policy advice briefings, networking, and the use of social media.

The papers offer a series of insights along the way. Tegan Jones identifies several lessons Extinction Rebellion can draw from the Dakota Access Pipeline protests. Clare Flaherty shows how different environmental ideologies and discourses can produce similar actions and outcomes. Luke Meacham reveals how current approaches to trophy hunting, whilst radically different, come across as impositions by the global North on the global South. Georgia Mansell deploys the concept of post-growth to reconcile the differences between two radical environmental movements. The combined essays of Cecile Moylan and Yasmine Wright Gittins provide a rich portrait of the complex spectrum of ecofeminist politics, and showcase the diversity

of ecofeminist solutions to 'man-made' problems. Mirco Di Giacomo characterises the tension between the *fundis* and the *realos* within the German Greens as coexistence without reconciliation. Edwina Lane exposes some of the fundamental dilemmas facing electorally successful green parties. Zack Grant shows how the same environmental policy can be adopted by green and non-green parties, with different constituencies, and for radically different reasons and with very different outcomes in mind. These and many other insights showcase the value of taking a comparative approach to the study of global environmental politics.

DAKOTA ACCESS PIPELINE PROTESTS AND EXTINCTION REBELLION: COMPARING TWO ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

Tegan Jones

Abstract

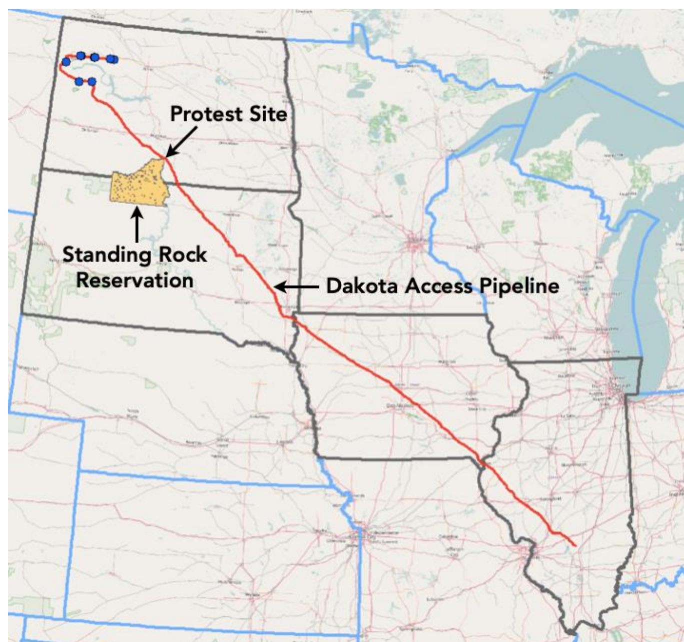
Environmental movements have been at the forefront of modern environmentalism for decades, but in recent years they have experienced a surge in global attention due to the growing threat of climate change. This paper compares the composition, repertoires, ideologies, and strategies of two recent environmental movements, the Dakota Access pipeline (DAPL) protests and Extinction Rebellion (XR). The 2016-17 DAPL protests were a series of public demonstrations against the construction of an oil pipeline, and Extinction Rebellion is an emerging transnational protest movement which pushes for government action on climate change. Although both movements utilise similar tactics, they display different strategies and underlying ideologies. The DAPL protests reflect broader conflicts over colonisation and environmental injustice, while Extinction Rebellion represents a post-industrial movement. The DAPL protests followed a reformist strategy, while Extinction Rebellion argues that radical change to the existing political and economic system is needed to adequately confront climate change. Both movements have experienced some success, but neither have achieved their full demands. This paper investigates reasons for a greater level of public support for the DAPL protests compared to Extinction Rebellion, concluding that a clear understanding of the connection between the actions of protesters and the issue at hand is needed for a movement to build support. The paper evaluates criticisms of Extinction Rebellion's strategy and proposes lessons it can draw from the experiences of the DAPL protests.

Introduction

The Dakota Access pipeline (DAPL) protests were a series of public demonstrations held from April 2016 to February 2017, led by members of the Native American Standing Rock Sioux tribe against the construction of the Dakota Access oil pipeline (Hersher, 2017). Illustrated below in Figure 1, the pipeline was proposed to transport crude oil nearly 2000 kilometres across the

United States from production fields in North Dakota to refineries in Illinois (Levin, 2016). Crossing underneath the Missouri River, the tribe's source of drinking water, the pipeline was opposed due to high risks of water contamination as well as its destruction of sacred land and wider impacts on the climate (Levin, 2016).

Figure 1: Route of the Dakota Access pipeline (NittyG, 2016, edited)



After unsuccessfully voicing concerns to government, the tribe protested by gathering in camps at the construction site and were joined in solidarity by nearly 300 Native American tribes from across the country (Estes, 2019: 25). Social media allowed the protests to attract national and international attention, and tens of thousands of supporters travelled to the site, including climate activists, civil rights groups, green politicians, and celebrities (Johnson, 2017). After construction was initially halted by the Obama government, the project was expedited by President Trump and was completed in April 2017 (EarthJustice, 2020). The tribe continued legal challenges to the project, achieving a major victory in March 2020 when a federal judge struck down permits for the pipeline and ordered a new environmental review (EarthJustice, 2020). Appendix 1 summarises the chronology of the DAPL protests and legal challenges.

Extinction Rebellion is a global protest movement founded in 2018 by a team of British environmental activists with the goal of pressuring governments to take drastic action on climate change (XR, 2020a). The movement attempts to foster a sense of urgency around climate change and cites three demands of government: the declaration of a climate emergency; action to halt biodiversity loss and reduce carbon emissions to net-zero by 2025; and the creation of a Citizens' Assembly on climate justice (XR, 2020c). The movement rose to international attention in April 2019 when it staged a 10-day protest campaign in London (Fletcher, 2019), inducing the UK

Parliament to formally declare a climate emergency (Turney, 2019). The movement claims over 150,000 supporters worldwide (Fletcher, 2019) and is operated by autonomous branches in over 60 countries (XR, 2020b), with its activities concentrated in Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand (Adam, 2019).

Repertoires

Both movements are explicitly nonviolent and push for change using civil disobedience and resistance, harnessing social media to spread their message (Knights, 2019: 27-30; Thorbecke, 2016). Below, Figure 2 summarises the main actions undertaken by both movements. While the DAPL protests embraced a diverse range of tactics (Johnson, 2017), Extinction Rebellion focuses its efforts on civil disobedience and disruption (Hensby, 2019). Extinction Rebellion rejects conventional strategies of appealing to government, citing their failure to bring meaningful change (Hallam, 2019b).

Figure 2: Main activities of DAPL protesters and Extinction Rebellion

Type of action	Dakota Access pipeline protests	Extinction Rebellion
Nonviolent civil disobedience (intentional lawbreaking)	• Occupying land in the path of the pipeline • Blocking highways • Locking themselves to construction equipment	• Obstructing roads, bridges, and public transport • Occupying public spaces and government buildings, often using symbolic actions such as 'die-ins' • Gluing themselves to buildings, streets, or each other • Spraying public spaces with fake blood
Nonviolent civil resistance (lawful protesting)	• Conducting traditional ceremonies and prayer circles • Holding solidarity marches and rallies across the US	• Holding marches, often as symbolic 'funeral processions'

Other methods	• Legal action (ongoing) • Petitions and letters to government • Public education campaigns • Social media	• Social media

Sources: Adam, 2019; BBC News, 2019; Heim, 2016; Hensby, 2019; Hersher, 2017; Johnson, 2017; Levin, 2016

Ideologies

The DAPL protests and Extinction Rebellion are examples of anthropocentric environmentalism, which focuses on the negative impacts of environmental degradation on human beings and their quality of life. The Standing Rock tribe's fundamental concern was the threat of their ancestral land being destroyed and water supply poisoned (Archambault, 2016: 19). Extinction Rebellion warns about the widespread biodiversity loss caused by climate change but frames its message around the risks to human health and livelihoods (XR, 2020d).

The DAPL protests exemplify a post-colonial movement, representing the struggle of indigenous people against the control and exploitation of their land (Massie, 2016). Under an 1851 treaty, the Standing Rock Sioux tribe hold sovereignty over the land through which the pipeline travels, however, this sovereignty was rarely respected by government and subject to continual and enduring infringements over many decades (Simon, 2016). Today people living on the Standing Rock reservation experience inferior health, education and employment outcomes, with 43% living in poverty, nearly triple the national average (Lee, 2015). Whyte (2017: 164-168) attributes this systemic disadvantage to the historic division and exploitation of Standing Rock land, which continues to undermine the tribe's economic vitality, cultural integrity and capacity for political self-determination. Citing examples of gold mining, energy infrastructure and oil pipelines on Standing Rock land, then-tribal Chair David Archambault (2016: 19) asserted 'the tribes have always paid the price for America's prosperity'.

The pipeline highlighted issues of environmental injustice, demonstrating how indigenous communities are more likely to suffer the impacts of environmental degradation (Whyte, 2016). Originally proposed to run near the predominantly white community of Bismarck, the pipeline was rerouted through Standing Rock after Bismarck locals objected (Plumer, 2016). For the Standing Rock tribe, the DAPL protests represented more than a breakdown in consultation with government or an isolated disagreement over the project's safety (Massie, 2016). The protests were another instalment in a long pattern of resistance against land dispossession, stolen resources, broken treaties, and cultural destruction (Donnella, 2016; Whyte, 2016).

In contrast, Extinction Rebellion reflects post-industrial environmentalism as it grapples with the impacts of industrialisation. For Extinction Rebellion, climate change is a consequence of an economic system that promotes continual growth and consumerism (Raworth, 2019: 235). The movement argues that advanced industrialisation has accelerated climate change to such an extent that humanity is now facing an existential threat (Knights, 2019: 27).

Strategies

The DAPL protesters followed a reformist strategy of pushing for relatively small change while accepting the reality of the political system they operated within (Thorbecke, 2016). Their strategy was to disrupt the pipeline's construction and use public support to pressure the government into revoking permits for the pipeline (Faith, 2019). Although many supporters wanted the pipeline gone for good, the tribe maintained that a reroute of the pipeline away from sacred sites and the reservation's water supply would be a satisfactory outcome (Thorbecke, 2016). The tribe also utilised a 'lawfare' strategy, issuing legal challenges on the basis that they were not provided with the required opportunity to identify sacred land, and that the government did not undertake the full environmental assessment prescribed by law (EarthJustice, 2020). Although not yet successful, litigation was able to delay and cause financial harm to the project (EarthJustice, 2020; Levin and Wong, 2016a).

Extinction Rebellion's founders judge the existing capitalist system as fundamentally broken, asserting that radical action is needed as 'we do not have time to wait patiently for incremental change' (Hallam, 2019a: 18). Their strategy is to use 'acts of rebellion' to force climate change onto the political agenda, arguing that fundamental change will not happen through mainstream institutions but rather from the margins (Monbiot, 2019a, 2019b). According to founding member Roger Hallam (2019c: 148), Extinction Rebellion was 'carefully planned'. Its founders studied social movement theories and drew inspiration from the suffragette, US civil rights and Indian independence movements (Griffiths, 2019: 141-148). Extinction Rebellion frequently cites the work of political scientist Erica Chenoweth, who found that nonviolent resistance is the most effective strategy for waging political struggle and requires just 3.5% of the population participating to be successful (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011: 5-10; Hallam, 2019c: 144; McNern, 2019: 190). Hence, Extinction Rebellion is not focused on winning over a majority of the public, instead wishing to mobilise a dedicated minority who are already passionate about climate change (Berglund, 2019; Hallam, 2019c: 143).

Analysis

Although ultimately unsuccessful, the DAPL protests were able to quickly build public support and media attention (Hult, 2016), with polls suggesting a majority of Americans opposed the pipeline (Gallup, 2017: 137; Quinnipiac, 2017). The protests set a precedent for future fossil fuel projects crossing Native American land and extended far beyond their official goals by raising

awareness of indigenous rights (Gunderson, 2017; Monet, 2018). In contrast, Extinction Rebellion has not yet seen a significant increase in public support (Armstrong, 2019; Ibbetson, 2019), which may be explained by substantive differences in contexts and strategies.

For the DAPL protests, the direct connection between the tribe, as leaders of the movement, and the injustices protested provided a basis for the movement to build support and momentum (Brigido-Corachan, 2017). The DAPL protests combined urgency and optimism with indigenous leaders characterising the movement as being about ceremony, prayer, and water protection over conflict (Whyte, 2017: 154-169). Protesters labelled themselves the 'water protectors', framing the pipeline as a violation of human rights, which turned the obscure infrastructure project into a national story (Deaton, 2018; Simon, 2016). This allowed the issue to resonate widely and attract supporters who were not directly impacted by the pipeline's construction (Johnson, 2017). The protests connected environmental issues to inequality, situating the movement within the concerns of working people (McKenna, 2017).

At Standing Rock, police from around the country worked alongside private military contractors to disperse crowds (Hersher, 2017). Police arrested over 800 protesters and used increasingly violent tactics, including tear gas grenades, sound cannons and rubber bullets (Levin and Wong, 2016b). The issue drew national media attention and public outrage in November 2016, when police used water cannons for hours in sub-zero temperatures resulting in injuries to hundreds of protesters (Plumer, 2016). Evocative images of harsh winter conditions and police violence spread through social media, amplifying the personal sacrifices borne by protesters (Brigido-Corachan, 2017; Hunt and Gruszczynski, 2019: 1-17). Aided by the fact that the protests did not directly inconvenience the majority of the public, the movement was able to generate high levels of public sympathy (Hult, 2016).

For Extinction Rebellion, the connections between climate change, those responsible for it, the protesters, and their targets are far more ambiguous (May, 2019). While DAPL's protests aimed to show the public how a specific action in a particular location was unjust, Extinction Rebellion's argument is more abstract and global (Berglund, 2019). Its disruptive actions and emphasis on catastrophism antagonise the public, many of whom do not share the same fear and frustration around climate inaction (Berglund, 2019). Research indicates 30% of people in the UK, 38% in Australia, and 39% in the US consider climate change a 'minor threat', or not a threat at all (Fagan and Huang, 2019). Therefore, the movement risks alienating its source of mass support and disproportionately inconveniencing the working class by disrupting public transport and blocking streets (Ahmed, 2019). Extinction Rebellion has seen a strict response from law enforcement, with hundreds of arrests made in Australia and the US, and thousands in the UK (Barnard, 2019; BBC News, 2019; Groch, 2019). However, compared to Standing Rock, the police response has not been seen as excessive or illegitimate (Rose, 2020). Political scientist Kathryn Harrison explained that civil disobedience is most effective when protesters are viewed as 'courageous and

righteous, willing to take a huge personal risk in order to protect the public good', but can backfire when they are perceived as 'lawless and out-of-touch with 'real' priorities' (in Deaton, 2018).

Critics have raised several concerns about Extinction Rebellion's strategy (Bettington, 2019; Judt, 2019; May, 2019). Ahmed (2019) highlights that Chenoweth's 3.5% rule was drawn from conflict settings under authoritarian regimes and may not be applicable to liberal democracies. Hudson (2020: 46-47) argues Extinction Rebellion's style of 'diehard' activism is emotionally unsustainable, predicting the movement will lose momentum like similar movements, such as Climate Camp, have after two or three years. Extinction Rebellion positions itself as 'beyond politics', prioritising moral arguments and attempting to avoid traditional political debates in order to mobilise people across partisan lines (Bettington, 2019; Judt, 2019). Its activities have largely steered clear of 'blaming and shaming', disrupting major city centres rather than specific companies or institutions (Kinniburgh, 2020: 125-133). Critics argue this fails to offer practical solutions to address the crisis and ignores fundamental questions about the unequal causes and impacts of climate change, hazarding strengthening existing power structures (Doherty, De Moor and Hayes, 2018; Slaven and Heydon, 2020: 59-62). Hallam defended the apolitical approach, asserting 'people in the Global South are suffering a lot more, but aren't going to be benefited by a strategy that basically is ineffective in actually converting the Global North' (in Kinniburgh, 2020: 131).

