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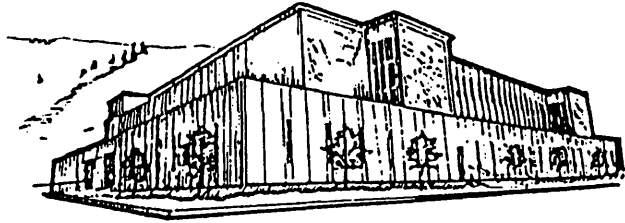
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CONDOMS AND CORPORATIONS:

PERSPECTIVES AND ACTION ON POPULATION AMONG  
ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL  
AND IN MONTANA

by

Karen Elizabeth Wood

B.A., Dartmouth College, 1988

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Science

The University of Montana

1994

Approved by

*Mary H. O'Brien*

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Chair, Board of Examiners

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*May 12, 1994*

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Date

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Wood, Karen Elizabeth, M.S., May 1994

The University of Montana

Condoms and Corporations: Perspectives and Action on Population Among Environmental Organizations at the National Level and in Montana

Director: Mary O'Brien *MOB*

This thesis examines the context of local environmental activism on population through a review of national population, environmental, and social justice organizational activism, and a survey of Montana environmental organizations' positions and work on the issue (conducted February through April 1994). The analysis attempts to both broaden understanding of the many facets of the population issue, as well as to lay a foundation for a new, comprehensive and empowering approach for activists.

National population, environmental, and social justice organizations, though they share the ultimate goal of reducing the pressure of human activities upon the land, approach population from divergent theoretical bases and respond with correspondingly different action strategies. This paper applies a conservative-liberal-radical theoretical framework to highlight "large picture" differences in positions on population. National organizations range in philosophy about what motivates family size from believing that values are the primary force; to focusing on diminished women's status, education, and economic well-being; to blaming the international, capitalist, core-periphery system of production for creating an economic need for high fertility. Beyond these differences in political theory, this paper examines how national organizations vary in the importance they assign population size, consumption and damaging technologies; social justice; environmental rights; and economic systems in analyzing population.

Local Montana environmental organizations show a low level of understanding of the population issue. They are hesitant to relate issues of local environmental degradation to population, and when they do, their strategies generally target distribution of growing populations rather than challenging the causes of growth. Local environmental organizations exhibit paralysis in the face of growth they see as being caused by external forces. They tend to think and act locally, with little attention to larger issues of social justice or the economic context of population growth.

The paper concludes with recommended strategies for local Montana activists to affect population at the local, national, and international levels. The strategies incorporate a more expansive definition of the "population problem" than traditionally applied by most environmentalists in an effort to both increase understanding of the linkages between population and other issues, and to enlarge the scope of potential strategies for action.

## Preface

When I first started working on the issue of population, my image of humans on the planet was encapsulated by author Charles Mann who wrote that in a few millenia, at current trends of growth, the earth will turn into "a massive ball of human flesh...expanding outward at the speed of light." In order to have an ecocentric view, I thought, one must start fighting for the animals and wild nature and take a hardnosed stance against the humans who are dominating the niches and the stored energy of the planet. Too many people are taking too much from other species, therefore, we must reduce the number of humans on the Earth by whatever means possible, whether those humans liked it or not.

I also began the process of writing this thesis with some feelings of dread. "Overpopulation," as I termed it, seemed an insurmountable, overwhelming problem that hovered above me in a swarm of buzzing ethical and practical killer bees, ready to sting at any false move. I felt overwhelmed and paralyzed, and wished the problem--and my sense of obligation to work on it--would go away.

I am learning that sometimes the instinct to simplify an issue is misguided. Understanding of the population issue, I believe, suffers greatly from oversimplification. After a year of studying it, I am relieved to find it much more complex than I ever expected, and much more tangible.

Through the process of reading, writing and talking to thinkers and activists about population, I have changed some of my definitions, encountered surprises, redirected and reformulated opinions, and

unexpectedly gained a growing sense of hope. That hope is rooted in a vision of human society that relates to itself and to Nature in a way much differently than it does now. I have written in this paper about the key components that will be present in that society, how they're related to each other, and a few signs of progress we can look towards for fortification of spirit. Knowing what needs to be done is far preferable to being lost.

My goal of leaving some of the planet for frogs, ocotillo and saguaro, black spruce and caribou has not changed, but their wildness and diversity have new company. My vision now includes cultural diversity, strong women receiving their due respect, equitable distribution of wealth, acceptance of others, and humble corporations--if there are any corporations at all in this new world--as well as biological diversity. There's a lot of work to do.

## Acknowledgments

I am thankful to the many national activists in population who took the time to meet with me and share information about their work and philosophies, as well as the 83 representatives of Montana organizations who responded to my mail survey. The successful completion of this thesis would not have been possible without their participation.

The thoughtful and constructive inputs of my thesis committee members Bruce Jennings and Paul Miller were greatly helpful in shaping my research. I especially value the hard work, thinking, and editing of Mary O'Brien throughout the duration of this project. Jill Belsky significantly deepened my understanding of the theoretical basis of different approaches to human population, and of the importance of social and economic perspectives as well as environmental ones.

I am indebted to Kent Curtis for his perceptive reading of and valuable comments on the first draft of this paper. The cheerful folding and envelope-stuffing labor of Bethany Walder, Felice Stadler, Mark van der Meer, and Michele Archie were vital to the timely mailing of my survey. I also thank Felice for her willingness to divert her attention from toxics to help me think critically about population.

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# I. Introduction

This thesis paper is intended to lay the groundwork for a fresh, comprehensive and empowering approach to the population issue for local environmental activists. How can local Montana environmental organizations approach the issue of human population pressure in the context of conflicting views regarding the relationship between environment, population, and social justice? The goal of this analysis is to evaluate the roots of differences in strategy and the attitudes of Montana environmental organizations towards the population issue, and to build a framework in which activist organizations at the local level can weigh their tactics to more effectively challenge population and consumption problems.

The original intent of this research was to focus on the number of people as a primary source of the negative impacts upon the land in the United States, especially Montana. After initial data collection and review of literature, however, I felt it impossible to separate the impacts and causes of human population growth from people's varying impacts upon the land because of different consumption patterns. Second, both the theoretical assumptions activists and organizations use to define the causes of environmental degradation and population growth, and the plain reality of global interactions in the twentieth century make it impracticable to concentrate only on the United States. (I have, however, limited the scope of my recommendations to actions that U.S. activists--especially local--might take to address population and consumption problems.) Third, it soon

became clear that the environmental impacts of population growth and resource use are not separable from social, economic, and political issues. My attempts to isolate population size as a problem failed.

The result is a much richer view of the population issue than I ever expected when I began this project. Although the dominant focus in the media and among environmentalists is on population numbers, review of national organizational programs and literature show that not everyone agrees that overpopulation is "the ultimate environmental issue." The theoretical bases of dissent and the corresponding differences in strategy are complex and fascinating. They are also critical in their implications for environmentalists' efforts to reformulate the relationship between humans and the Earth.

While a fierce ideological debate roars on nationally among social change organizations, the population issue is hardly recognized at the local level in Montana. Environmental organizations are hesitant to relate issues of local environmental degradation to population, and when they do, their strategies generally accommodate growing populations and reinforce existing consumption patterns rather than challenging their underlying causes. This paper seeks to broaden environmentalists' definition of the "population problem" to include not only concern about the number of people, but also overconsumption, social justice, environmental rights, and a global economic perspective.

Chapter II describes the literature review, interview and survey methods used to collect data, and outlines how the framework for analysis was developed. Chapter III provides a literature review to outline the

theoretical background and debate about the role of human population as a source of environmental degradation. This chapter also explains the underpinnings of the analytical framework used in the paper. Chapter IV offers profiles of thirteen national environmental, population and social justice organizations and their respective orientations towards the population issue, as well as a summary of the data collected in my survey of Montana environmental organizations. Chapter V analyzes the data at the national and local levels in terms of how effectively their strategies successfully incorporate consumption, social justice, environmental rights, and a broad economic perspective into their work on population. Chapter VI concludes the paper with a set of five principles to guide activist work at the local, national, and global levels, and offers specific strategy recommendations for local activists.

## **II. Methods of Data Collection**

### *Literature Review, Interviews, Survey, and Framework of Analysis*

I collected data for this paper in three different ways, including a literature search, interviews, and a survey. I then analyzed the data within a framework developed from review of concepts asserted by thinkers who represent various perspectives on population.

#### **1. Literature search**

I conducted a literature search of the major scientific and theoretical works exploring the dynamics of the human population and its impact on the planet. I also reviewed national population, environmental, and social justice organizational literature, including the literature of the Committee on Women, Population and the Environment; Natural Resources Defense Council, Negative Population Growth; U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights; Carrying Capacity Network; Izaak Walton League's Carrying Capacity Project; National Audubon Society; National Wildlife Federation; Population Institute; Population-Environment Balance; Sierra Club's International Population Program and their Local Carrying Capacity Campaign; Wilderness Society; and Zero Population Growth. I reviewed written materials from Pew Charitable Trusts Global Stewardship Institute; the Foundation for Deep Ecology; and the Rockefeller, S.H. Cowell, and Weeden Foundations.

## 2. Interviews

I collected data about population work at the national level in the United States through interviews of staff people at nine different environmental or population organizations: Carrying Capacity Network; Izaak Walton League's Carrying Capacity Project; National Audubon Society; National Wildlife Federation; Population Institute; Population-Environment Balance; Sierra Club's International Population Program and their Local Carrying Capacity Campaign; Wilderness Society; and Zero Population Growth (see Appendix 1 for a copy of the interview questions). I taped the interviews and transcribed them for accurate quotes. I also interviewed local and national environmental activists who think about population, including Denis Hayes and Dave Foreman, as well as representatives from two foundations (Susan Seckler at the Pew Charitable Trusts Global Stewardship Institute, and Ernest Callenbach, contractor for the Foundation on Deep Ecology).<sup>1</sup>

## 3. Mail survey of Montana environmental organizations

In an attempt to gauge environmental organization positions and work on population in the state of Montana, I mailed a survey with six open-ended questions to a total of 245 organizations (see Appendix 2 for a copy of

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<sup>1</sup>Because my goal was to investigate the population work being done by the national environmental community, I contacted national population organizations and mainstream environmental organizations that have population programs for interviews. I missed several national environmental organizations that have population programs (Union of Concerned Scientists, for example), but reproductive rights and women's organizations are most notably absent from this analysis because of my focus on the organizations with an environmental component to their agenda. While environmentalists are the intended audience of this paper, review of these other types of organizations would clearly have been helpful.



the survey and the cover letter). The majority of them had self-identified themselves as a non-profit corporation, a non-governmental organization, or a citizen group in the 1994-95 Rocky Mountain Environmental Directory. I added three local Missoula organizations whose names did not appear in the Directory or who recently formed to work on local growth issues (Missoula Center for Responsible Planning, Vision 20/20, and Save Open Space). I mailed the survey (with a self-addressed stamped envelope enclosed) on 23 February 1994. Eighty-three organizations returned completed surveys by 15 April 1994, for a response rate of 33.9 percent.<sup>2</sup> I interpreted the data both qualitatively and quantitatively.

#### 4. Framework of analysis

After reviewing the different approaches towards the population issue as represented in the literature, I chose five major concepts with which to structure analysis of current population work at the national level in the United States and at the local level in Montana:

1. The number of people on the planet is threatening ecological integrity.
2. Overconsumption and reliance on resource intensive technologies by some sectors of the human population are threatening ecological integrity.