While mass arrests were an unintended consequence for DAPL protesters, for Extinction Rebellion they are an explicit goal (Griffiths, 2019: 141). Extinction Rebellion encourages its members to incite arrests, believing that mass arrests will prompt others to take notice and recognise the importance of its message (Monbiot, 2019c). Extinction Rebellion views police as potential supporters, and the criminal justice system as a neutral structure that can be used as a platform for change (Legal Team, 2019: 226). Critics argue that a reliance on mass arrests displays privilege as people of colour face disparate risks when dealing with police (Gayle, 2019). With a membership that heavily skews white and middle class, some raise questions about Extinction Rebellion's failure to address issues of racism and inequality (Hudson, 2020: 46; Shand-Baptiste, 2019). However, many within the movement are pushing for change, and its US branch incorporated 'a just transition that prioritises the most vulnerable people and indigenous sovereignty' as its fourth demand (Gayle, 2019).

Conclusion

The reformist approach of the DAPL protests follows the assumption that making small demands is more credible because it achieves some progress rather than none, but even their demand for a reroute of the pipeline was unsuccessful (McKenna, 2017). Extinction Rebellion believes that pushing for incremental change within the prevailing system is pointless (Hallam, 2019a), but the success and sustainability of its radical strategy remains to be seen. Extinction Rebellion can draw

useful lessons from the DAPL protests. Extinction Rebellion should target its disruption at institutions of power that disproportionately contribute towards climate change (Kinniburgh, 2020: 133; Swift, 2020: 9). This could foster solidarity among the general public and be an effective expression of alliance with indigenous communities and those in the Global South, many of whom have spent decades fighting against environmental degradation under far more restrictive circumstances (Voskoboynik, 2019). Extinction Rebellion should expand its repertoire, promote a diversity of voices within its movement, and create a message that is meaningful for working people, acknowledging the expertise of communities who are experiencing the worst effects of climate change (Ahmed, 2019; Hudson, 2020: 47). Its energy and innovation offer hope, but it must confront the political as well as moral challenges posed by climate change.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Timeline of DAPL protests and legal challenges

Date	Event
25 Jun 2014	Plans for DAPL announced by Energy Transfer Partners
9 Dec 2015	US Army Corps of Engineers indicates intention to approve DAPL route
22 Apr 2016	Army Corps approves route, protesters establish camps
27 Jul 2016	Standing Rock tribe sues Army Corps over process for granting DAPL permits
9 Sep 2016	Tribe loses motion to halt construction while case is heard
4 Dec 2016	Army Corps halts construction, announcing it will delay granting an easement for the river crossing near Standing Rock until environmental assessment is conducted
24 Jan 2017	President Trump takes executive action to approve easement and advance construction
14 Feb 2017	Tribe files new motion with Federal Court to overturn permits, authorities clear remaining protest camps
19 Apr 2017	Pipeline completed
1 Jun 2017	Pipeline begins shipping oil
14 Jun 2017	Federal Court rules that original permits violate environmental law, but allows pipeline to continue operating, ordering more environmental assessments
31 Aug 2018	Army Corps releases new environmental review, affirming decision to issue DAPL permits
1 Nov 2018	Tribe renews lawsuit against Army Corps
3 Dec 2018	In court, expert claims DAPL experienced 12 oil spills of over 6,100 gallons in less than two years

16 Aug 2019	Energy Transfer Partners pushes for DAPL expansion
25 Mar 2020	Federal judge strikes down permits, finding they violated federal environmental law and ordering new environmental review
5 May 2020	DAPL expansion approved by three out of four required states. Decision pending by final state (Illinois)
6 Jul 2020	Federal judge rules pipeline must shut down operation during environmental review
5 Aug 2020	Shutdown order overturned following appeal by Energy Transfer Partners
10 Sep 2020	Government launches environmental review, expected to take over 12 months

Sources: AP, 2017, 2020; Cosier, 2020; EarthJustice, 2020; Hersher, 2017; Nauman, 2019

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ANTI-DEFORESTATION POLICY UNDER BOLSONARO AND WIDODO

Clare Flaherty

Abstract

This paper compares the deforestation policies of two incumbent political parties: the Alliance for Brazil (APB); and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). As these parties represent two of the three largest rain-forested countries, it is important to analyse how those rainforests are being officially managed. Initially, the two parties were expected to take vastly different actions on environmental policy; the APB and its leader, Jair Bolsonaro, with their extremely nationalist, climate change rejectionist ideologies were expected to contrast with the reform position spoken about by the PDI-P and its leader, Joko Widodo. However, it was soon revealed that, while they spoke on deforestation in vastly different ways, their actions have been more similar than anticipated. Both parties have demonstrated that they favour economic development over environmental protections and social wellbeing of forest proximate, often Indigenous, peoples. The few anti-deforestation policies that have been implemented in Indonesia have been severely under-resourced, merely providing lip-service to the idea of sustainable development without effecting meaningful change for the often-disenfranchised peoples of the rainforests. Similarly, the Indigenous peoples of Brazil have experienced significant threats to their ways of life due to near-constant fires and land clearing under the APB. While the ideologies of the two parties differ significantly, it is apparent that they result in comparable outcomes.

Brazil and Indonesia are both home to significant portions of the Earth's rainforests, with the Amazon alone accounting for over half of the world's total rain-forested area (Duchelle et al., 2019). Conservation of these rainforests is crucial as they are hotspots for biodiversity, are some of the largest terrestrial carbon sinks, and are host to many endemic species. Many are also home to millions of Indigenous peoples whose livelihoods depend on rainforests (Supriyanto, 2018). In recent years, many forests have seen mass deforestation in the name of economic development. This market orientation is a common practice in countries with neoliberal values, which encourage significant reductions of government control in favour of creating a deregulated market. These values have risen to dominance over the last 30 years in countries such as Australia

and the United States (US) (Redden, 2017: 713). This global pro-development pressure is compounded by the fact that both of these states are located in the Global South, with large populations and comparatively small economies per capita (World Factbook, 2020). Nevertheless, with deforestation and environmental protection receiving increasing international attention, it is necessary to overlook these external influences and analyse how these two countries are engaging with their rainforests through the policies of their current administrations.

One of the fundamental frameworks for categorising environmental policies is that of "the three Rs": Resistance, Reform, and Revolution/Radicalism. A common aspect of Resistance, widely used by right-leaning governments, is 'climate denialism', which defines an approach to the environment that favours a business-as-usual model, disregarding the need to take extra measures to protect the environment (Cann and Raymond, 2018: 434). Another frequent approach, particularly to climate change policy, is that of Reform, which acknowledges the need for some change without essentially altering the fabric of society and the economy. This method is commonly used by both major Australian political parties, the Democrats in the US, and many European governments. An example of a Reform policy is when the Labor government introduced their ill-fated carbon pricing scheme in 2011, a policy that would act within the current political and economic systems (Bryom et al., 2020: 4). Revolution or Radicalism, on the other hand, represents the belief that the only way to enact meaningful change regarding the environment is through deep, systemic change to the way that the world operates on a day-to-day basis. This has not been demonstrated by any major political party as revolutionary actions typically occur outside of traditional political institutions, instead acting through grassroots social movements who take inspiration from racial justice movements in places such as the US and South Africa (Barnett and Scott, 2007: 2613).

At the fall of Brazil's authoritarian regime in 1985, sweeping changes were made to Brazilian society, including the adoption of first-past-the-post democratic voting and constitutional recognition of land rights for Indigenous peoples (Hecht, 2012: 5). From 1995-2003, President Cardoso promoted aggressive economic development, which saw an explosion of cattle ranching and soybean production that still occurs today. Simultaneously, during this time, not a single job was advertised in the Ministry for Environment (Hochstetler, 2017: 266). These macro-economic policies were continued by the following President, Lula da Silva, although he also implemented significant micro-economic, redistributive policies, and the Ministry for the Environment thrived under Marina da Silva (Hecht, 2012: 5). It was during Lula's presidency that the rate of deforestation dropped by 80% (Duchelle et al., 2019: 11). Brazil's success in deforestation mitigation has been attributed to the effective and widespread use of law enforcement to punish those who undertook illegal practices under President Lula (Tacconi et al., 2019: 2).

Environmental policy in Brazil has been found to be highly 'presidentialised', meaning that a government's environmental policy is most often driven by the beliefs of the incumbent President

and, thus, their appointed environmental minister (Hochstetler, 2017: 262). Therefore, it is useful to analyse the policies of Brazil as primarily those of the President. This hyper-individualisation of policy can be seen in other first-past-the-post democracies, such as the US, where elections are often decided in 'swing states', where the character of the leader and their policies influences voters' choices as opposed to party beliefs (Hochstetler, 2017: 262). The current Brazilian government is controlled by the Alliance for Brazil (APB), founded and led by incumbent President Jair Bolsonaro. The APB was inaugurated on January 1st, 2019 and has since demonstrated a far-right nationalist ideology, generally described as pro-development at the expense of the environment, notably rainforests, and their proximate peoples (Escobar, 2019).

The APB is known for its affiliation with 'ruralists', agribusiness developers with vested interests in the economic development of the Amazon, typically disregarding the social and environmental impacts of their actions (de Area Leão Pereira et al., 2020: 1). In terms of "the three Rs" of environmental politics, the APB sits staunchly in the Resistance category, having made sweeping budget cuts to the Brazilian Ministry for Environment, responsible for institutes such as the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation, which presides over 75.9 million hectares of the Brazilian Amazon (de Area Leão Pereira et al., 2019: 10). Further, Bolsonaro has seeded doubts in the Brazilian National Institute for Space Research (INPE)'s scientific integrity, saying that the institute should cease its publication of deforestation rates in the Amazon as it reflects poorly on Brazil's public image (Brainard, 2019). This was in response to the INPE publishing satellite data of the increased rate of deforestation during the APB's term, with 4,200 km2 burned in the first half of 2019, which is more than double the area burned over the same period in 2017 (Escobar, 2019). Bolsonaro also engendered suspicion over the validity and objectivity of experts regarding the APB's environmental policies with the dismissal of the Director-General of the INPE in 2019 (Brainard, 2019). This distrust in the "lack of bias" of scientists has been the most prominent form of climate change opposition, and is a prime example of how the APB wields its powers to dissuade populations from acknowledging the severity of an issue (Cann and Raymond, 2018: 434).

In contrast, many of Indonesia's deforestation issues can be traced back to policies implemented by Indonesia's second president, Suharto, after declaring independence from the Dutch. Suharto provided numerous subsidies to paper and pulp industries (Nomura, 2009: 262) while deregulating foreign investment, promoting an export-oriented economy (Tsujino et al., 2016: 337). Similar to Bolsonaro, this was justified through talk of 'anti-colonialism', though had more in common with the ideologies of nationalist hyper-development. The result of these policies was that production of pulp and paper increased tenfold within 15 years in the 1980s and 1990s (Nomura, 2009: 262), while nearly 60 million hectares were deforested (Tsujino et al., 2016: 336). Another cause of deforestation in Indonesia is the Transmigration Programme (Tsujino et al., 2016: 337), originally implemented by colonial Dutch powers and still used by the Indonesian government. The Programme works to migrate people from the densely populated islands of

Java and Bali to less dense, often highly forested areas, such as those found in Sumatra, Kalimantan and West Papua/Irian Jaya (Fearnside, 1997: 553). This Programme causes mass deforestation of the forests that Suharto designated as government-owned (Nomura, 2009: 277) and causes significant environmental and social issues in the destination areas (Tsujino, 2016: 336), including a deforestation rate of up to 2,000ha per day (Fearnside, 1997: 554). In 2011, Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono imposed a four-year moratorium on the deforestation of primary forest and peatland following nation-wide protests (Longhofer et al., 2018: 1743). While this moratorium has recently been made permanent by the current government, some groups call into question its efficacy, with significant changes to the borders of protected land common and new land-use permits still being awarded in 2019 (Greenpeace South East Asia, 2019).

Indonesia is currently governed by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), headed by President Joko Widodo. The PDI-P has held power in Indonesia for six years, elected to their first five-year term in 2014. Within "the three Rs" framework, the PDI-P can be considered a Reform party, with much discussion surrounding sustainable practices for the Indonesian rainforests and its peoples. The hallmark environmental policy of the PDI-P is that of social forestry, a policy that promotes management of the rainforest by those who live in and around it and is highly regarded for its involvement with Indigenous peoples (Erbaugh, 2019: 2). There are five kinds of official social forestry present in Indonesia: village forests; community forests; community forest plantations; forestry partnerships; and *adat* forests (Supriyanto, 2018). In line with Erbaugh (2019), this paper uses the Indonesian *adat* rather than its English counterpart 'customary', which does not convey the extent of geographically contextual history, law and tradition that *adat* denotes. Each of the above branches of social forestry has its own separate rights of control and use of the resources in their respective forests. This social forestry policy has its basis in the aforementioned 2011 moratorium on land conversion and deforestation (Longhofer et al., 2018: 1743). However, there are significant criticisms of both the moratorium and the social forestry approach to mitigating deforestation. Over one million hectares have been burned in moratorium-protected areas since the legislation was passed (Greenpeace South East Asia, 2019) and social forestry facilitators have shown to be under-educated and over-capacity in much of the designated forest, leading to ineffective forest management (Galudra, 2019: 136). This is potentially a result of insufficient funding, both for effective law enforcement to prosecute illegal actors and for appropriate training for forestry facilitators (Tacconi et al., 2019; 7).

The APB's philosophical tenet can be considered a strongly nationalist standpoint. The party believes that their misuse of the Amazon rainforest is necessary to independently develop their country and provide for Brazilian people. When the burning of the Amazon was most in the spotlight in August 2019, Bolsonaro gave a speech in response to the world's largest economies in the Global North, offering aid to fight the fires, describing these offers as a new form of colonialism (Nature, 2019). This is a clear subversion of post-colonial rhetoric, used to justify

rampant industrialisation of lands traditionally owned by the Indigenous peoples of the Amazon. Thus, in itself, these actions can be criticised as a form of colonialism toward Indigenous peoples in return. The PDI-P, on the other hand, has a more post-industrial attitude, recognising that deforestation has caused significant harm to the health of not just the forest-proximate peoples, but much of South-East Asia as haze from forest fires has been known to spread far across the region. This 'war on haze' predates the PDI-P's term but has been emphasised under Widodo and his social forestry policies, especially after the catastrophic 2015 fires that exposed over 40 million people to hazardous levels of air pollution and caused over 100,000 premature deaths (Whitburn et al., 2016: 11,007).

The APB and PDI-P are almost dichotomous in terms of their perceived relationships with the Indigenous peoples of their respective countries. The PDI-P has implemented policies in an attempt to engage Indigenous peoples. The national association for Indigenous peoples, *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* (AMAN), voted for Widodo in 2014 due to these policy promises (Duchelle et al., 2019: 12). Nonetheless, these policies have not been provided with adequate resources to effect change and promote true advances toward social justice for Indigenous populations (Galudra 2019: 136), as much illegal deforestation and degradation still occurs, preventing Indigenous communities from maintaining and improving their quality of life. Yet, in 2017, Widodo passed legislation to grant land conversion permits in these *adat* forests, despite the moratorium on land conversion and claims of protecting Indigenous lands (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2020: 256). Additionally, the policy of transmigration is still in operation (Kementerian Desa, Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal dan Transmigrasi, 2020), further disenfranchising Indigenous communities as more land is cleared for housing and development. As a result of these consistent failings, AMAN did not endorse either major party in the 2019 presidential election (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2020: 252). Conversely, the APB has been outwardly anti-Indigenous since before Bolsonaro was elected. Bolsonaro almost immediately removed land demarcation for Indigenous reserves from the Brazilian national Indigenous protection agency, the *Fundação Nacional do Índio*, into the Ministry for Agriculture (Calgaro, 2019) and recently tried to pass a bill that would prevent Indigenous people from vetoing mining proposals on their land (Canineu and Carvalho, 2020).