---

<sup>2</sup>Eighty-nine surveys were actually returned, but one survey was illegible and two surveys were received from different representatives of the same organization (I treated their responses as one survey). Four organizations did not complete the survey: one is no longer involved in the recycling business, one does not define itself as an environmental group and does not take positions, one organization operates internationally and takes no positions on Montana, and the last is no longer active.

3. Causes of (and thus solutions to) human population growth must be considered within the global economic context.
4. A just human society (economically, socially, politically and in gender relations) is critical to longterm planetary sustainability.
5. Respect of environmental rights is critical to longterm planetary sustainability.

All social change groups incorporate some aspect of at least one of these concepts into their goals. The manner in which each organization regards these fundamental concepts reflects differences and similarities among the groups. Background for each of these concepts is presented in Chapter III.

### III. Theoretical Background

*What is the role of human population on the land? Different perspectives, their theoretical bases, and related action strategies*

With the publication of Paul Ehrlich's Population Bomb in 1968 and the Club of Rome's Limits to Growth in 1972, the "population problem" rose to the top of the newborn environmental agenda. These books issued dire predictions about the fate of the planet under the pressure of uncontrolled human population growth, alarming the public in the United States about impending resource shortages. Population organizations formed at this time (e.g., Zero Population Growth, Negative Population Growth, and the Environmental Fund), and environmental organizations issued policies on population (e.g., Izaak Walton League 1994, Sierra Club 1989). When the massive resource shortages that were predicted did not occur because of technological improvements in crop production, and resources simply became more expensive as they grew scarcer, the U.S. public seemed to lose interest in population and it receded to the back burner of many environmental organizations. The 1990s show a resurgence of attention to population, as is evidenced by the establishment or rejuvenation of a number of population and carrying capacity programs and a higher level of foundation funding for the issue. For example, the Pew Charitable Trusts created the Global Stewardship grants program in 1992 to "move the United States toward a position of leadership in...address[ing] problems associated with the worldwide interaction of population growth, wasteful and

unsustainable consumption of resources, and deterioration of the natural environment" (Pew Global Stewardship Initiative 1993(b)). They are now funding population programs at nine national environmental organizations.

As the environmental movement again turns its attention towards population, it is inevitably stumbling into the ideological debate over whether the number of people or the amount of resources they consume is the primary cause of environmental degradation. Those who contend that large family size and high population densities dilute the resource base and create conditions of poverty (often called neo-Malthusians) assert that the first focus of strategy should be to reduce population numbers in order to reduce pressure on resources and the environment. Those who argue that poverty and inequitable distribution of resources create conditions promoting high fertility rates among the poor see institutional change as the first priority, because only then can people afford to have fewer children.

The goal of this paper is to acknowledge analytical disagreement, identify commonalities and move toward action at many different levels. In that process, it is helpful to understand that rationales behind different strategies for action vary according to how an organization or individual perceives the "population problem." This chapter outlines a structural model proposed by Craig Humphrey and Frederick Buttel (1982) that helps discern the varying ways thinkers and activists view the "population problem," its causes, and its solutions. Because theoretical models draw clean lines of distinction that are blurred when applied to real-life conditions, the chapter presents a literature review to clarify the major lines of thinking on population. I then identify five major concepts which are given weight and

importance by the holders of different perspectives. The purpose of developing this list of five concepts is to form a framework under which the programs of national environmental, population, and social justice organizations and local Montana organizations are evaluated in the rest of the paper.

### **Theoretical paradigms on population: Humphrey and Buttel's conservative, liberal, and radical typology**

Craig Humphrey and Frederick Buttel (1982) outline broad trends in work on the population issue and name them the conservative, liberal, and radical paradigms in their book, Environment, Energy, and Society (Table 1). As background, they describe a demographic transition, which portrays societal progression within a population group from "primitive" social organization, where mortality and birth rates are both high (Stage I), to a transitional phase where the combination of declining mortality and high fertility result in rapid population growth (Stage II), to a final phase of low fertility and mortality and slow population growth (Stage III). Humphrey and Buttel theorize that countries move from Stage I towards Stage III as their economies change from a primarily agricultural base to industrialization. The accompanying changes in the economic structure, such as a more complex division of labor, less need for the labor input of many children, and increased opportunities for women to find employment outside the home, are argued to be the fundamental reasons behind the voluntary reductions in birth rate observed in countries in Stage III of the transition (Humphrey and Buttel 1982, 64-7).

Humphrey and Buttel describe *conservatives* as neo-Malthusians who identify solutions to population growth trends within the context of existing societal institutions such as science and technology, "free market" economies, and the current world political system. As values change (e.g., as people come to realize that large family size is not ecologically or economically desirable, and as they overcome cultural mores valuing many children), people will voluntarily take advantage of the availability of contraceptives and family planning. Once population growth is brought under control, countries will be able to proceed along the demographic transition.

Conservatives tend to view environmental degradation as primarily a result of population density and growth; therefore, curbing population growth is the highest priority for activist efforts. But because humans live in a finite world and the ability of Northern nations to distribute aid and contraceptives to countries in Stage II of the demographic transition is limited, conservatives believe that industrialized countries must carefully prioritize areas most likely to respond to population control efforts. "There typically is an implicit acceptance of social inequality in some neo-Malthusian analyses." The conservative view implies that inequality will be reduced when people realize the benefits of smaller family size because of decreased environmental stress (Humphrey and Buttel 1982, 71, 76-7).

*Liberals* argue that family planning programs are basically ineffective because they do not restore to people the means of production or the ability to participate in representative democracies. In other words, access to contraceptives alone does not alter people's underlying motivations for having large families. Liberals often advocate for land reform policies within

countries to combat inequitable distribution of resources and enable increased food production and economic security. Structural change in the local national economy, liberals contend, is needed before contraceptive or education efforts will become meaningful, and before a country can proceed towards Stage III of the demographic transition (Humphrey and Buttel 1982, 71). Unlike the neo-Malthusian conservatives, liberals believe that high population growth rates are a symptom of distributional problems in the economy, not a cause.