While both Indonesia and Brazil have received funding from the United Nations' market-based Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation Programme (REDD), which rewards countries who show marked reduction in rainforest deforestation (Tacconi et al., 2019: 1), both the PDI-P and the APB have greatly reduced the influence of REDD in national environmental affairs. Widodo dissolved the REDD agency into the wider Ministry of Environment and Forestry (Duchelle et al., 2019: 12) and Bolsonaro ended the Amazon Fund (Nature, 2019), which received REDD payments made to Brazil. Nevertheless, some have suggested that REDD was flawed even before two of its largest recipient nations effectively withdrew as there were substantial delays between deforestation reduction and the associated payments due to significant levels of

bureaucracy, the likes of which often plague intergovernmental organisations. These delays may have allowed the APB to claim payments for 2014 reductions (Nature, 2019), despite deforestation increasing by 85% in 2019 (McNeill, 2020), if it had not been blocked by the G7 nations.

Ultimately, while they share an anthropocentric perspective on the environment, the actions of the PDI-P suggest an approach that is much more accepting of the science surrounding the negative impacts of deforestation and is looking to reform its policies, as opposed to the APB, who are resisting any possible divergence from a highly nationalist, business-as-usual scenario of rampant deforestation. The PDI-P advocates, on the surface, for a sustainable development approach to rainforest management, encouraging social and economic wellbeing alongside environmental protection with variable success. In practice, the PDI-P seems to lean toward pro-economic development over social and environmental wellbeing, but to a much lesser extent than that in Brazil. On the other hand, the APB projects a purely short-sighted, exploitative perspective, believing that rainforests are but a resource to provide economic development, disregarding environmental concerns.

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SAFARI CLUB INTERNATIONAL VS THE HUMANE SOCIETY INTERNATIONAL: THE IDEOLOGICAL DIVIDE ON TROPHY HUNTING IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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Abstract

Safari Club International (SCI) and the Humane Society International (HSI) remain opposed in their conservation ideals for African wildlife. Since their inception, SCI has maintained that trophy hunting is not only a positive means of recreation, but the most effective tool for wildlife conservation in Africa. HSI has conversely helped formulate policy to limit and ban trophy hunting, often criticising SCI through videos and investigative research. Although both make attempts to reform legislation within the United States and relevant countries in Africa, SCI's position as a hunter's organisation creates a clear conflict of interest, only furthered by controversies both for the group itself and as to whether trophy hunting programs harm the environment more than they help. The groups' conflict would at first seem to be whether the ends of trophy hunting can justify the means, with the right-leaning SCI espousing profit for Africa and the environment, in contrast to extensive advocacy for animal welfare. SCI would further seem to have the support of African governments, whereas HSI receives far greater praise by the global North. When regarding the wider African public, neither have a positive reception, and a different conflict arises, with the African people feeling alienated from the global North's debate. As American organisations are the ones to influence African policy rather than Africans themselves, it is unlikely that a consensus can be reached on conservation

Introduction

Walter Palmer, a member of United States-based hunting organisation Safari Club International (SCI), took part in what he falsely claimed was a legal trophy hunt of a lion named Cecil, who was being tracked by researchers at the time (MacDonald et al, 2016). Palmer's botched hunt and the consequent criticism of SCI reached widespread media prominence, in some part due to social

media campaigns taken by the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS), alongside their sister branch, the Humane Society International (HIS) (HSUS, 2016). This outcry prompted SCI to immediately suspend Palmer's membership (CBS, 2015). Despite controversies like those of Cecil, SCI takes the stance that they are not only a group for hunters, but one that actively promotes conservation through trophy hunting activities (SCI, n.d.). Whilst this may seem at first strange, SCI is not alone in this stance, with sustainable trophy hunting being supported by other conservation groups like the WWF (WWF, 2016). Although both organisations have a volume of political influence alongside more direct conservation projects, SCI and HSI's open hostility towards one another is blatant. In this adversarial climate, to what extent are either of the two groups assisting the African region?

The Organisations

SCI is a not-for-profit organisation dedicated to hunters, touting that their primary missions are for the freedom of hunting and to promote wildlife conservation (SCI, n.d.). The majority of their direct conservation work is performed through the sister branch, Safari Club International Foundation, using funding from their members for anti-poaching activities, alongside their yearly Africa Wildlife Consultative Forum, where NGOs, politicians and hunters work together to formulate environmental policy in Africa (SCI Foundation, n.d.). Funding has also gone towards financially backing conservation programs with similar goals to their own. One such program is the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), which allows Zimbabwean communities to run their own hunting tourism safaris (Southwick Associates, n.d.: 9). More prominently, SCI acts as a hunting advocacy group, lobbying both the US and international governments to maintain open trophy hunting laws (SCI, n.d.) alongside directly running hunting events that fund their other activities (Greenfield, 2020).

HSI acts as a charity organisation with an emphasis on advocacy for legal reform, by working with global actors for research and policymaking alongside media campaigns. The trophy hunting issue is only one aspect of their interests, which also stretch into areas such as providing veterinary disaster relief and advocating against the fur trade (HSI, n.d.).

Leanings

Being composed of almost entirely American hunters, SCI does not attempt to hide any political biases, openly promoting hunter's values. In their claims for conservation, their aims take a 'consequentialist' approach, where the benefits outweigh any harm to wildlife (Mkono, 2019: 690). This may align them with right-wing, neoliberal stances, protecting the environment by first making it valuable as a commodity, and thus creating a desire to protect that commodity. For modern farmers in Africa, lions have been perceived as pests, often engaging in retaliatory killing in exchange for the loss of their livestock or crops (Packer et al, 2010: 143, 147-148). On that basis, the African peoples would be most likely to conserve the environment when the animals

are a resource rather than a hindrance. This is important when considering that the quality of a trophy is directly tied to their wellbeing and ability to prosper (Di Minin et al, 2016: 101-102). SCI has also openly displayed right-wing connections, creating an auction for the right to participate in a trophy hunt with Donald Trump Jr, with all funds purportedly going towards their conservation efforts. This event was met with harsh criticism from the Humane Society, who saw it as a "celebration of senseless killing" (Greenfield, 2020).

To some extent, HSI agrees in promoting conservation by boosting the economy. They strongly support non-violent tourism, which they claim via the multi-actor body of the African Lion Coalition as a far more profitable alternative (Economists at large, 2013: 11,12). SCI instead argues that many areas in Africa are not fit for a safari due to harsh terrain, whereas trophy hunting involves individuals who are willing and intending to go to remote areas (Southwick Associates, n.d.: 6). Some studies have further found that the revenue gained from safari tours alone is not enough to generate income for all animal protection, at best only covering the costs of parks and not incentivising the peoples to protect the remainder of wildlife from poaching. (Lindsey, 2008: 43-44). This could suggest that HSI shares more traits in common with left-wing principles of social ecology, such as the desire to have consistent means and ends. Photographic tours benefit all parties, including the animals, and anthropocentric trophy hunting is rejected even where it could create further gain. Being an animal rights group, they have a lesser focus on the human elements of conservation when compared to SCI, largely focusing campaigns on the animals themselves. HSI's position is widely accepted by the global North public, who support the idea that conservational trophy hunting would be justifying immorality purely on its economic merit (MacDonald et al, 2016).

Pushes for narrow reform and SCI's ideological conflict

Both groups on the surface appear to take a reforming approach to conservation. Whilst HSI wishes to ban trophy hunting, their methods and goals nonetheless revolve around improving current legal systems, rather than any drastic overhaul to them. HSI has often used social media campaigns to widen knowledge of the issue (HSUS, 2016), but emotive campaigning is starkly different to an attempt at revolutionising the African tourism structure. Given SCI's clear leanings in favour of hunting, there may instead be a conflict of interest for them. It is unclear whether their goals for conservation are merely to present their hobby in a positive light, and that they are simply resisting social change to ensure the continuation of their hobbies. Although SCI supports conservation programs, they continue to neglect abhorrent practices that are prevalent in the trophy hunting industry. At one of SCI's annual hunters' events, HSI found that 'canned hunting' tours could be purchased, despite SCI being reportedly against this practice (Coleman, 2020). Canned hunting, where animals are raised in small enclosures until the day of the hunt, with no chance of escape (Di Minin et al, 2016: 100), act as the antithesis of the hunting image that SCI wishes to present, and so a failure to act against these practices in their own events does

little to validate their claims of conservational reform. A common concern is that by allowing trophy hunting to continue, it would help to spur and make accessible immoral practices, not only canned hunting, but also the trade of ivory for traditional medicines (Dellinger, 2016: 405). With up to 90% of lions shot in South Africa being canned (Lindsey et al, 2007: 881), SCI's claimed reform aspirations have a level of doubt, and whether they have genuine conservational intentions is determinant on the merits of sustainable trophy hunting itself.

The impact of trophy hunting

In theory, sustainable trophy hunting could conserve the environment and indirectly boost endangered animal populations. However, the information on the actual environmental gains from trophy hunting is limited at best, and as such the success or failure of any conservation method in this area is difficult to assess (Packer et al, 2010: 143). Most African countries lack the resources to census wildlife, with the quotas that currently exist for sustainable hunting usually based on rough guesses alone (Lindsey, 2008: 45). One study found that the impact of trophy hunting on the Southern African economy is $344.5 million USD, creating over 53000 jobs in the region (Saayman et al, 2018: 3). HSI heavily disputes this, instead citing $132 million USD from a report published by the African Lion Coalition (Paterniti, 2017), and further estimating that tourism revenues were at most 6.4% of a country's GDP, with only 3% of the revenue from a big game company going towards the local community (Economists at large, 2013: 11). At its best, trophy hunting can increase wildlife populations, in addition to providing employment for remote populations that would otherwise destroy habitat for farmland. At its worst, trophy hunting is a blatant detriment. Without scientific quotas in place, overhunting can quickly reduce animal populations, and the predominant hunting of adult males can affect the social organisation of a species even where quotas are effective (Crosmary et al, 2015: 136). Further, the entirety of trophy hunting conservation programs like CAMPFIRE hinge on the belief that money will be given back to local African communities. Without doing so, there would be no financial incentive for Africans to deploy anti-poaching teams nor preserve the local environment. Despite this fact, it is not certain how much money truly goes to local communities, with most safari businesses being American. The African Lion Coalition reports that most profits will go into the pockets of American companies, with only 3% of these companies' earnings flowing back to African communities (Economists at large, 2013: 7,16). In addition, government officials often overlook overhunting in favour of profiting from these companies, regardless of quotas. Overshooting stemming from corruption caused a 1977 ban of trophy hunting in Kenya, with the hunting resulting in a purported 70% loss of wildlife in the region (Lindsey, 2008: 42). Whilst effectively regulated trophy hunting could incentivise conservation in select areas, this is unlikely to occur in nations that lack effective research and regulation, especially when local communities fail to receive the profit.

The problems with a post-material lens

46% of lion trophies are imported into the US (Economists at large, 2013: 5), with around 50% of all lion hunters being American (Levin, 2016). For both SCI and HSI, the issue could be suggested as one only available for discussion to a prosperous post-material America, with both groups similarly having largely American bases. SCI advocate for the interests of affluent hunters who have the capacity to spend thousands of dollars on trophy hunting trips, and whether they succeed in protecting these interests, the hunters' lives will not be harmed by its banning. Likewise, HSI advocates for animal welfare will not have their lives greatly improved by a ban on trophy hunting in foreign nations. It could be suggested that only the wealthy global North is in the position to advocate for the rights of animals, having a stable enough livelihood to aspire for self-actualisation. Whilst framing the issue as post-material may be applicable from an American perspective, this framing is grossly incorrect when considering the reality of the tourism industry in Africa. In working with or against governments through groups like the African Lion Coalition and the Wildlife Consultative Forum respectively, HSI and SCI may have failed to address key issues to the people of Africa, who are concerned with entirely different aspects of trophy hunting. For them, the issue is hardly one of animal rights, or whether a 'consequentialist' argument is ethically justifiable.

Most governments of African countries strongly support trophy hunting (Onishi, 2015), and when examining a study of local people working in conservancies, there would appear to be strong support for it, with a major material benefit being the meat given to communities from the trophies themselves. Only 11% of those asked stated they would protect animals on communal lands if trophy hunting was banned (Angula et al, 2018: 28). Despite these positives when looking through a purely economic lens, when examining the views of the wider African public, a different image appears. The indigenous principle of 'ubuntu' was initially present among many areas of Africa, which promoted the needs of a homogenous community of humans and the greater environment over any individual such as a trophy hunter, but these values were displaced with the advent of colonialism (Mkono, 2019: 691-692). In a study of African people with access to the internet, citizens expressed open hostility to the views of both SCI and HSI. Online media criticising the Cecil hunt, of which HSI majorly contributed to, were perceived to only display interest in animals, with the African peoples' welfare not being considered (Mkono, 2019: 694-698). Opinions of the CAMPFIRE program for the Hwange district of Zimbabwe show an even more critical view. Participants in the program criticised the lack of local input over the mechanisms, in addition to locals being unable to choose how and where benefits would be distributed to their community. Their cooperation was founded not out of a mutual interest for animals, but due to fear of punitive measures by external parties for harming them (Dube, 2019: 341). Some even went so far as to praise the death of Cecil, an act of protest against the systems and programs that limit their own agency (Dube, 2018: 340, 342). SCIs endorsement of programs like CAMPFIRE and HSI's own position as an animal-centred rather than African-centred group

may be making it difficult for either of them to connect with communities. African governments that accept policies promoted by SCI were alternatively perceived as being greedy, succumbing to the allure of the global North, with regular Africans forced to comply with the exploitation of their resources by affluent foreigners (Mkono, 2019: 699). With indigenous hunting for food and other needs now considered 'poaching', the complaints and arguments surrounding the issue for the African people have little to do with conservation, instead concerning a lack of agency. Moreover, concerns lie with the continued enforcement of colonial market systems that created the African tourism industry and consequently removed traditional principles like ubuntu. Although these studies survey narrow areas, there is a clear perception by some that the safari industry, through hunting or otherwise, acts as a continued show of force by the global North to restrict communities.

Conclusion

Where there is doubt for successful conservation with trophy hunting, it would be better to ban it than to continue it (Dellinger, 2016: 438, 466). SCI is not unfounded in all their claims, yet clear conflicts of interest limit their ability to further conservation. The ethical dilemma of trophy hunting cannot be addressed until SCI can prove that both the local African community and wildlife itself prospers rather than degrades from their 'conservation.' HSI may have more seemingly palatable aspirations for the global North, but banning trophy hunting entirely could harm those communities relying on conservancies and programs like CAMPFIRE to feed their families. Additionally, HSI's strong outward campaign focus on incidents like Cecil's could only be alienating them from a subdued and frustrated African community, who feel that their needs have been shunted in favour of the ethical debate.