*Radicals*<sup>3</sup> (including neo-Marxists), argue for basic structural change at a more fundamental level than liberals advocate. The source of inequity, they argue, is not within Southern countries, but originated in colonialism and continues today as a consequence of the structure of global economic and class relations. Land reform within Southern countries is unlikely to succeed without change in the global, core-periphery system of production which supports massive consumption in some parts of the planet at the ecological and social expense of exporting nations. The demographic transition is unlikely to occur among lesser developed nations because the transition of industrialized countries was made possible only through the development of the periphery. Radicals focus their attention on the institutional structures promoting poverty, not on population numbers. The neo-Marxist faction of the radicals believe the current economic and political structure must be dismantled in order to create another more equitable system; for them, reform is inadequate.

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<sup>3</sup>Humphrey and Buttel define "radical" very generally; there are many departures in thought among radicals that are not discussed here.

**Table 1**  
**General variations in emphasis by conservatives, liberals and radicals according to the Humphrey and Buttel typology**

	<b>Conservative</b>	<b>Liberal</b>	<b>Radical</b>
<b># of people</b>	X	X	
<b>consumption &amp; technologies</b>		X	X
<b>global economic context</b>		(national)	X
<b>social justice</b>		X	X
<b>rights for all species</b>	some deep ecologists	in general, focus on human quality of life	in general, focus on human quality of life



## Literature review

In a general sense, the distinctive approaches towards analyzing and defining the "population problem" are reflected in the literature. But different elements of each grouping set themselves apart in critical ways, and the lines of division are not nearly so clearcut as in the realm of theory.

### The mainstream environmental movement: The problem is too many people

Regarding population, most environmentalists are informed by the writings of Thomas Malthus, Garrett Hardin, and more recently, Paul and Anne Ehrlich and Lester Brown. Almost every introductory environmental text or book for general readership emphasizes the negative impact of billions of people on all aspects of the environment.

Malthus first articulated the scenario of exponential population growth outpacing arithmetic food production on the planet in his 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population*. Expounding on this theme seventy years later, Garrett Hardin wrote his now-famous "Tragedy of the Commons," which theorizes how a growing population of humans will behave in response to a finite planet (Hardin 1968). In his essay, Hardin argues that there is no technical solution to the "population problem," and asserts that uncontrolled access to the commonly-held resources in a free society will inevitably lead to scarcity and ruin of the environment because individuals generally act to improve their own welfare rather than the common good. Hardin advocates enforced limits on fertility and a strong system of private property rights to limit access to the commons. These are the concepts of Hardin's with which most environmentalists are familiar.

The more harsh aspects of Hardin's argument are less acknowledged by the environmental community. For example, in his essay, Hardin criticizes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights promoted by the United Nations in 1967. The Declaration asserts that the right to determine family size rests with the family itself. "It is painful to have to deny categorically the validity of this right," states Hardin, but explains that given "freedom to breed," those with social conscience who do limit their fertility will be genetically overwhelmed in future generations by those who choose to have large families.

Secondly, he clearly states who he believes should have control of resources:

An alternative to the commons need not be perfectly just to be preferable...If there are to be differences in individual inheritance, legal possession should be perfectly correlated with biological inheritance-that those who are biologically more fit to be the custodians of property and power should legally inherit more...Injustice is preferable to total ruin (Hardin, 1968, 155).

In Hardin's book The Limits of Altruism (1977), he argues for strong centralized powers to retain control of resources. "Distributional justice is a luxury that cannot be afforded by a country in which population overwhelms the resource base" (Hardin 1977, 81).

Hardin implies that because society's commitment to the "welfare state" enables people to have as many children as they want at no personal cost, people are motivated to have large families. Hardin views social factors enabling biological "freedom" as being costly to society and the natural resource commons. Hardin also assumes that each individual person has an

equal ability to access--and thus damage--the commons. Therefore, damage to the environment can be correlated directly to the density of people in an area. These assumptions limit the utility of the "Tragedy of the Commons" theory when applied to the population issue at a global scale in the twentieth century, considering the disproportionately heavy impact of corporations and Northern consumers on the environment.

Lester Brown is one of the leading spokespeople of the neo-Malthusian perspective. In State of the World 1994, Brown discusses the imbalance between current and potential future food supplies and the escalating number of people on the planet. Like Hardin, he acknowledges the limitations of technology, using as an example the plateauing rates of crop production. Brown points to increasing deforestation, overgrazing, soil erosion and aquifer depletion in areas of the globe where human demands outpace the "local carrying capacity." In Brown's view, which is reflected in the stances of many mainstream environmental and population organizations, the sheer number of people exerts pressure on resources and results in ecological destruction and social and political upheaval. In other words, overpopulation leads to poverty.

Brown writes that the challenge is to educate people about the negative environmental impacts of high fertility rates; they simply do not recognize the damage they are doing.

If people know that maintaining current family size will reduce cropland area per person by a third or half during the next generation, they can see what that will mean for their children. If they know that large families will almost certainly bring more hunger, and even mass starvation, they may well decide to shift to smaller families. People can understand the central

importance of population policy if it is put in terms they can relate to.

People need to know the longer term consequences of having an average of, say, six children, four children, or two children. Couples who have this information may realize that the key question is no longer "How many children should I have for my old age security?" but "How will the number of children I have affect the world in which they live?" Since people everywhere do care about their children, answering this question can spawn an important shift in thinking, one with a potentially profound effect on family size decisions (Brown 1994, 194).

Following this line of argument, Brown advocates that governments, especially at the national level but also internationally, make a commitment to reduce family size. Once they make the commitment, the first step is to provide family planning services and widely distribute contraceptives. Neo-Malthusians argue that poverty and social and political strife can be realistically addressed only when population is reduced.