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A COMPARISON OF THE FOOD SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENT IN MEXICO AND THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract

The United States and Mexico, while geographically close, experience vastly different political, environmental, economic, and cultural realities, as well as historical experiences. For this reason, it is counterintuitive that two environmental movements should emerge which, in ideology, are largely reflective of one another. However, this has occurred in the Mexican food sovereignty movement and the social ecology movement of the United States. Both movements advocate for the decentralisation and the dissolution of hierarchy in food systems and between life forms, for the importance of culturally and biotically diverse communities, and for ecological sustainability. However, the differences in their articulation and enaction of this ideology are also numerous and allow for much analysis. Throughout the course of this comparison, the nuances of the Mexican food sovereignty movement and the social ecology movement of the United States will be historically and politically contextualised through a process of first deconstructing their differences, and then reconstructing their similarities. This analysis will oscillate between the big and the small by drawing on specific examples within the movements and linking them with a variety of overarching theories, themes and concepts ranging from sociological approaches to social movements, theories of ecological economics, themes of environmental (in)justice, dialectic historical processes and the intersection of environmentalism and social justice.

Global environmental politics is a site of vibrant contestation in which social movements present and act in a plethora of different ways. Much stands to be gained from their analyses, and this essay will make a small contribution through a comparison of two such movements. The Mexican food sovereignty movement (FSM) emerged in the late 1990s as part of a transnational movement of resistance to neoliberal, market-driven, corporate agriculture, its hegemonic nature, and the negative social and environmental effects that it was and is producing, particularly in countries of the 'Global South'. The Mexican segment of this movement subscribes

to the definition put forth by La Vía Campesina that "food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems" (La Vía Campesina in Patel, 2009: 666). The social ecology movement (SEM) that occurred in the United States (US) during the 1960s through to the 1990s was initiated and largely articulated by eco-anarchist turned eco-communalist writer and labour unionist Murray Bookchin. It presented an alternative way of living and conceptualising human social and human-nature relations to that which currently "organizes differences among human and other life-forms along hierarchical lines of supremacy or inferiority" (Institute for Social Ecology, n.d.). While both movements embody strikingly similar ideologies in that they emphasise the role that exploitative social and economic relations on the micro and macro level play in environmental degradation, their differences are myriad and invite rich comparative analysis. The comparison of these two movements that hereafter commences will provide insight into how differing dialectic historical experiences (in the US and Mexico) can produce similar ideologies yet divergent expressions of these ideologies in social groups. Concepts of post-growth, 'Global North/South' environmentalism and the ways that different movements engage with state and institutional politics will also be examined.

Each movement is now briefly regarded according to its characteristics as a social movement more broadly. The structural approach to social movements, advanced in the field of sociology and building on the work of Karl Marx, with a few alterations, provides the most apt explanation of the nature of the FSM. Traditionally, "structuralist accounts have focused on contradictions and dysfunctions at the systemic level in society" (Hjelmar, 1996: 170). The modified version used here retains this focus but concentrates more on the value-added and structural strains theory of Neil Smelser, which presumes that, in order for individuals to coalesce and mobilise as a unit, they must be experiencing systemic disadvantage, inequality or exploitation (Smelser, 1962). It is also less concerned with nation states as the main distributors of structural strain (Fetner and Smith, 2007), supposing hegemony in the form of dominant ideologies (currently neoliberal globalisation) fills this role instead. In every aspect, the FSM demonstrates "a clear awareness of and direct opposition to many forms of neoliberalism" (Mares and Alkon, 2011: 78), on the basis that this system promotes structural strains and systemic inequalities on all scales from global to local.

The SEM does not fit easily into any existing social movement theoretical paradigms and is often categorised as a philosophy instead. Actually, social-ecological thought manifested as a social movement in a manner akin to the deep ecology movement. That is to say, it emphasised the importance of spiritual and intellectual reflection, individually and collectively, on environmental and societal issues as a form of social movement in itself (Tokar, 2008). Theorising was not seen to be apart from the realm of social reality. Rather, it was constitutive of the movement, prescribed and carried out as deliberately as one might, for example, physically engage in protest. Defining social ecology simply as a 'mode of thought' unnecessarily narrows

understandings of the ways that civil society mobilises, physically (through actions) and intellectually, to effect change. However, it is impossible to ignore the privilege inherent to the 'intellectual' approach of the SEM, and none could reasonably argue that it resulted directly from structural strains as did the FSM. These observations about the nature of each movement as social movements introduce the first opportunity for critical comparison as they indicate much about the greater cultural, political, economic and historical contexts which gave rise to them.

The 'three posts' paradigm developed by Timothy Doyle in several books on environmental politics, while not exhaustive, provides a reasonable starting point for comparison of the FSM and the SEM because it introduces the notion of Global North/South divides in environmentalism. Within this framework, the FSM can be considered a post-colonial environmental movement. Simply put, "food sovereignty is the continuation of anti-colonial struggles in ostensibly postcolonial contexts" (Grey and Patel, 2014: 433). One of the movement's key actions was to protest involvement in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on the basis that it would allow the US to dump cheap, genetically modified produce (in particular corn) on the Mexican market. US domination of the Mexican food system is seen by the FSM to be a form of neocolonialism, thus protesting NAFTA was a decolonial struggle for sovereignty. Moreover, the cultural, environmental, and political significance of corn as a sustainable, indigenously cultivated crop is central to the FSM in Mexico. The SEM, on the other hand, admittedly stretches the utility of the paradigm. However, for the purposes of this comparison, it can be approximated as a post-material movement. This assertion is made largely on the basis that while the SEM did frame its social and environmental concerns as resulting from structural strain by using a pressing discourse of rights and justice (DesJardins, 2001), it is clear that meeting immediate needs was not contingent on the fulfilment of the SEM's agenda. Furthermore, the movement was largely constituted by well-educated members of the American 'middle class' and placed an emphasis on technological and spiritual fulfilment according to ecological principles: key elements of the post-material environmentalist mindset (Mukherji, 2017).

How can two movements with such closely aligned ideologies fall into two different 'categories'? The answer to this question lies in acknowledging the immense importance of dialectic historical processes in determining how movements present. Where the U.S. has unfolded through a typically 'Northern' process of industrialisation, development, and a culture of overproduction and overconsumption, Mexico has advanced through a typically 'Southern' progression of colonisation and decolonisation, unequal economic integration (a semi-peripheral dependency relationship), and the lesser or slower material 'development' that these processes entail. These "historically-located social and material relations" (Lampard, 2018: 52) determine many factors of the way that environmental movements present, including but not limited to a movement's material capabilities, its repertoire, its constituents and ideology. It is beyond the purview of this comparison to trace these linkages in the case of the FSM in Mexico and the SEM in the US.

However, an intuitive connection between the dialectic historical experience of the US and the presentation of the SEM as 'privileged in its intellectuality', and that of Mexico and the FSM as a 'populist peasant's movement' is hereby acknowledged.

Given this, one might then ask how two movements arising from such different historical experiences can embody remarkably similar ideologies anyway. To explain this, it is necessary to deviate and introduce an entirely new component to the (formerly) 'three posts' paradigm- 'post-growth'. Post-growth movements reject reformist environmentalism and view the notion of 'sustainable development' as an oxymoron. They subscribe to the idea that "the large-scale degradation of ecosystems requires a fundamental transformation of our economic system away from continuous economic growth" (Hardt and O'Neill, 2017: 198). Both the FSM and the SEM exemplify post-growth movements. Regarding the FSM and post-growth theory it has been documented that "peasantries have extensive pasts as agents of non-growth economies, and many actively continue to struggle to maintain their non-capitalist way of life, increasingly under the banner of food sovereignty" (Roman-Alcalá, 2017: 122-123). That is not to say that peasants do not participate in capitalist markets, but "by seeking markets as means for reproductive livelihood rather than expansion", they offer "an alternative to growth-driven agriculture" (Roman-Alcalá, 2017: 126). In his work *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, Bookchin reiterated this same concept in more metaphysical terms when he stated that a "post-scarcity society, in short, is the fulfilment of the social and cultural potentialities latent in a technology of abundance" (1971: 13). Here, 'abundance' can be equated with perpetual growth. The historical dialectics of the US and Mexico, being typically 'Northern' and 'Southern' respectively, have nonetheless eventuated in an analogous disenchantment with the status quo. It is in this regard that the SEM and the FSM reconverge as post-growth movements.

Owing to their differing theoretical perspectives on the state, both movements have engaged with the state and institutional politics in dissimilar ways. The SEM largely viewed governance at the state level to be morally illegitimate as one of the most systematised forms of hierarchy and domination of both humans and the environment (Biehl and Bookchin, 1998). Decentralised, 'face-to-face' direct democracy was favoured by the movement as the ideal alternative to government constituted at the national or even sub-state level. Accordingly, the SEM did not engage with the state but did engage with various 'communalist' movements through its educational platform 'The Institute for Social Ecology'. The institute itself is an interesting point for analysis as it was established as an alternative to the prevailing state and corporate-owned educational institutions of the US. Its style of organisation and of teaching anticipated that which would later be put into words by Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1993). According to Freire and embodied in the Institute for Social Ecology, "our 'ontological vocation' is towards 'humanization'; learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to act against the oppressive elements of reality (Goodman, 2014: 1055). In this spirit, the SEM used 'horizontal', peer-directed education and knowledge production as a counter-hegemonic tool

to challenge social and environmental 'oppression', as well as the state and dominant institutions which the movement perceived to be perpetuating this oppression.

The Mexican FSM has an enigmatic relationship with the state which can be traced back to the origins of the term 'food sovereignty' itself. The term 'soberanía alimentaria' "predates the English 'food sovereignty' by several years and was initially coined by the Mexican government in documents related to the National Food Program" (Grey and Patel, 2014: 431). This observation foreshadows the essential tension between the Mexican state and the FSM: that the state seeks to incorporate the concept of food sovereignty into discourse while at the same time conflating it with 'self-sufficiency' in order to 'de-radicalise' the movement (Rodriguez-Gomez, 2013). Self-sufficiency is believed by the Mexican state to be achievable through producing export crops for financial capital to import others according to the market principle of comparative advantage, which is entirely at odds with the movement's position. The same tension has been demonstrated in countries such as Ecuador, where the transformative nature of food sovereignty has been effectively 'captured' by the state through the induction of a more moderate version into the constitution (Flores, Ruivenkamp and Jongerden, 2018). Another dilemma for analysis, also indicated linguistically, is the inadequately defined use of the word 'sovereignty'. There are two schools of thought regarding the meaning of sovereignty in this context, and each has different implications for the way that the Mexican FSM engages with the state. Firstly, that sovereignty refers to Westphalian sovereignty, which translates as states "achieving self-sufficiency, food autonomy and/or domestic control over the entire food chain process from production to consumption" (Sharma, 2018: 5). According to this definition, it would be appropriate for the FSM to work closely with the Mexican state. Secondly, that sovereignty refers to the autonomy and empowerment of a plurality of social groups within and without the state. This definition implies a more antagonistic relationship or at least a degree of separation between the interests of the state and of the movement. The FSM itself invited this confusion by initially using the term in the Westphalian way, before later referring more to social groups (Edelman, 2014). The second interpretation is arguably more appropriate, as the Mexican FSM and the FSM more broadly were enabled by a kind of 'international class alliance' that transcended national borders, as embodied by transnational food sovereignty organisation 'La Vía Campesina' for example (Tilzey, 2017). Where the SEM sought to maintain separation from the state in keeping with its ideology, the Mexican FSM seeks to balance what is arguably a revolutionary agenda with a status-quo state that consistently 'misinterprets' (read de-radicalises) this agenda. For these reasons, the SEM can be considered truly counter-hegemonic, while the Mexican FSM should be considered 'alter-hegemonic' (Tilzey, 2017) in that it remains entangled in the dominant political regime (Henderson, 2016).

As has been demonstrated through this comparative analysis, the Mexican FSM and the US SEM are two different expressions of a fundamentally similar ideology. Both movements arrived at the adoption of this ideology through undeniably dissimilar dialectic historical progressions and

differing social, economic, political, and cultural experiences, as evidenced by their labelling as post-colonial and post-material, respectively. In turn, this resulted in the variance of expression that has been explored with reference to the SEM as a decidedly intellectual movement and the Mexican FSM as a 'populist peasant's movement' which emerged in response to structural and systemic strains. By expanding Doyle's 'three posts' paradigm to include post-growth movements, these differences are reconciled. Comparing the social ecology and food sovereignty movements has allowed for valuable reflections to be made on how various social groups come to conceptualise their environment, how these perceptions inform the course of action they take and how this, in turn, shapes the current and future environmental, political and social reality.

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COMPARING ECOFEMINISMS: THE WOMEN'S INITIATIVE THE GAMBIA AND THE WOMEN'S ENVIRONMENTAL NETWORK

Cecile Moylan

Abstract

Ecofeminism links the subordination of women with the subordination of the environment and emphasises the importance of connecting feminist and environmental politics. This essay compares two non-governmental organisations (NGOs) within an ecofeminist framework: the Women's Initiative The Gambia (WIG) in The Gambia, and the Women's Environmental Network (WEN) in the United Kingdom (UK). Through this comparison, the essay explores what ecofeminism is, the different forms it takes, and the unique ways each NGO contributes to promoting the rights of women and the environment. They differ significantly; largely due to the different geopolitical regions they operate within and their differing underpinning ideologies. WIG works in the rural Global South, and takes a more conservative approach, while WEN is a liberal feminist NGO, operating in a liberal democracy in the Global North. These differences, in turn, influence the repertoire of each NGO, and the actors they engage with. WIG uses recycling as a solution to the problem of waste pollution in The Gambia, but also to the lack of women's education and financial independence in a highly patriarchal and, until 2017, autocratic country. Meanwhile, WEN places a greater focus on lobbying for inclusive environmental policy and political representation, while also creating community-based initiatives that subvert unsustainable norms and practices. Using this comparative analysis, the essay highlights the diversity of ecofeminism, along with its capacity to empower women and instigate meaningful change in the environmental movement.

Introduction

Since the 1970s, ecofeminism has provided a framework to understand the interconnection of women's social, political, and economic inequality, and the ongoing destruction of the natural environment (Buckingham, 2015: 845-846). However, ecofeminist approaches are diverse, encompassing a spectrum of political ideologies and aims (Somma and Tolleson-Rinehart, 1997:

153-154). This essay will compare two NGOs, The Women's Initiative The Gambia (WIG), based in The Gambia, and the Women's Environmental Network (WEN), based in the United Kingdom, to show the different ways ecofeminism can contribute to the environmental movement. This essay will first consider what ecofeminism is and then engage in a comparative analysis of WIG and WEN. The essay will discuss the ideologies that underpin each organisation; WEN's liberal, materialist ecofeminist model in contrast to WIG's more conservative, essentialist approach. From here, the essay will analyse the repertoire of each NGO, and the political actors they engage with. It will conclude that, though different, both WIG and WEN positively impact their communities, and are examples of effective, ecofeminist responses.

Ecofeminism

Ecofeminism posits that there is an inherent connection between women's rights and the protection of the environment, and it is impossible to tackle one issue and ignore the other. The oppression of women *and* environmental degradation emerge under the patriarchy, aided by a growth-driven, capitalist economy (Buckingham, 2015: 845). Ecofeminism aims to challenge the dualism that separates men from, and leads them to exploit, women and nature, and calls for inclusive methods of dealing with environmental concerns (Salman and Iqbal, 2008: 853).

At the core of ecofeminism is the concept of care. Essentialist ecofeminists posit that women's biological role as mothers and caretakers strengthens their connection with nature, however other ecofeminists believe this mindset places an unfair burden on women to solve the problems they are disproportionately affected by (MacGregor, 2006: 105-110). Alternatively, materialist ecofeminists see women's connection with the environment as a product of their socially constructed gender roles, often in social reproduction, that bring them into closer contact with nature (Pandey, 2013: 347). Both perspectives reinforce that women possess a unique understanding of the current environmental crisis, and it is essential that they are included in finding solutions.

WIG, WEN, and their Ecofeminist Ideologies

This essay sees both WIG and WEN as ecofeminist NGOs. WIG is a grassroots NGO, founded in 1997 by Isatou Ceesay, a woman from the rural Gambian town of N'jau. It responds to waste pollution, in particular plastic pollution, and the effects of deforestation, which disproportionately affect women due to their disproportionate role in social reproduction (Feuersenger, 2020). Due to heavy deforestation, women have reduced access to firewood, and resort to burning plastic for fuel; releasing toxic fumes, and endangering their and their children's health. WIG employs women to recycle and repurpose plastic and organic waste. It also educates them about climate change and personal finance; giving them a voice to teach future generations about environmentalism, along with financial autonomy (Dyu, n.d.). Meanwhile, WEN was founded in London by a collective of women in 1988. They connect the health of women with the health of

the environment, addressing a range of issues including the presence of toxins in sanitary and domestic products, the unsustainability of food production, and air pollution. Like WIG, WEN highlights unique ways women come into closer contact with environmental issues, for instance, unsustainable menstrual items, 2 billion of which are unsustainably disposed of in the UK annually (Women's Environmental Network, 2020b).

However, these NGOs operate on different ends of the feminist spectrum. WIG operates in a conservative, patriarchal society, which influences their approach. According to UNICEF (2012: 2), only 1 percent of the country’s poorest, rural women complete secondary education, and men still dominate political spheres. WIG adopt a more conservative approach, especially as they rely, to some extent, on the support of men within their communities (GEF Small Grants Programme, 2013). They fight to change social norms about gender roles, especially regarding access to employment, but avoid overtly political discourse and do not (as far as this essay can tell) identify as ecofeminist (Feuersenger, 2020). Instead, they focus on less controversial forms of change like education (Thompson, 2015). Comparatively, WEN operates in an affluent, Global North society, and self-identifies as ecofeminist (Women's Environmental Network, 2020c). Their model is aligned with liberal feminism. They critique patriarchal and capitalist government and economic structures but believe gender equality and the survival of the environment are possible via reform, rather than revolution (Oppermann, 2013: 21). Unlike WIG, WEN more actively fight to increase women’s formal political participation, including in the British parliament, where currently only 32 percent of MPs are women (Women's Environmental Network, 2020b).

Furthermore, the NGOs have divergent approaches to the ecofeminist concept of care. WIG understands the connection between women and nature from an essentialist perspective, and the women involved often approach their environmentalism “as mothers” (Hunt, 2015; MacGregor, 2004: 58). Motherhood, and mothers’ care for family and nature, is an important component of some African feminisms, which see women’s altruism as critical to development (Omotoso, 2019: 33-34). For example, women are more likely to sacrifice their income to send their children to school, unlike men who are more likely to “place power and money above life” (MacGregor, 2006: 43; Mies and Shiva, 1993: 304). In contrast, WEN aims to revalue care (Turner, 2020). They see all people as equal to each other and to nature, therefore care for the environment is not essentially a female responsibility, but a responsibility of everyone (Salman and Iqbal, 2008: 854-857; Women's Environmental Network, 2020c). They also use this conception of care and equality to build an intersectional feminist approach into their work. Many of their community-based initiatives target women facing converging forms of discrimination, including those from socioeconomically disadvantaged areas in London (Women's Environmental Network, 2020c). Both WIG and WEN, though their perspectives on care are different, use it to guide their environmental work.

Repertoire of WIG and WEN

WIG and WEN use a broad, reformist repertoire to further their respective causes. In WIG's case, the main project is to clean rural communities infiltrated with plastic waste, primarily by recycling plastic to create products like bags, toys, and jewellery (Dyu, n.d.). They also recycle organic waste material to make briquettes, a kind of compressed coal used as fuel for cooking, normally made from tree wood. The recycled alternative is cheaper and reduces deforestation and plastic burning (Feuersenger, 2020). WEN, on the other hand, place a greater focus on lobbying the government and working towards policy change. While WIG did provide consultation regarding The Gambia's 2015 ban on plastic bags, WEN comparatively produces a greater volume of briefings and proposals (GEF Small Grants Programme, 2013; Women's Environmental Network, 2020b). Currently, they are working with a coalition of organisations to promote a Feminist Green New Deal (FGND), which includes a push for a revaluation of care as a "green job", to help reduce the impact of women's unequal work in social reproduction (Women's Environmental Network, 2020c).

Though neither NGO challenges dominant government or economic models, both still challenge unsustainable norms and practices. WIG runs an afforestation program, "Reforest the Future", which counters deforestation (Women's Initiative The Gambia, 2020). Afforestation, the practice of replanting forests, is essential to the lives of women in the Global South and, importantly, increases their access to valuable resources like firewood (Pandey, 2013: 352-353). In turn, this decreases the time women spend on domestic duties, allowing them to direct time to education or other types of employment (Shandra, et al., 2008: 51-52). WIG aims to plant 2,500 trees in N'jau, and 75 local women will be given ten trees to plant on either their own or community property (Women's Initiative The Gambia, 2020). Not dissimilarly, WEN runs community garden projects, namely the Tower Hamlets Growing Centres and the Soil Sisters program, to bring urban, industrialised communities into closer contact with nature (Women's Environmental Network, 2020b). In the UK, food growing projects have become an effective means to resist industrial food institutions. They provide an alternative to processed food, which often harms animals and other non-human forms of nature in its production, is wrapped in plastic and provides little nutritional value (Schlosberg and Coles, 2016: 3). Thus, while WEN's liberal feminist model does not attack the core of the capitalist system, it does find subversive ways to resist consumerism.

However, arguably the greatest strength of each NGO is their ability to educate women about the environment and gender equality. Through WIG, women learn about climate change and pollution, but also undertake 18-36 months of budget management training (Dyu, n.d.). WIG also sets up local savings accounts where women leave a portion of their income each pay, to later take to an official bank account, so they can save for the future (Feuersenger, 2020). Therefore, even though their essentialist approach may place emphasis on women's identities as

mothers, WIG still encourages women to become political citizens; a sign of meaningful development in a patriarchal country (MacGregor, 2004: 71). Meanwhile, WEN runs seminars, workshops, festivals and forums, and releases information sessions about how to make washable pads or natural cosmetics; another form of resistance to consumer culture (Schlosberg and Coles, 2016: 4-5; Women's Environmental Network, 2020b). They have also used education to broaden the definition of what constitutes an environmental issue. For instance, encouraging discussion about the risks of toxins in sanitary products helped them successfully campaign for Toxic Shock Syndrome warnings to be included on tampon packaging in 1995 (Women's Environmental Network, 2020b). By placing a significant focus on education as a mechanism for change, not only have the NGOs empowered women, they have also gained the support of a broader community.

Actors involved with WIG and WEN

WIG and WEN both work with a variety of political actors, but the geopolitical regions they work in differ how they engage with them. Before 2017 WIG operated under an authoritarian regime that, like most authoritarian governments, placed heavy restrictions on NGOs' operations (Searcey, 2017). In The Gambia, former president, Yahya Jammah, who was in power for 22 years, threatened to "kill anyone" who tried to "destabilise the government" (Searcey, 2017; Thompson, 2015). Consequently, WIG has been more involved in a form of insider politics: working in line with the government, and seeking political change through negotiation (Wyn, 2001: 345). This has aided their longevity, and the government even consulted the NGO before banning plastic bag imports in 2015 (GEF Small Grants Programme, 2013). More radical ecofeminists would argue that working inside an oppressive regime does little to change exploitative structures. However, WIG's more diplomatic approach has allowed them to survive and gradually build Gambian women's education and political autonomy. Comparatively, WEN benefits from the freedoms of working in the UK's liberal democracy. They still work as insiders, but have far more power in this space, as their political expression faces less restriction from the government (Wyn, 2001: 337-338). Inside the system, they provide briefings and policy advice to the British parliament, contributing to legislation such as the Waste Minimisation Act 1998. Members of the organisation are also often affiliated with a diverse range of political bodies, including co-founder Dame Joan Ruddock, who was the UK's first full-time Minister for Women after her election in 1999 (Women's Environmental Network, 2020a).

Though both NGOs have had a level of success engaging with the government as a political actor, a significant part of their success comes from their connection with ordinary people. WIG works with over 2000 Gambian women, across 40 rural communities, and for many, working with the NGO was their first exposure to formal education or employment (Dyu, n.d.). Additionally, due to The Gambia's conservative attitudes towards women, WIG often has to convince male leaders and male-led authorities before commencing their projects (GEF Small Grants

Programme, 2013). While this may seem counterproductive to a feminist cause, this engagement is actually encouraging more men to support the project, and even contribute; as part of Reforest the Future, men will assist in preparing compost and helping to dig holes for the new trees (Women's Initiative The Gambia, 2020). Likewise, WEN's community projects and educational repertoire enable them to share their ideas with a broad range of people. However, they also conduct meaningful work by joining forces with other groups or individuals, often those who share a feminist focus (Women's Environmental Network, 2020c). In launching the FNGD, for example, WEN is collaborating with the UK Women's Budget Group, the international ecofeminist NGO, Women's Environmental Development Network, and ecofeminists Sherilyn MacGregor and Maeve Cohen, while also encouraging dialogues with the wider community (Turner, 2020). Networking is important for many NGOs, but ecofeminist organisations often rely on non-governmental bodies to find a platform. Thus, WIG and WEN's ability to build a greater understanding of environmentalism, and the value of women in their communities, is critical to their success.

Conclusion

Ecofeminism provides insight into how humans can deal with the current environmental crisis in a just, inclusive way. The NGOs, WIG and WEN, are distinctive from each other; the former resisting norms of a conservative society, the latter trying to reform their more affluent countries' unsustainable practices. WIG takes an essentialist ecofeminist approach but allows women to develop their financial autonomy while they recycle, replant, and rejuvenate The Gambia. Meanwhile, WEN uses a liberal feminist model to lobby for policy change, create alternative practices to consumerist behaviour, and better protect the health of women and the environment. Despite their differences, both show that women's initiative and dedication have the power to create meaningful change in the environmental movement. Both show that "where the problems are man-made, the solutions are feminist" (Women's Environmental Network, 2020c).

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A SPECTRUM OF ECOFEMINISMS: COMPARING THE KURDISH WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND THE FEMINISTS FOR ANIMAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Yasmine Wright Gittins

Abstract

This paper compares two ecofeminist environmental movements: the Kurdish Women's Movement (KWM) and the Feminists for Animal Liberation Movement (FALM). Their comparison reveals that despite similar labels, vastly differing social, political, and environmental contexts have manifested in divergent actors, repertoires and aims. Firstly, this paper determines the exact scope of the current definition of ecofeminism offered in academia. It then deconstructs the specific circumstances of both movements and evaluates their respective ideologies. It analyses the aims, actors, and actions of the KWM and FALM, and concludes that while both movements demonstrate distinct ecofeminist ideologies, they also evidence contrasting approaches and motivations. This is supported by analysis of how the turbulent social and political contexts of Syria and Turkey contribute to a more reactionary and direct action repertoire in the KWM as opposed to the FALM whose decentralised and post-material basis influences its more passive and indirect tactics. These differences demand an expansion on the singular ideation of the ecofeminist ideology to include a 'spectrum of ecofeminisms.'

The exact definition of ecofeminism remains a contentious debate. Ecofeminism concerns the connection between the oppression of women and the environment and argues that understanding these connections deepens the potential for solutions in feminist theory and ecology to be mutually inclusive (Chakraborty, 2015: 129-131). Ecofeminism critiques the predominant patriarchal order which uses hierarchy to justify inequalities and by extension speciesism. Yet, as criticism has emerged from Southern and non-Western feminist scholars about the exclusivity of historical ecofeminism, the definition has evolved to include the notion of intersectionality. Proponents of intersectionality argue that the nexuses of race, class, gender,

disability, sexuality, caste, religion, and age intersect to formulate unique experiences of discrimination (Kings, 2017: 64). Thus, while it initially appears intuitive that both the Kurdish Women's Movement (KWM) and the Feminists for Animal Liberation Movement (FALM) would have similar ideals, the notion of intersectionality reveals why these movements exhibit vastly different structural arrangements. Divergence in the race and class nexus between these two movements entail differing experiences of social power dynamics which proves critical in determining the approaches undertaken toward revolutionising or reforming the established system (Fisher, Dow and Ray, 2017: 5). These differences bring into question the ideation of ecofeminism as a singular dimension and give rise to the idea of a spectrum of ecofeminisms.

The KWM originates in Rojava, North Syria and is part of a larger liberation movement. The movement has been gaining momentum for decades against colonial forces with women and Kurdish peoples alike suffering severe oppression. The Kurdish people are one of the indigenous peoples of the Mesopotamian plains and the largest ethnic group without claim to a permanent state, with approximately thirty million spread across Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Armenia (Duzgun, 2016: 284). The struggle for a Kurdish nation was initiated formally by the Kurdish militant and political organisation Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (PKK or Kurdistan Worker's Party), which includes one of the largest contingents of female militants; the Women's Protection Units (YPJ) and the women's military wing of the PKK (YJA-Star) (Duzgun, 2016: 285).

Jineology is the foundational ideology behind the KWM and focuses on the three tenets of true democracy, gender equality and ecological sustainability. Jineology's creation is credited to Abdullah Ocalan and his development of the concept of democratic confederalism (Ferreria and Santiago, 2018: 487). Democratic Confederalism is a criticism of three components of current society: the nation-state, capitalism, and patriarchy (Ferreira and Santiago, 2018: 486). As argued by Hunt (2017), the tenet of ecological sustainability often receives the least critical evaluation despite its equal footing in the movement. The ecological dimension of Jineology is a critical aspect of the KWM's intentions to create a new state (Hunt, 2017: 10). Concerns regarding climate change, biodiversity, water security, agricultural production and reliance on oil are critical to the movement's ideals and intents, particularly due to the intersection of race and gender, poverty, and environmental degradation.

In contrast, FALM is an international movement originating from the ideals of an organisation called Feminists for Animal Rights (FARINC) in California in 1981. The focus of this movement remains on educating and raising awareness about the links between feminism and animal liberation. The animal liberation movement extends from a rejection of the dominance humanity holds over all other living creatures. This dominance is characterised in part by the consumption and exploitation of animal products. Vegetarian ecofeminism also rejects the consumption of animal products based on the extreme impacts the meat and dairy industry have on the environment. The production of meat and dairy products requires large amounts of deforested

land, water and fertilizers and emitting more greenhouse gases than the production of legumes and vegetables (Gibbens, 2019). In this sense, animal liberation emerges as a distinct environmental ethic (Jamieson, 1998: 54).

The basis of vegan or vegetarian feminism lies in a conviction that women's oppression and animal oppression bear enough similarity that the exploration of intersectional experience across race, gender, class, and species is inherently latent. The definition of 'personhood' has historically excluded people of colour, women, and animals, and Donovan (1990: 354) argues that an implicit exclusion continues today. A key component of vegetarian feminist theory is the rejection of a traditional, logical and masculine conception of animal rights, which emerged out of concern that any form of sentimental justification for animal liberation would lead to academic scorn (Donovan, 1990: 351). This rejection arose upon the realisation that academic inquiry into animal liberation was founded on dominant masculine principles, which, in turn, trivialise women's perspectives. Criticisms of the movement include a rejection of the idea that the liberation of women and animals are not interdependent and liberating one actor does not entail liberation for the other (Cochrane, 2010: 123). However, this fails to account for the fact that the removal of the common material conditions reinforcing oppression may lead to liberation for both parties (Wyckoff, 2014). In this case, the common material condition is seen to be a social hierarchy.