Paul and Anne Ehrlich altered and expanded upon Hardin's argument in meaningful ways. They devised a formula in the early 1990s to describe the factors influencing a population's *impact* on its environment. Importantly, the formula identifies consumption of resources, environmentally harmful technologies, and the number of people as important variables causing damage to the resource base.

$$\text{Impact} = \text{Population} \times \text{Affluence} \times \text{Technology}$$

(# of people)      (per capita      (damage per unit  
    consumption)      of extraction)

or

$$\mathbf{I = PAT}$$

As the Ehrlichs point out in many of their recent writings (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1990; Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1991; Daily and Ehrlich 1992), this formula forces attention to the industrialized Northern regions. The Ehrlichs use per capita energy use as a measure of  $A \times T$  (AT), asserting that obtaining and transporting any resource to where it can be used requires expenditure of energy and causes environmental damage. After plugging the average per capita energy use in the United States into AT and multiplying it by 250 million people, the Ehrlichs conclude:

[The United States is] the world's most overpopulated nation... Because of this combination of a huge population, great affluence, and damaging technologies, the United States has the largest impact of any nation on the Earth's fragile environment and limited resources (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1991, 8).

When it comes to strategies to reduce the impact of the U.S. on the environment, the Ehrlichs point to reducing the P variable--population--as the best route. They argue that targeting affluence and technology won't help in the long run because the consuming society is too selfish, narrow-minded, and poorly organized to change their behavior (Daily and Ehrlich 1992, 763), and because even with more efficient technology, a larger number of people consuming at a lower rate adds up to the same damage done.

It is important to recognize that the questions of reducing the *impact* of a population and reducing *population growth* are very different. Neo-Malthusians tend to believe that consumption should be reduced in order to lighten the "ecological footprint" of the industrialized countries, not as a method of altering conditions to lower the birth rate. In sum, the main concepts of importance emanating from the varying voices within the

environmental perspective on population are that the number of humans, their rate of consumption, and the types of technologies used in production are the major causes of environmental degradation.

The social ecologists, feminists, and people of color, and neo-Marxists: The problem is the control of wealth

Leftist voices such as Francis Moore Lappe, Murray Bookchin, Barry Commoner, Mahmood Mamdani, and Betsy Hartmann make social justice the centerpiece of their argument. Population growth, they say, is not caused simply by a lack of access to contraceptives and oblivion to ecological consequences, but instead is a logical response to the institutional structure in which people live. The current economic, political, and social systems that concentrate power and wealth in the hands of a few at the expense of the many are what foster conditions leading to high fertility rates. Lappe, coauthor of Food First, asserts that the reasons people in lesser developed countries desire large families are reflections of "powerlessness more than ignorance" (Lappe and Collins 1977, 30). While many women in Southern countries may want to limit their families to two or three children, they do not have the power to assert their will because of subordination to their husbands and the political framework in which they live. Lappe has developed the "power structures perspective," which holds antidemocratic governments and inequitable economic structures accountable for high fertility rates. People who in the past grew food for their families now travel hundreds of miles as migrant workers to earn the money to buy food because global finance capital has transformed family plots into export-driven agribusiness. Export money is used to pay back foreign debt, not to improve

conditions in the home country. Deprived of land ownership, traditional community networks erode. Poor countries spiral further into debt, losing the ability to fund health care and food subsidies. The lives of farming peasants and the urban unemployed grow increasingly unstable, with fewer and fewer options and little personal control over basic decisions (Lappe and Schurman 1990, 135-138).

Lappe and Schurman cite the swiftly declining population growth rates in China, Sri Lanka, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Burma, and Kerala (India) as evidence of their argument that social changes are a critical factor in successful family planning efforts. Access to basic food needs, public health services, comparatively high status of women, expanded educational opportunities, and social programs like old-age pensions and redistribution of land all are present to some degree in these countries. These areas also show fertility declines ranging from 35 to 51 percent between 1960 and 1985, rates of decline much faster than in currently industrialized countries during their transition from high to low growth. Lappe and Schurman write, "In several of the societies exceptionally successful in reducing growth rates, income distribution is less skewed than in the rest of the world." They also cite a World Bank study of 64 different countries which indicates that when the poorest groups' income rises by one percentage point, the general fertility rate drops by three. When literacy and life expectancy are added to rise in income, the three factors combined explain 80 percent of the variation in fertility among these countries (Lappe and Schurman 1990).

Mahmood Mamdani, in an essay railing against the increasing spread of neo-Malthusian theories starting in the 1970s, writes that neo-Malthusians

ignore the impact on fertility of the class nature of appropriation. "Any analysis of population growth must be made within (the) context (of)... the international capitalist system" (Mamdani 1981, 39). Mamdani argues that decisions about reproductive behavior are not made out of ignorance of their ecological impact, but instead are a rational response of the disenfranchised poor to the social context in which they live. Children are valuable commodities economically. Because rural peasants do not own land (or own very small plots) and the urban unemployed tend to earn money through the informal, service sector, their only way to compete in the economic system is to increase their labor power through large family size. Writes Mamdani, "High birthrates are not the cause of present impoverishment; they are the response of an impoverished peasantry." The argument follows that the first step in fighting population growth is overcoming poverty.

Barry Commoner's prescription for reducing birth rates is quite different from Lester Brown's:

The world population crisis, which is the ultimate outcome of the exploitation of poor nations by rich ones, ought to be remedied by returning to the poor countries enough of the wealth taken from them to give their peoples both the reason and the resources voluntarily to limit their own fertility (Commoner 1980, 89).

In response to the neo-Malthusian placement of "blame" on local populations in Southern countries for stripping "their" forests of fuelwood (see discussion of conservative and liberal organizations in Chapter V), the Left asks why such a phenomenon is occurring. Val Plumwood and Richard Routely (1982) published a paper in the *Ecologist* which examines the causes



of tropical forest deforestation. They describe the expulsion of subsistence farmers from the best agricultural land by large corporate agricultural enterprises. Peasants are forced onto marginal, hilly lands and their access to their traditional resource base is restricted, being used now for growing exports for the international market instead of local consumption. Increased pressure on and subsequent degradation of firewood, grazing, water, and subsistence farming resources is thus not a result of uniformly dense populations across the entire landscape, but a forced clustering of poor people onto marginal areas. Because the elite benefiting from this system of inequity need to maintain their position of power, ruling classes and governments tend to build up strong military forces, and sometimes go so far as to remove vegetation from large natural areas to prevent them from being used as a base for organized resistance (as was done in Vietnam) (Plumwood and Routely 1982, 6-10).