The collective identities of the KWM and the FALM can be classed as ecofeminist, yet they display vastly differing actors, actions and aims. Nevertheless, the nature of both movements as influenced by the collective ideology of ecofeminism situates them firmly on the socialist mark of the left to right political spectrum. In addition, while it appears immediately evident that both movements can be defined as anthropocentric due to their focus on women, more detailed analysis reveals they are both ecocentric in nature. The equation of women's oppression to that of nature's, and the acknowledgement of the interconnected nature of humanity and the environment inherent within both movements, is a marked similarity. Regardless, it is necessary to consider how the political, social, and economic contexts of the movements culminate in vastly different repertoires, despite these similarities, and how conclusively the conceptualisation of ecofeminism would benefit more from a 'spectrum' than a singular identity.

Social movements develop cohesive aims that motivate their various actors and shape their tactical repertoires. Social movements are purposeful, organised groups striving toward a common goal (Little and McGivern, 2012). The KWM displays the characteristics of a revolutionary social movement. Radical or revolutionary social movements demand systematic and structural change to achieve their goals (Doyle, McEachern and MacGregor, 2016: 47; Tilly, 1993: 10). The KWM primarily aims to establish new societal structures through the development of a Kurdish state. Its goals include interactive democracy, gender equality, socialist-based economic principles, and ecological sustainability (Duzgun, 2016: 286). Comparatively, FALM can be evaluated as a reformist social movement. The main goals of FALM are to educate people on

the connection between the exploitation of women and animals as well as nature, and to encourage vegan lifestyles as a means of resisting domination (FARINC 2019). FALM claims that complete change in the hierarchical nature of society is the solution to eliminating domination, however, the movement focuses predominantly on reforming society's behaviour within the system by reducing meat consumption and becoming more educated on the topic.

The aims of the KWM are shaped by Jineology and its assertion that the liberation of women and the environment enables freedom. Additionally, the oppression of women and Kurdish people in the region in combination with the devastating effects of industrial enterprise and war on the environment have shaped a reactionary approach bolstered by the historical desire for an independent Kurdish state. The geographically centralised nature of the KWM is in direct opposition to the decentralised nature of the FALM. A variety of actors participate in the liberation movement across a broad array of contexts and formulate varying opinions about the movement's goals. Thus, the overarching goals of the organisation are broader and more aimed at human conditions that are applicable to everyone. By comparison, the fact that the KWM is in direct reaction to a series of events enables it to develop clearer goals and visibly identify as challenging the established order. However, the original conception of the FALM in California developed in a context that identified fundamentally challenging capitalism and the system as unrealistic (FARINC 2019).

The actors involved in the KWM are overall more motivated by the direct impacts that industrialisation and colonisation have on their way of life as opposed to FALM whose actors identify post-material motivations for involvement. Industrialisation as an agent of capitalism threatens the environment, including humanity (Doyle, McEachern and MacGregor, 2016: 87). In the case of the KWM, their resistance is shaped against the powers of capitalism, the nation-state and, by extension, patriarchy that seeks to dominate women, minorities, and the environment. Ocalan and the PKK are the founders of Jineology and teach at various academies. Ocalan's observations of capitalist industrialisation conclude that it is unsustainable for both the planet and its inhabitants and that moreover, colonisation promotes the creation of an 'industrial proletariat' (Knapp, Flach and Ayboga, 2016: 65). Imperialism and colonialism have shaped the wealthy versus disadvantaged dichotomy of Kurdish experiences in Turkey and Syria and the concentration of economic power in the bourgeois class has contributed to the environmental destruction in the region.

FALM regard patriarchy and speciesism as similar issues that are quantifiable through the ideals of feminism and ecology. Their concern for the contribution of meat production to global warming and the ethical dilemma of exploiting animals for the various products they produce has no imminent impact on their wellbeing. Thus, their aims and motivations culminate in a concern for issues that do not impact immediate material or survival needs. Comparatively, the

KWM is characterised by masses attempting to achieve democratic self-governance at great personal risk (Simsek and Jongerden, 2018: 14).

Women are evidently key actors in the KWM. The Women's Protection Units (YPJ) and the women's military wing of the PKK (YJA-Star) play active roles in maintaining the success of the movement. Women and minorities suffered directly from the effects of living in underdeveloped regions and bear the brunt of industrialised Turkey's environmental issues. Petroleum production in the region has caused the contamination of soil and agricultural lands while a network of dams on Euphrates River has depleted groundwater levels (Knapp, Flach and Ayboga, 2016: 229). Further, the continued use of diesel fuel has caused high levels of air pollution (Knapp, Flach and Ayboga, 2016: 229). In addition, the Kurdish peoples as the Indigenous peoples of the region are often persecuted and suffer higher levels of poor health and violence (Dominique, 1982).

In comparison, the FALM draws actors from a variety of circumstances. They include activists, academics, social media users and local action groups in universities and communities. FARINC (2019) describes itself as a network of women attempting to live cruelty-free and environmentally conscious lives. These actors are key to spreading the message through social media platforms. Additionally, a variety of academics are involved in the movement and postulate the various ideals that motivate their membership in the movement and enable recruitment processes.

The repertoire of the FALM demonstrates more non-violent forms of both direct and indirect action, whereas the KWM is dominated by violent direct action. A key aspect of the FALM's tactical repertoire is its use of the internet and social media. The internet allows them to take part in a 'consciousness raising' project. FARINC spread its message in many ways, publishing a journal, producing publicly available slideshows, creating petitions, and offering speakers at forums (FARINC 2019). Social media enables more effective mobilisation techniques and allows movements to gain a transnational profile (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). Forms of direct action that FALM engages in are demonstrations and using their whole body as a site of protest. FALM actors take part in general environmental protests, animal rights protests and vegan protests as an extension of these ideas. The predominant actions undertaken by all actors is their involvement in more sustainable and ethical lifestyles. Under the motto the 'personal is political' members of the FALM lead vegan lifestyles, resisting the domination inherent within farming that is mirrored by patriarchal domination over women. They do not claim an abstract respect for animal life as adequate and instead advocate that members embody that respect in their daily lives.

The repertoire of the KWM, on the other hand, is characterised predominantly by armed resistance – it was this that "gave the hope and perspective needed for the Kurdish people in Rojava to free themselves. Because only on a free land can a free and ecological society be built" (Rockdove, 2018: 15). However, their repertoire has diversified over time to include enforced

gender quotas in political organisations and the establishment of academies and communes. Their actions resist the predominant zeitgeist of capitalism and hierarchical order.

This analysis evidences how ecofeminism can manifest in different cultures and contexts and influence the way actors act environmentally. Ultimately, the singular identity of ecofeminism can be extended to encompass this variety of interpretations on top of a developing intersectional approach. An ecofeminist spectrum would include levels of analysis as used in this essay such as post-material, post-industrial and post-colonial models. Importantly, a spectrum would define a capacity for movements such as the KWM, which does not necessarily self-identify as ecofeminist due to the constrictive terms encompassing such a label including its associations with European based ideologies, to offer its own ideological dimensions to current discourse. Additionally, this allows for movements like the two compared above which conceptually have similarities but would never interact to build greater capacities for exchange and recruitment. A spectrum-based comparison also allows for non-Western voices and opinions to gain momentum and develop more holistic modes of defining ecofeminism.

In conclusion, a comparative analysis of the KWM and the FALM has revealed fundamental differences between their conceptions despite their similar ideologies. Both Jineology and Vegetarian Ecofeminism, being the respective ideologies of these two movements, exhibit the characteristics of ecofeminism. Nonetheless, the social, economic, and political context of each movement along with its centralised or decentralised nature is key to influencing their aims, actors, and actions.

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ONTOLOGICALLY DIFFERENT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PRE- AND POST-REUNIFICATION GERMAN GREENS

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Abstract

The differences between the German Greens party before and after Germany's reunification seem to be so extreme it is hard to believe they are the same party. This paper demonstrates this difference and analyses what brought this change. Moreover, this paper seeks to contextualise through a number of relevant environmental politics typologies the change, to 'make sense of it.' Through this contextualisation this paper finds that the pre-reunification Greens were a chiefly post-industrial and radical movement, rejecting the German political system, whereas, the post-reunification Greens were more reformist in their politicking and chiefly post-material, albeit not exclusively. Moreover, this paper finds the post-reunification Greens were more ecocentric than their pre-reunification counterparts. This paper also finds these two 'versions' of the German Greens (the *Fundis* and the *Realos*) to be, albeit capable of coexisting as factions, irreconcilable and inevitably opposed to each other. This last finding is remarkable since it appears to be applicable to global green movements.

Introduction

After forty years of separation, Germany reunited in 1990. Undoubtedly, this merge brought changes to Germany at all levels, including parties. The focus of this comparative analysis is one party: the German Greens, known simply as the Greens. This essay argues the German Greens changed significantly, in fact, following the reunification – to the extent of virtually becoming two different entities. To examine and illustrate the differences (and surviving similarities) between the pre- and post- reunification Greens, this comparative essay makes use of a number of typological, analytical and conceptual frameworks. Moreover, this essay will address what ultimately brought this change and whether the contrasting differences of the pre- and the post-reunification Greens imply the two forms of Greens can coexist and reconcile.

Theoretical and typological frameworks

The first typological framework used in this analysis, 'the three posts,' categorises environmental political movements into three forms: post-industrial, post-material and post-colonial. My analysis being centred on a German movement, the third of these categories, post-colonialism, will be of little use to this analysis – reflecting Doherty and Doyle's (2007) view that post-colonial environmental movements emerge mainly in the Global South, which Germany is clearly not part of. However, post-industrial and post-material categories, the first defined as focusing on industrialisation's "excesses" (Doyle and Chaturvedi, 2010) and its "toxic legacy" (Doyle, McEachern and MacGregor, 2016) and the latter being concerned with issues which "do not have to do with meeting immediate material or survival needs" (Doyle, McEachern and MacGregor, 2016: 86) and whose activist "pursue 'higher order' goals", such as ensuring the environment lasts for future generations (Doyle and Chaturvedi, 2010: 518), are more relevant to Global North green movements, like the German Greens. This typology is useful to understand what the *focus* of green movements is.

The second key typological framework employed in this comparative analysis is 'the three Rs': *resistance*, *reform* and *revolution*. Also used extensively in Doyle's work, these three terms can be defined as: *resistance*, opposing environmental movements and policies, as well as consideration of environmental matters as politically irrelevant; *reform*, aiming for change while acting within the existing system and not altering its essential structures; and *revolution*, seeking radical change of the very system, rejecting and modifying its core – the latter often opposed to reforms or acting within the system (e.g. parliamentarism, lobbying) favouring instead external action (e.g. protests, occupations, picketing). This typology allows framing of *methods* employed by green movements and refers to the desired *scale* of change desired by such groups.

Lastly, this comparative analysis employs the concepts of anthropocentrism (human-based perspective –seeing humans as superior and exogenous to nature, and nature as a resource) and ecocentrism (environment-based perspective, where humans are endogenous to nature and both shall enjoy equal justice) (Kopnina and Shoreman-Ouiment, 2016), as well as key approaches including an evaluation of where the parties act on the political spectrum and their form of action.

The German Greens before reunification – themes, ideology, action, focuses.

The German Greens emerged chiefly from 1970s grassroots movements, in a strongly post-industrial climate deriving from the impacts of the rapid economic development of post-war Germany(s). Indeed, "by the 1960s, the environment of … [Germany] bore the scars of sustained postwar economic growth" (Grady, 2015: 676). The River Leine, for instance, was defined in the 1970s by some locals as "a 'potent poisonous broth' that showed 'no signs of biological life'" (Grady, 2015: 677). The River Werra also showed impacts of industrialisation. Polluted by potash

industries, it reached salinity levels reportedly surpassing the North Sea. Unsurprisingly, by the 1970s, the majority of the Rhyne lost most of its biodiversity as a consequence of heavy industrialisation (including from nuclear and petroleum industries) (Grady, 2015). In response to this rapid and 'toxic' industrialisation – especially against nuclear-energy – but also social concerns, a form of grassroots activism appeared in Western Germany: *Citizens' Initiatives* (CIs) (Schreurs and Papadakis 2007). Embracing New Left's ideas (at the time the dominant ideology in the German radical left landscape), CIs were unorthodox local interest groups largely of young and educated citizens (Solsten, 1996). They were unorthodox mostly because CIs sought "improve[ing] the quality of life, rather than the material well-being" of their members and advocated a new "social model" over immediate, tangible, material gains. CIs can be categorised into three main, but diverse, branches: environmental (the largest), pacifism and women rights (Solsten, 1996: 396). Their actions were mostly extra-parliamentarian and spanned from lobbying and petitioning to demonstrations and even protests (Solsten, 1996). From this grassroots, anti-system, 'socio-environmental' wave, in 1980 the German Greens formally came to existence with a platform combining "environmental issues and opposition to nuclear power with other issues, including feminism, grassroots democracy, human rights, and peace" (Markham, 2005: 10), drawing members from CIs, including the largest: the Bundesverband Burgerinitiaven Umweltschutz (Markham, 2005). Moreover, it is clear how the Greens emerged from a chiefly post-industrial background, focused on industrialisation destroying the environment at unprecedented scales. It even appears that, while the German Greens undoubtedly embraced some post-material narratives (especially preserving the environment for future generations, 'We only borrowed the earth from our children' being a popular Greens slogan) the Greens emerged as rejecting post-materialism, having originated in contrast to the obsolete, ineffective, post-material focus of Germany's environmental bureaus – whose "historical conceptions of nature protection, emphasised protecting scenic or ecologically sensitive areas and specific species [clearly post-material interests, being undoubtedly higher needs], were poorly adapted to Germany's new environmental problems: air and water pollution… [clearly post-industrial issues, picked by the pre-reunification Greens]" (Markham, 2005: 668-669). The early Greens were also characterised by a highly anthropocentric approach, exemplified in a popular late 1970s anti-nuclear slogan "Heute Fishe, Moren Wir" (Today the fishes, tomorrow us) (Forum Europa, 1977:48) – highlighting the chief concern being humans, not nature itself. Also reflective of anthropocentrism, but especially of the non-exclusively environmental, radical, politicking of the pre-reunification German Greens, was the implementation of, under Petra Kelly's leadership (between 1980 and 1992) "a new vision uniting ecological concerns with disarmament, social justice and human rights" (The Right Livelihood Award, 2015). As the Greens combined environmentalism with social issues, including pacifism, feminism and more forms of social justice, and especially challenged the way democracy was structured in Germany (Markham, 2005), the Greens clearly took a radical and definitely non-reformist shape. Such a radical approach was also reflected by the symbolic rejection, in parliament, of traditional dress codes

as well as a maximum length of service for party officials of one to two years and a ban on elected MPs from running a second time, a statement to refuse traditional party politics radically (Connelly and Smith, 2003) – to the point the German Greens "blurred the boundaries between the two [movement and a party]," always considering themselves a movement (Mayer and Ely, 1977:7) and were called the "anti-party party" (Pond, 1985). Aiming to change the system, the Greens also demanded the "break-up of large corporations into "manageable" units run by workers and demanded the creation of "economic and social councils" to control the private sector" (Buck, 2020).

Thus, the pre-reunification German Greens were mostly anthropocentric and post-industrial (anti-nuclear/anti-pollution) and characterised by radical narratives – reflected by the rejection of the political system (e.g. the "Greens themselves often see internal party practices as an obstacle to success" (Doherty, 1992: 104)) and, while joining parliamentary politics (admittedly reformist), reflected by their 'clinging' on CIs,' extra-parliamentary action, feminism, non-violence and anti-corporation stance. Such radical (and post-industrial) leadership, known as '*Fundi*' (fundamentalist), determined party policy until 1990, with their last radical action: refusing to unite, "deliberately not follow[ing] the strategy of the CDU [Christian-Democratic Union], SPD [Social-Democratic party] and FDP [Free Democratic Party]," (again reflecting radicalism) with the East German Greens in a single party – "[not] to encroach on the autonomy of the East German Greens" – ending up losing all their Western seats. In fact, by not uniting with the East German Greens (Alliance 90), the Greens lost all their Western seats as they failed to achieve, by 0.2%, the 5% threshold in Western Germany; a loss they would have averted if they run with the Easterners, as the special 1990 electoral law required to meet the 5% threshold in just one of the two Germanies, achieved by the Eastern Greens (Roberts, 1992).