While most of these thinkers are careful not to discount population growth as a serious problem, they very clearly state their disbelief that population growth should be the central cause of concern. In Betsy Hartmann's words, "If you take care of people's real needs, you won't have a population problem" (Hartmann 1994).

Thus, important components of the Left's positions are that intensive consumption of natural resources by Northern countries not only destroys the global environment, but also creates social and economic conditions that contribute to high population growth rates. Because of this, strategies to reduce population growth must be considered in the global, capitalist context. The Left asserts that land tenure and social reform in Mexico, for example,

will not be sufficient to alter the economic need for large families unless causes of the international division of labor and cross-border inequities are addressed. The Left also argues that social instability, especially poverty, low status of women, inequitable distribution of wealth, lack of general health care, etc., must be overcome in order to enable people (women, especially) to make use of population programs.

### Social and environmental justice

As described above, the debate over whether social justice helps or hinders population growth began in the 18th century and continues today with Hardin and other conservatives. Malthus doubted the ability of society to redistribute income or raise the standard of living of lower socioeconomic classes (Harrison 1992, 11). As described above, Hardin supports this view and asserts that saving the commons is not possible without control of the less "fit" (the poor) by those who are "biologically more fit" (Hardin 1968, 155). Social justice is not compatible with Hardin's concept of how to slow population growth. The goal of conservatives in reducing human population is to protect the environmental resource base in order to maintain a high standard of living for some, rather than face "ruin" for all. In other words, they see ecological health as more critical to human survival than social health, and are willing to sacrifice human rights to protect the environment.

To Commoner and Mamdani, however, social justice and equity are the key components to lowering fertility rates and protecting the resource

base. Preserving environmental integrity is impossible without giving people equal access to resources.

In the context of the population issue, the conservative, liberal and radical perspectives all generally regard the environment as a storehouse of materials and services for humans, not as worthy of protection on their own merits. Even the Ehrlichs discuss protection of the environment in the context of human needs (they have written extensively on extinction and biodiversity, but in reference to human population growth describe Nature as providing "ecosystem services" for humans, e.g., forests hold moisture and filter the air) (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1991, 19).

Only a small segment of the environmental movement consisting of deep ecologists like Dave Foreman calls for recognition of the rights of the non-human world to exist regardless of its utility to humans. Foreman asserts that the ultimate standard of whether a human population has stayed within carrying capacity is whether there is a full range of large predators present at a large percentage of their former range (Dave Foreman, personal interview, 29 November 1993).

Kelpie Wilson, founder of the population organization Enough Already!, writes (1993(a)):

Malthus'...proposed solution [to population growth], to starve the poor, was both morally reprehensible *and* totally ineffective in reducing the birth rate...But a large part of [the] Marxist solution was increased industrialism and management of the Earth for the good of all *people*. From a deep ecologist's point of view, this is as morally reprehensible as deliberately starving people and also ineffective in solving the problem of justice (more goods translates into more greed, not better distribution).

Wilson asserts that both social justice and environmental rights are ethical imperatives.

In my mind, both environmental rights and social justice are critical to both the physical and cultural survival of humans, as well as their emotional nourishment. Both concepts are included in the framework for evaluation of population work at the national and local Montana levels.

#### Framework of important concepts in work on population

The data on national and Montana organizational work and population perspectives presented in Chapter IV are analyzed in Chapter V, using the concepts (or beliefs) listed below as a framework for highlighting disagreement and consistencies between organizations working on the population issue. They are an amalgam of those holding different perspectives on population identify as important.

1. The number of people on the planet is threatening ecological integrity.
2. Overconsumption and reliance on resource intensive technologies by some sectors of the human population are threatening ecological integrity.
3. Causes of (and thus solutions to) human population growth must be considered in the global economic context.
4. A just human society (economically, socially, politically and in gender relations) is critical to longterm planetary sustainability.
5. Respect of environmental rights is critical to longterm planetary sustainability.

While there obviously is disagreement among the different theorists on population over the various importance of each one of these--some even reject certain elements--I use them as a framework for evaluating current work being done on population in the United States. I chose this framework because these concepts represent major areas of conflict among environmental, population, and social justice organizations, and so help to clarify how groups differ in their approaches to population. I also believe that this framework lays a foundation upon which activists can judge their own population strategies and provides a greater array of pressure points towards which to direct their efforts than environmentalists currently identify.

## IV. Results

### *Profiles of National Organizations and Montana Survey Results*

The first section of this chapter presents profiles of thirteen different environmental, population, and social justice organizations using either information and direct quotes from interviews with organizational representatives or written in organizational literature. The second section of this chapter presents results of focus group<sup>4</sup> research of general public opinion conducted by the Pew Charitable Trusts Global Stewardship Initiative between May and July 1993. These data serve as a backdrop against which the challenge of developing effective strategies and campaigns can be weighed because the focus groups included environmentalists, young people, religious groups, and other identifiable groups. Focus group information gathered by the Izaak Walton League about its memberships' attitudes towards human population, consumption, and carrying capacity, and survey data collected by the Wilderness Society of its membership follow.

After describing the national setting of attitudes towards the population issue, the chapter presents the quantitative and qualitative results of a survey of self-described environmental non-profit organizations in Montana. This survey collected data regarding organizational positions and

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<sup>4</sup>"In focus group interviews, participants discuss ideas, issues, and information among themselves under the general supervision of a moderator. The underlying premise is that group interaction has synergistic effects on participants, producing better information and insights than do individual interviews. The number of participants is limited to facilitate discussion" (Kumar 1987, 2).

work on population and what organizations identify as the greatest causes of environmental degradation in Montana. The survey results also include the rationales organizations give as to why they do or do not put energies or thought towards the population issue.

## Carrying Capacity Network

### Prime causes of environmental degradation

- "CCN views population growth as the primary cause of environmental degradation" (Ed Lytwak, personal interview, 7 February 1994).

### Prime causes of population growth

- "One of the biggest mechanisms is immigration."
- "Then, native population [people that were born in the United States] growth. You see throughout the country problems with teenage pregnancy...Social and cultural values promote these population increases."
- "People are...very much in denial of what's happening on this planet [and] they really do not see their own personal choices in terms of reproduction as being directly impacting on the environment... Our society insulates people from an appreciation of the natural world, and people no longer really see themselves as part of natural communities" (Ed Lytwak, personal interview, 7 February 1994).

### Why working on population

- Overpopulation is "the basis, the foundation, from which we can solve other problems such as overconsumption, etc." (Ed Lytwak, personal interview, 7 February 1994).

### Position on immigration

- Support reducing immigration levels: "It's a very practical and immediate solution to at least half of our population growth problem" (Ed Lytwak, personal interview, 7 February 1994).

### Position on abortion

- Not mentioned in literature

### View towards nature

- Focus on quality of life

### Status of women

- Not mentioned in literature

### Long-term goals

- Stabilize population
- Reduce population (Ed Lytwak, personal interview, 7 February 1994)



**Strategies for action**

- Educate the American public and policy and decision-makers about immigration
- Offer a conference and a carrying capacity briefing book that makes linkages between population growth and consumption and the environment
- Release a study on loss of farmlands from population growth and nonsustainable agricultural methods (Ed Lytwak, personal interview, 7 February 1994)

**Targeted area of efforts**

- American public
- Policy and decision-makers (Ed Lytwak, personal interview, 7 February 1994)

## **Committee on Women, Population and the Environment**

### **Prime causes of environmental degradation**

- "Economic systems that exploit and misuse nature and people in the drive for short-term and short-sighted gains and profits.
- "War making and arms production...
- "The disproportionate consumption patterns of the affluent the world over...
- "The displacement of small farmers and indigenous peoples by agribusiness, timber, mining, and energy corporations, often with encouragement and assistance from international financial institutions, and with the complicity of national governments.
- "The rapid urbanization and poverty resulting from migration from rural areas...
- "Technologies designed to exploit but not to restore natural resources" (Committee on Women, Population and the Environment 1993).

### **Prime causes of population growth**

- "Demographic data from around the globe affirm that improvements in women's social, economic and health status and in general living standards, are often keys to declines in population growth rates" (Committee on Women, Population and the Environment, December 1993).

### **Why working on population**

- "We...are troubled by recent statements and analyses that single out population size and growth as a primary cause of global environmental degradation...Blaming global environmental degradation on population growth helps to lay the groundwork for the re-emergence and intensification of top-down, demographically driven population policies and programs which are deeply disrespectful of women, particularly women of color and their children" (Committee on Women, Population and the Environment 1993).

### **Position on immigration**

- Not mentioned in literature.

**Position on abortion**

- "National governments, international agencies and other social institutions must take seriously their obligation to provide the essential prerequisites for women's development and freedom. These include: Access to safe, voluntary contraception and abortion as part of broader reproductive health services which also provide pre-and post-natal care, infertility services, and prevention and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV and AIDS" (Committee on Women, Population and the Environment 1993).

**View towards nature**

- Not mentioned in literature.

**Status of women**

- "We call on the world to recognize women's basic right to control their own bodies and to have access to the power, resources, and reproductive health services to ensure that they can do so" (Committee on Women, Population and the Environment 1993).

**Long-term goals**

- "People who want to see improvements in the relationship between the human population and natural environment should work for the full range of women's rights; global demilitarization; redistribution of resources and wealth between and within nations; reduction of consumption rates of polluting products and processes and of non-renewable resources; reduction of chemical dependency in agriculture; and environmentally responsible technology. They should support local, national and international initiatives for democracy, social justice and human rights" (Committee on Women, Population and the Environment 1993).

**Strategies for action**

- Gather endorsements, distribute, and publicize "Women, population and the Environment: Call for a new approach" (Committee on Women, Population and the Environment 1993).

**Targeted area of efforts**

- National governments, international agencies and other social institutions.
- Population and women's rights activists.

## Izaak Walton League

### Prime causes of environmental degradation

- Overconsumption by U.S.
- Dependence on non-renewable resources (Izaak Walton League, 1993(a))
- Human overpopulation (Ben Hren, personal interview, 4 February 1994)

### Prime causes of population growth

- No position yet--program is new (Ben Hren, personal interview, 4 February 1994)

### Why working on population

- "There's a growing recognition that years and years of effort to conserve wetlands, to conserve rivers, to conserve clean water, clean air, ...all of those efforts will have all been for nothing if we don't deal with population because the effect or the impact of population is beginning to overwhelm any of the conservation achievements that we've had" (Ben Hren, personal interview, 4 February 1994).

### Position on immigration

- Not mentioned in literature

### Position on abortion

- Not mentioned in literature

### View towards nature

- Focus on recreational resources (hunting and fishing)

### Status of women

- Not mentioned in literature

### Long-term goals

- "Research the carrying capacity issues of U.S. human population growth, natural resource consumption, environmental impacts of technologies, and sustainability;
- "Identify how these issues affect our nation's natural resource heritage, emphasizing the impact on outdoor recreational activities;
- "Develop educational resources, including printed materials and multi-media presentations, that provide League members with the information they need to recognize and address critical conservation issues; and

- "Create a strategy for grassroots involvement that enables League members to take action on carrying capacity issues" (Izaak Walton League, 1993(d)).