The German Greens after reunification – themes, ideology, action, focuses.

Following the 1990 electoral defeat and successful coalition experiments in state legislatures (Roberts, 1992), the German Greens leadership changed. From a *Fundi* leadership the *'Realos'*, the pragmatist faction, effectively took control of the party thanks to the successes of their coalitions, the 1990 electoral failure and the departure of the *Fundi* 'old Guard' led by Jutta Dittfurth in May 1991. The *Realos* faction was not new to the Greens, being always present in the party (Sarkar, 1986). Once the *Realos* seized party leadership, however, the changes in terms of party policy, and identity, became major: principally, from a revolutionary approach, the Greens became clearly reformist. As Sarkar (1986: 250) predicted, "if the pragmatists [*Realos*] had their way, the Green Party would become the "junior partner" of the SPD social-green coalition, **and thereby the fourth party of the establishment responsible for preserving the system**" (emphasis added). Sarkar's prediction was correct: the Greens abandoned the anti-system, grassroots traditions in favour of indirectly democratic party practices like coalitions, at federal levels. Such coalitions include a federal coalition with the SDP from 1998 to 2005 and an

attempt to form another one in 2005 with the CDU (the CDU being the apotheosis of German pro-system and traditional party politics) as well state government coalitions, forming them with virtually all major parties, including the CDU and the FDP (from the member parties colours, 'Jamaica Coalition') in Saarland (2009-2012); with the SDP and FDP ('Traffic Light Coalitions') in Brandenburg (1990-1994), Bremen (1991-1995) and Schleswig-Holstein (2017-present); with the CDU and SDP ('Kenya/Afghanistan Coalition') in Saxony Anhalt (2016-present); and with the SDP and a regional party ('Danish Traffic Light Coalition') Schleswig-Holstein 2012-2017. The change was so extreme the Greens began considering "too close a relationship to the new social movements to be counterproductive" and "viewed parliaments as effective fields of activity, and electoral gains are their measure of the success of Green politics" (Mayer and Ely, 1998: 58). Further, the Greens also abandoned their previous pacifist principles, supporting EU military cooperation, although still sceptical of nuclear sharing (Wachs, 2020), and supported interventions in Kosovo, Serbia and even Afghanistan – the latter not a peacekeeping mission (Conradt, 2013). Thus, the post-reunification Greens totally embraced the existing political system, and departed from their previous quest for radical change, favouring moderate reforms instead.

Moreover, the post-reunification Greens also shifted the party's focus from post-industrial to post-material narratives, another major change. Of the 'remnant' green politics they advance today, the Greens advocate for eight issues in particular: anti-nuclear; ban on glyphosates; 100% renewables by 2030; pro-Paris agreement; introduction of carbon taxes; no GMOs; ban factory farming ("We end chick killing, amputations and agony breeding. Pigs can keep their curly tail. Turkeys can no longer be bred so that they collapse under their own weight"); and subsidies for 'Green agriculture' ("rural-ecological agriculture without field toxins, animal suffering and genetic engineering") (Gruene, 2020). Of these eight issues, arguably only the first two are strictly post-industrial, being focused on the impacts of industrialisation, particularly on people; on the other hand, the remaining six are chiefly post-material, with half of them (no-GMOs*,* ban on cruel farming *and* 'green agriculture' subsidies being exclusively post-material) having no concern for industrialisation impacts and only focused on nature as valuable in itself. This post-material focus also reflects a more ecocentric approach than the pre-reunification Greens, given their post-material approach tends to view nature as having an intrinsic value, irrespective of human interests.

What changed?

To sum up, the most important differences can be conceptualised using the 'three posts' and 'three Rs' typologies. Utilising the three posts framework, the pre- and post-reunification Greens have been characterised by a shift in action and approach from post-industrialism to, principally, post-materialism. In regards to the three Rs typology, the Greens experienced the largest change: the refusal of the system, fully embraced under the *Fundis*, was completely abandoned

under the *Realos*. This also meant loss of non-environmental concerns, including pacifism, feminism, and social justice. Lastly, a change from anthropocentrism to ecocentrism, albeit limited and minor, also occurred – and a change in the type of action, as the post-reunification Greens concentrated efforts in parliamentary politics, while pre-reunification ones always considered themselves a direct democracy movement first. The differences are indeed so profound that the two are barely recognisable as being the same party.

Irreconcilable and mutually contrasting differences or room for coexistence?

Two fundamental questions emerge following this comparative analysis on not only the pre- and post-reunification German Greens, but all similar social-environmental parties: can *Fundis* and *Realos* factions coexist in a green party, can their differences be reconcilable? These questions are crucial because it allows this comparative analysis to go beyond German politics and provide insights applicable more globally – at least in the Global North.

The answers to these questions appear to be that *Fundis* and *Realos* can coexist but cannot reconcile. Indeed, the *Fundis* and *Realos* coexisted in the German Greens through its entire existence. Sarkar (1986) identified the *Realos* as existing through the 1980s, the first decade of the Greens existence. This is in line with Doherty's (1992: 115) findings that "the roots of the Fundi-Realo conflict lie in the unresolved issue of the balance of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics" across four European Green parties, indicating that in the moment green *movements* become *parties*, *Realos* inevitably emerge and thus coexistence begins. They cannot reconcile, however, as they are fundamentally opposed. Mayer and Ely (1998), found the *Realos* to fear a "too close a relationship to the new social movements [to whom the *Fundis* were close] as counterproductive." Indeed, despite efforts by the Greens to paint this "factionalisation as the virtue of pluralism," the *Fundi*-*Realo* conflict is not a matter of usual factions, but it is an ontological issue, like in the German Greens, where the leadership of one faction changes, not just policy, but the very party identity – to the point of allowing the existence of a comparative analysis like this one, discussing the Greens as two parties, because they are. An emerging question is whether *Fundis* can exist in a party in the long term, given the *Realos* seem always emerge as *Fundis* create a party, creating a catch-22 – but this goes beyond the scope of this analysis.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the German Greens changed from being a *Fundi*-led radical and post-industrial 'anti-party party' to a *Realos*-led reformist and post-material establishment party. There was also a slight shift from anthropocentrism to ecocentrism, as well as a preference of the type of action by party members, increasingly intro-institutional rather than external or antagonistic to the establishment. This has been a major shift in German politics which raises the question of whether Green parties, globally, can host these two opposing factions. The answer, arguably

applicable internationally, appears to be that *Realos* and *Fundis* can coexist, but cannot reconcile, being inherently opposed. The question of whether in today's political landscape *Fundis* still, or (in the future) will, have a chance in Green parties globally also emerged, but further research is needed on this last point.

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A COMPARISON OF THE AUSTRALIAN GREENS AND THE GERMAN ALLIANCE 90 / THE GREENS

Edwina Lane

Abstract

The Australian Greens and the Bündnis '90/Die Grünen (Alliance 90/The Greens) are two of the most successful green parties worldwide in terms of their electoral representation at the national level. Since their respective formations, each party has developed to exhibit characteristics of post-industrialism and post-materialism. Further, their positions on the right-left spectrum have arguably shifted over the course of their existence. However, a crucial question for green parties is whether increasing electoral success is, in fact, a positive outcome, or whether this instead reflects a desire to obtain more centrist votes and thereby dilutes their traditional mandate as an ecocentric party.

Introduction

Doyle, McEachern and MacGregor suggest there are three ways in which environmentalists respond to electoral systems: first, by "consciously rejecting and abstaining from electoral politics"; second, by "influencing existing political parties to take on elements of their ideological package"; or third, by creating green or pro-environmental parties (2016: 150). This essay will consider the third response in the context of the Australian Greens and the Bündnis '90/Die Grünen (Alliance 90/The Greens, hereafter 'German Greens') which are two of the most successful green parties at the national level in terms of their electoral representation. It will consider the development of each respective party in terms of their origins, how they have shifted over time and the underlying ideologies that have guided shifts in behaviour. It will then consider whether each party has been 'successful', recognising that there are varying interpretations of what success to a green party means.

Historical background

The Australian Greens are a confederation of eight state and territory parties which are joint under a national constitution and a group charter (Miragliotta, 2010: 409). Compared to their Western European counterparts, including the German Greens, the Australian Greens party was

late to develop. While attempts were made to build a national party in the 1980s, the first steps to building that party were only made in 1992 when Green independents made the decision to combine forces. It was not until 2002 that the national structure was actually established (Turnbull and Vromen, 2006: 456-457). The Australian Greens' late development is particularly interesting given the creation of the United Tasmania Group (UTG) in 1972 was the world's first dedicated green party (Miragliotta, 2010: 410). In the 2018 Federal Election, the Australian Greens saw a percentage increase in votes overall and maintained its one seat in the House of Representatives and six seats in the Senate (Australian Electoral Commission, 2019).

Conversely, the first step to the creation of the German Greens occurred much earlier in the 1980s with the establishment of one component of the party, Die Grünen (The Greens). This stemmed from growing discontent regarding the agendas of political parties such as the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in the 1970s, leading to a number of activists considering setting up their own party (Poguntke, 1992: 338). In the early stages of Die Grünen, tensions played out between opposing factions, namely the *Realo* (who at a basic level were seeking reform and change by complying with the existing political structures) and the *Fundi* (who were more focused on extra-parliamentary activities and willing to make radical declarations) (Doyle, McEachern and Macgregor, 2016: 170). However, in the 1990s Die Grünen merged with Bündnis '90 (Alliance 90), which arose out of East Germany, and together they formed the German Greens. Notably, the German Greens formed a coalition government with the SPD between 1997 and 2005 (Doyle, McEachern and MacGregor, 2016: 159). Since then, they have had moderate to good success in terms of electoral representation. At the 2019 National Election, they took 20.5% of the national vote and almost doubled their share from 2014 (Sullivan-Thomsett, 2019).

Development and political ideologies

Doyle, McEachern and MacGregor adopt the framework of 'the three posts' to categorise environmental movements according to their social and political context (2016: 81). Miragliotta further highlights the two prominent schools of thought in relation to the creation of green parties globally: namely social change (the rise of post-material values or environmental factors creating new elements of conflict within a country), and political opportunity structures (including "the presence of a comprehensive welfare state; labour corporatism; the participation of left-wing parties in government; and high levels of conflict over post-industrial issues") (2002: 410). In this way, the Australian Greens and the German Greens can be analysed from a post-material (social change) versus a post-industrial (political opportunity structure) lens.

a. Post-industrialism

Societal modernisation has led to a move from an industrial to a post-industrial welfare state in Western countries (Bürklin, 1985: 466). Notably, there has been an increase in development in

the social organisation of production. Consistent with this evolution, 'class antagonisms' are no longer as distinguishable as they were in an industrial state and there has been a commensurate reduction in party loyalty and electoral behaviour (Bürklin, 1985: 467).

The German Greens are considered a political party which arose to a large extent as part of the post-industrial environmental movement. Chandler and Siaroff suggest that:

> … the rise of Germany's Greens reflects two more general dimensions of political change that are common to most western party systems… changing of class structure as a source of realignments and new political movements [and] value change and socialisation as conditions of the same types of political change. (1986: 303)

In this way, changes to the division of labour (namely a decline in the industrial working class and an increase in white-collar occupations within middle-class categories) are connected to changes in values in terms of both political culture and substantive issue orientations, both of which fostered the development of a greens party in Germany (Chandler and Siaroff, 1986: 307). In Germany, this change in political appetite was first shown in the 1960s through student protests which recognised a generation gap and a willingness to vote for 'reformist thinking' (Chandler and Siaroff, 1986: 309-310).

b. Post-materialism

The Australian Greens, however, are considered to have arisen from more post-materialist values. Post-materialism at a high-level focuses on a 'value shift' in society, represented by the "rise of an educated middle class after the Second World War" and "more people [thinking] about and [joining] groups to support the political causes they care about" (Doyle, McEachern and MacGregor, 2016: 87). Post-materialism has remained relevant for the Australian Greens, noting that those holding post-material values (for example, the environment and in particular global warming) were significantly more likely to be Green rather than Liberal identifiers (Miragliotta, 2013: 715).

While partly rooted in post-industrialism, the German Greens are also considered the first successful post-materialist party in Germany (Chandler and Siaroff, 1986: 304). Chandler and Siaroff suggest that "much of what we know about who the Greens are and where they come from politically leads us to associate them with post-materialist values and the new middle classes" (1986: 311). Notably, Bürklin sees the rise of the German Greens both as a result of "long-range value shifts that accompany movement toward a post-industrial society" and "dissatisfaction with government performance in respect to the environment" (Bürklin, 1985: 465-466). Poguntke further notes that "citizens' initiatives and the ecology and peace movements played a decisive role in supporting the nascent Greens, both organisationally and by providing them with experienced personnel" (1992: 338). In this way, the German Greens rose in a post-

industrial climate, but this was accompanied by a commensurate shift towards post-material thinking.

c. Right-left spectrum

Another framework within which to consider greens parties is the right-left spectrum, with conservatism, classical liberalism and neoliberalism on the right and socialism/Marxism, anarchism and feminism on the left (Doyle, McEachern and Macgregor, 2016: 54). While many green parties wish to be considered completely separate from other political ideologies, there are undoubtedly linkages between both the Australian Greens and the German Greens mandates and the traditional spectrum.

Consistent with Doyle, McEachern and MacGregor's assessment of green parties' level of discomfort aligning themselves with the right-left spectrum, Manning notes that "many Greens maintain that their party is 'neither left or right, but out in front'" (2002: 17). However, he points out the tendency for green parties to be placed in the left-hand side of the left to right spectrum – going on to say that "while Green parties are naturally kindred spirits of the left political ideology the serious question confronting the Australian Greens is one over the degree of emphasis given to the left social democratic agenda due to its unattractiveness to voters who, while wanting better environmental policies from government will, not buy dogma" (Manning, 2002: 17). In its early days, "voters with left wing sympathy supported [Bob] Brown's argument for greatly increased expenditure on education, his opposition to the Coalition and Labor's position on asylum seekers and the war on terrorism" (Manning, 2002: 18).

Accordingly, the Australian Greens have been seen as a challenge to the 'old left' movements and "a pragmatic response of social movement activists to the political context, entering into formal party politics to further the twin aims of setting a progressive policy agenda and promoting participatory democracy in practice" (Turnbull and Vromen 2006: 458). One of the alleged reasons for the delay in the emergence of the Australian Greens is indeed the "absence of [a] political and policy space that a dedicated green party vehicle could colonise", particularly given the Australian party system already featured a number of parties which were "sympathetic and active in promoting the progressive agenda" – for example, the Australian Labor Party and the Australian Democrats (Miragliotta, 2010: 412-413). As other green parties around the world have shown, green parties are most likely to evolve if the "traditional left is unresponsive to left-libertarian policy demands and/or there are pre-existing left libertarian parties that are proven electoral vehicles" (Miragliotta, 2020: 413). This was not evident in Australia in the 1990s, where the "Hawke government virtually ran its environmental policy on the basis of daily dialogue with the Australian Conservation Foundation" (Miragliotta, 2010: 413).

Linking back to the German Greens and in particular to post-industrialism, while the 'left' used to be concerned with the relationship between labour unions and workers' rights, the meaning

of the 'left' has evolved to become disentangled from this social-structural framework and focused more on values (Bürklin, 1985: 467). Pontgke recognised that most Greens voters were initially left leaning but the Green electorate started becoming more centrist in the 1990s (Pontgke, 1992: 343). Arguably, this has continued through to the present day. Indeed, the German Greens market themselves as a centrist party and Balhorn highlights that "forty years after they were founded as a haven for former leftist radicals embracing electoral politics, the Greens appear poised to complete their long transformation into a reliable party of government" (2019). One example is a watered-down environmental programme including a delay in phasing out coal energy until the 2030s (Balhorn, 2019). In this way, it is perhaps unsurprising that voters have shifted from being "cosmopolitan, ecologically conscious protest voters…" to "anyone in Germany who wants to keep things more or less the way they have been for the past 30 years – but with more electric cars" (Balhorn, 2019).

While the German Greens have extended their voter support to voters more centrist than the "well-to-do, left-leaning urban voters" (Barkin, 2019), the Australian Greens have arguably drawn the support of many 'moral middle class' citizens. Simms notes that "affluent Green voters are supporting a party with redistributive economic policies that may in fact threaten those interests" (2013: 1). As to why that is the case, Simms adopts the framework of Judith Brett's moral middle class to suggest that rather than being divided by pure economic standing, the middle class "share a belief in good citizenship characterised by acting in the national interest" which has led to some support for the Greens (2013: 5). This provides a potential theory that people are voting in favour of the Greens and arguably against their own economic interests because of a broader rejection of self-interest which is characteristic of the moral middle class.

Electoral success

In light of the above, and the general proposition that the Australian Greens and German Greens have achieved good electoral representation for their size, this section will briefly consider whether or not this is considered a 'success' for green parties.

One of the reasons for the slow development of green parties generally is the "natural ideological aversion felt… towards organisational centralism and hierarchy" (Miragliotta, 2010: 412). In this way, there has been doubt cast over whether the establishment of a green party and its participation in the political sphere, is actually a 'successful' result in light of green objectives. Notably, the development of the Australian Greens was hindered by the concern of "handing too much power to a small circle who might monopolise the real decision-making" (Miragliotta, 2010: 412). This is particularly true when various environmental groups and lobbies already existed, still exist, and continue to do good work in this space. Perhaps the question is then whether more or less 'good work' is achieved through the existence of a green party – that is, do the Australian Greens detract attention from the issues originally so important to its founders? Turnbull and Vromen argue that since the period of 'green electorism' in the 1980s where

environmental movements had strong advocates in the Australian Democrats as well as through state and Federal Labor governments, "both major parties have strengthened economic rationalist policies that have seen environmentalists return to activism on the ground and to the Greens as their representative in formal politics" (2006: 457).

Similarly, activists in Germany found the process of party formation highly controversial: some were worried about obtaining numbers in the parliament, and others "feared the allegedly corrupting effects of entering into parliamentary politics" (Poguntke, 1992: 339). As the German Greens have shifted towards a much more centrist agenda and adapted their policies to potentially appeal to a wider spectrum of ideological voters, the question becomes whether that is a positive result for the party.

Conclusion

This essay has considered the development of the Australian Greens and the German Greens in terms of their post-industrial and post-material origins, how they have shifted over time in terms of the right-left spectrum and the underlying ideologies that have guided shifts in behaviour. Ultimately, it is difficult to determine definitively whether the electoral 'success' of the Australian Greens and the German Greens translates to 'an overarching success': because from an environmental perspective, viewpoints on what green parties should set out to achieve will invariably differ.

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A COMPARISON OF THE AUSTRALIAN GREENS AND THE SHOOTERS, FISHERS AND FARMERS PARTY

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Abstract

Since the late eighties, the parliamentary representation of minor parties with environmental policy platforms has grown in Australia at all levels of government. The Australian Greens and the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party are two political parties that have used environmental issues to appeal to contrasting groups of voters. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the similarities and, more often, the differences of these two parties with respect to their environmental politics. This is done by briefly summarising the history of both parties, then comparing their ideologies, constituencies, and environmental policies. Ideologically, the two parties diverge to opposite halves of the left-right political spectrum and adopt differing degrees of anthropocentrism (and in the case of the Greens, ecocentrism) and materialism. While the Greens appeal to a broad church of mainly urban supporters, from socialists to young inner-city professionals and former Democrats supporters; the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party appeal to the rural working class, affected by drought and disenfranchised with an unrepresentative National Party. Ultimately it is shown that the divergence in ideology and constituency results in the adoption of different environmental policies, or, as in the case of the Murray Darling Basin Plan, the same policy but for different reasons and ends. In conclusion, this paper finds that while both minor parties are important environmental actors, they diverge in their ideology, constituency and policy approaches and these differences are reflective of wider divergences between growing, urban Australia and the rural working-class of 'the bush'.

The Australian Greens (commonly known as The Greens) and the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party (SFF) are two Australian minor parties that have found electoral success by appealing to environmental concerns. In recent years, environmental concerns such as climate change, resource exploitation and environmental water flows have played important roles in Australian elections at both a state and federal level. Since the late eighties, parties such as the SFF and the

Greens have seen increasing representation in local, state, and federal parliaments. Yet while these two parties share these similarities, their ideologies, policies, and constituencies are often divergent. Ultimately the divergences of both parties point to the different environmental needs and aspirations of the urbanised middle class of modernising Australia and the increasingly forgotten and marginalised working class of the Australian bush. The different ideologies, constituencies and policies of both parties will be explored at length in relation to environmental politics. However, it is first necessary to give a brief history of both minor parties to provide context and understanding.

The SFF was founded in 1992 by journalist, John Tingle, in New South Wales (NSW) as the Shooters Party, a single-issue party angered by increasing firearm regulation (Higgins, 2019). Increasing their representation in NSW's legislative council from 1995 onwards, the party renamed themselves the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party in 2016 to broaden their electoral base (Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party, 2018b). In the 2019 NSW election, the SFF won the neighbouring, historically National Party held, electorates of Murray and Barwon, having already won Orange in a 2016 by-election (Visentin, 2019). The success of the SFF can be attributed to a number of factors. In recent years, unprecedented drought, technological change, the disappearance of government organisations like the Wheat Board and the bush losing its importance in the national narrative have ravaged rural NSW. The National Party has largely sided with an increasingly financialised agribusiness sector and urban Australia mischaracterises rural Australia as backwards (Manning, 2019b). Furthermore, the implementation of the Murray Darling Basin Plan (MDBP) since 2012 has coincided with the impoverishment of many downstream communities (Simons, 2020). This has led to such communities voting for the SFF, promising a reduction of 'green tape', government support for rural communities, conservative values, and reform of the MDBP (Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party, 2018a). Hence the SFF has risen from single-issue outsiders to important representatives of rural concerns in less than thirty years.

Founded in 1992, the Australian Greens is a confederation of state-based green parties, who won their first federal senate seat outright in 1996. The Australian green movement gained prominence during the seventies and eighties, especially through Jack Mundey's 'green bans' in Sydney, the successful protest of the Franklin dam project in Tasmania and the Western Australia based rise of the anti-nuclear movement. After forming a federal party on the advice of German Greens founder Petra Kelly, the Australian Greens won an increasing number of seats at local, state and federal levels (Manning, 2019a). Like their German counterparts, the Australian Greens was founded on the 'four pillars' of Ecology, Democracy, Social Justice and Nonviolence (The Greens, n.d). During the 2010-2013 Gillard government, the Greens, under the leadership of Dr Bob Brown and Christine Milne, held the balance of power (Bartlett, 2012). During this period, the Greens brought the issue of climate change to the fore but voted against legislation such as the Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme, claiming it would not significantly reduce emissions.

The Greens' electoral support historically came from that of the Australian Democrats; progressive, well-educated, relatively wealthy city dwellers (Manning, 2019a). They have also fared well among students, who have played a major role at a grassroots level (Manning, 2019a) but have also caused electoral problems such as the creation of the overtly socialist, alienating and disruptive Left Renewal faction (Chan, 2016). The Greens have a long, complex history; however, it is clear they have grown from an incohesive group of green independents to an important minor party at all levels of government.

Ideologically, the Greens and the SFF share few similarities in respect to their spectral political persuasion and environmental perspectives. While generally economically and socially left-wing, in recent years the Greens, especially in NSW, have suffered from infighting between the more economically liberal 'Tree Tories' and the anti-capitalist 'Watermelons', associated with the Left Renewal faction (Knott, 2017). This ideological split within the party has always existed as early Greens members came from a variety of parties; for example, former leader, Bob Brown, was a committed Country Party voter until the late sixties while NSW senator, Lee Rhiannon was a Socialist Party member until the early eighties (Manning, 2019a). Many Greens were also allied with the Australian Democrats, a party founded by ex-Liberal Don Chipp, promoting centrist, economically liberal but environmentally progressive policies. The SFF, on the other hand, are self-described social conservatives and have been described by former Deputy Prime Minister, Barnaby Joyce, as being right of the party he once led, the Nationals. The ideology of the SFF, like the National Party of Australia (also known as The Nationals), derives partly from the mythology of the Australian bush. This idea has been described by political scientist Donald Horne (1965: 51-55) as being a sense of individual responsibility and judgement, mistrust of 'smart alecs in the cities' (1965: 54) and admiration for difference in personality. There is also the ambiguous idea of the Australian bush as an inhospitable but beautiful place from which free colonisers found success from resilience (against environmental constraints like drought and infertile soils) ingenuity and, implicitly, exploitation of nature and Indigenous peoples (Watson, 2014: 65-92). These ideas of the bush translate to the ideological stance of the SFF as being a country party, supporting localised government and resilient, independent farmers (Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party, 2018b). The two parties also take different environmental perspectives, with the Greens incorporating elements of ecocentrism and anthropocentrism in their platforms and the SFF being purely anthropocentric. From an ecocentric perspective, the Greens have supported the protection of nature for its own sake; for example, in the 1967-1972 'Save Lake Pedder' campaign (though as the United Tasmania Group (UTG) it appealed to voters by highlighting its tourist appeal) (Manning, 2019a). On the other hand, the anthropocentrism of the Greens shows in their support for renewable energy and climate action to create a 'safer future for generations to come' (The Greens, n.d. a), making the environment sustainable for future human use. This mix of environmental perspectives contrasts to the SFF's proud anthropocentrism, their environmental policies based on the idea that 'fishing, hunting and four-

wheel driving' are dependent on the environment (Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party, 2018a). Ultimately, the SFF and the Greens often deviate ideologically as a result of different histories, and as shall now be turned to, their constituencies.

The dichotomous constituencies of the Greens and the SFF are key actors in the environmental politics of both parties. A comparison of the NSW state electorates of Barwon, held by SFF member, Roy Butler, with Newtown held by Greens member, Jenny Leong, provides an initial insight into the parties' deviating constituencies. Geographically, the electorates are very different: Barwon covers forty-four percent of NSW, and much of it is farmland; while Newtown is the state's smallest electorate (10.3 square kilometres) and is in inner-city Sydney (ABC, 2019a; ABC, 2019b). This is relevant because the environmental concerns of those living in drought-stricken NSW are likely different from the arguably more post-material concerns of inner-Sydney residents. According to the 2016 census, in Barwon, 8.8% of those aged over 15 are university educated while the equivalent statistic in Newtown is 44.7% (ABS, 2017a; ABS, 2017b). The median weekly income per person in Barwon is $546 while in Newtown it is $941 (ABS, 2017a; ABS 2017b). Evidently, there is a huge difference between those that voted for the SFF in Barwon and those that voted for the Greens in Newtown, both of which are reflective of the constituencies of the two parties. While Greens supporters are generally wealthy, urban and formally educated, supporters of the SFF are poorer, rural and less tertiary educated. Environmentally, these two constituencies have different priorities: for post-materialist Greens supporters, the environment should be protected for enjoyment and future generations; while for SFF supporters, their income depends on the manipulation of nature for activities like farming. For example, while Greens supporters believe environmental water allocations from the Murray Darling should increase for the environmental health of the river (Greens, n.d. a), SFF supporters believe that this water should be going to farmers who need it to generate an income (Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party, 2018a). The constituents of both parties are important as environmental actors through both the ballot box and other actions. Many Greens voters (as well as party members) have participated in major environmental campaigns such as the Franklin River protest, the Jabiluka uranium mine campaign and recent climate change protests (Manning, 2019a). Supporters of the SFF have also engaged in unconventional protest action (such as sending an effigy of water minister David Littleproud down the Darling river (Simons, 2020: 90-91)) as well as shooting, fishing and farming, all activities that involve active engagement with the environment. Hence, different constituencies of the SFF and the Greens are key political actors, driving their respective parties by advocating for environmental policies through the ballot box, protest, and environmental engagement.

As political parties, the SFF and the Greens act environmentally through the introduction of policies driven by ideology and their constituents. The water and climate policies of the two parties highlight their environmental differences. The recent success of the SFF can be attributed largely to their position on agricultural water policy with respect to the Murray Darling Basin Plan

(MDBP). The SFF ran their 2019 state election campaign on the premise that they would call for a royal commission into the increasingly unfair and poorly managed MDBP and would reduce environmental water flows, especially in times of drought (Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party, 2018a). Such policies appealed to the SFF's rural constituents, suffering from decreased incomes, frustrated by city 'smart alecs' demanding environmental water flows and disenchanted with a supposedly unrepresentative National Party (Simons, 2020). The NSW Greens have also called for a royal commission into the MBDP for different reasons (Greens NSW, n.d.). While both parties want better water supervision, the Greens are concerned that not enough water is being dedicated to environmental flows. Protecting 'precious river systems' to sustain dependent natural environments could be seen as ecocentric; however, the Greens, displaying anthropocentrism, also recognise that both farmers and Indigenous people are reliant on the basin for economic and cultural reasons (Greens NSW, n.d.). Thus, while both parties disagree about environmental water flows, they also both reject post-materialism (albeit to differing degrees) when it comes to water policy. The Greens also take a post-colonial perspective to water policy, highlighting the spiritual suffering of many local Indigenous people due to the poor health of the Basin, a perspective the SFF does not share, despite Barwon having the largest Indigenous population in NSW. In terms of climate policy, the SFF are rejectionists while the Greens are split between reform and revolution. Opposing any carbon tax, and supporting the 'exploitation and development of coal' and new coal-fired power stations, the SFF reject climate action and embrace the free market's role in determining energy supply despite environmental externalities (Shooters, Farmers and Fishers Party, 2018a). In contrast, the Greens are split between reform and revolution when it comes to climate action. While the official position of the Greens has been to support government-owned renewable energy and market solutions like carbon taxing and emissions trading schemes, the Socialist Alliance affiliated Left Renewal Faction of the party sees the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism as being necessary to address climate change (Manning, 2019a). Given the importance of environmentally damaging goods like coal in the Australian economy, it could be argued that the SFF reject post-materialism in their support of it while the Greens, many of their supporters being urban professionals, embrace a post-materialist position on the issue. Ultimately, while the SFF and Greens have supported similar environmental policies, they often do not, and disagree about the nature of such policies, reflecting their different ideologies and electoral bases.

Thus, while the SFF and the Greens are both Australian minor parties with environmental focuses, their ideologies, constituencies, and policies differ widely. Ideologically, the two parties sit on different sides of the political spectrum, yet they are both anthropocentric to varying degrees and have both materialist and post-materialist ideals. The constituencies of both parties, as bases of electoral success and political actors, play an important role in both parties and, as shown, are often very different, sharing only concern for the environment (although for divergent purposes). As a result, while the environmental policies of both parties may be similar, especially with respect

to water, the two parties are often seeking different environmental outcomes through different means. Ultimately, the environmental argument between the SFF and the Greens is representative of wider differences in Australia between disadvantage and affluence, the less highly educated and the well-educated and perhaps most importantly, bush and city.

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