**Strategies for action**

- Publish a quarterly publication on local carrying capacity for distribution to members and media

- Award outdoor journalists who write about population issues through the Outdoor Writers of America Association

- Provide educational curricula to IWL leaders to distribute to local media or public schools (Ben Hren, personal interview, 4 February 1994)

**Targeted area of efforts**

- IWL members

- media (Ben Hren, personal interview, 4 February 1994)

## National Audubon Society

### **Prime causes of environmental degradation**

- Consumption patterns and production methods
- Population growth (Lisanne Nelson, personal interview, 3 February 1994)

### **Prime causes of population growth**

#### *United States*

- Ignorance: "people not thinking about how much Americans impact their environment"

#### *Internationally*

- Lack of access to contraceptives
- Lack of knowledge and "a desire for large family size based on lack of other opportunities" (Lisanne Nelson, personal interview, 3 February 1994).
- "Population growth cannot be isolated from factors such as poverty, lack of education and health care, unjust land tenure policies and overconsumption of natural resources by the United States and other industrialized countries. All of these factors must be addressed in our efforts to foster environmentally sustainable development at home and abroad" (National Audubon Society 1993(b)).

### **Why working on population**

- "We don't see how you can protect the environment, restore the environment, [or]...achieve sustainable development without addressing population issues. But again I would say that we don't see population as being just growth...It may be better termed a human problem than a population problem" (Lisanne Nelson, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

### **Position on immigration**

- No position (Lisanne Nelson, personal interview, 3 February 1994)

### **Position on abortion**

- No position (Lisanne Nelson, personal interview, 3 February 1994)

### **View towards nature**

- Mission statement of Audubon: "To conserve and restore natural ecosystems, focusing on birds and other wildlife for the benefit of humanity and the earth's biological diversity" (National Audubon Society 1993(a)).

**Status of women**

- "International population and family planning assistance is about giving women control, not taking it from them" (National Audubon Society 1993(b)).

**Long-term goals**

- Not in literature

**Strategies for action**

- Increase funding for population and sustainable development assistance
- Advocate proactive U.S. participation in the International Conference on Population and Development
- Advocate for U.S. national population and natural resource policy
- Create greater public awareness and actions on population and sustainable development issues (Lisanne Nelson, personal interview, 3 February 1994)

**Targeted area of efforts**

- Congress
- Administration and U.S. Agency for International Development
- Audubon members (Lisanne Nelson, personal interview, 3 February 1994)

## National Wildlife Federation

### View of population issue

- "We decided when we started the program to focus internationally because we felt that was where the greatest need was for work...demographically speaking where there is the greatest need for family planning and other services, women's programs, health care..."

- "We have recognized that this country of course needs to be focused on population programs and policies too" (Karen Rindge, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

### Prime causes of environmental degradation

- "Excessive demand for resources and mismanagement and abuse of resources by industrialized countries, including the United States, are primary causes of environmental degradation" (National Wildlife Federation 1993).

### Prime causes of population growth

- "One of the main ones is basic lack of access to information and services about family planning and reproductive health care..."

- "We also recognize that women's low status, and child mortality, and basic poverty all contribute to fertility decisions, to family decisions..."

- "We also recognize that international development policies, particularly bad ones like structural adjustment, also adversely affect social services and poverty which also can drive population growth,...because people again do not have the access to the information and services they need" (Karen Rindge, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

### Why working on population

- "The staff and the organization [NWF] began to see population as one of the most critical environmental issues, as really fundamental. Not the most [critical], but just one of the factors that we hadn't really been addressing" (Karen Rindge, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

### Position on immigration

- Not in literature.

### Position on abortion

- "NWF does not take a position on the issue of abortion" (National Wildlife Federation 1993).



### **View towards nature**

- "NWF certainly embraces...open space...not just aesthetically, but preserving biodiversity, and for meeting people's needs" (Karen Rindge, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

### **Status of women**

- "The status of women and the issue of population are inextricably linked. Empowering women through increased access to education, health care, financial resources, and political power provides them with essential choices in life, one of which is fertility--the desire for children, the number of children, and the spacing of pregnancies. A woman cannot manage her life effectively if she cannot control her fertility" (National Wildlife Federation undated).

### **Long-term goals**

- "Educate membership and the American public about the linkages between population and environment...and motivate the public and our membership to take some kind of action: write a letter to a member of Congress, have a lobby visit...

- "Educate and motivate Congress and the administration policymakers to make population a high priority via their policies and particularly funding...

- "Increase international non-governmental organizations and communication on the population-environment link. We're trying to build bridges with developing countries [grass]roots, help empower them, and understand their perspectives and vice versa" (Karen Rindge, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

### **Strategies for action**

- Reform foreign aid to incorporate sustainable development into population programs, and increase funding for environment, population, health education for women, etc.

- Increase appropriations for the programs listed above.

- Keep the environment-population link high on the International Conference on Population and Development agenda (Karen Rindge, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

### **Targeted area of efforts**

- Congress

## Natural Resources Defense Council

### Prime causes of environmental degradation

- "Only a fraction of global environmental problems are directly linked to rapid population growth in less industrialized countries. The industrialized nations (comprising only 22% of the world's population) must take the lion's share of the blame for the most serious pollution-related problems..." (Natural Resources Defense Fund 1993(a)).

### Prime causes of population growth

- "Millions of families in the less industrialized world live in desperate poverty. With poor health care and no financial security, large families are the only form of 'old age insurance...'

- "Where health care and nutrition are poor, couples tend to have more children as a hedge against poor survival rates" (Natural Resources Defense Fund 1993(a)).

### Why working on population

- "The earth's natural resources are finite, yet human beings are drawing upon the planet's limited capacity as if there were no tomorrow--with serious consequences for the planet's environment...Will the earth, with its limited resources, be able to provide a decent standard of living for all the future citizens of the planet?" (Natural Resources Defense Fund 1993(a)).

### Position on immigration

- No position.

### Position on abortion

- Not in literature.

### View towards nature

- Not in literature.

### Status of women

- "Improving the status of women is crucial to slowing population growth...Experience has shown that when women have greater autonomy, education and job opportunities, the fertility rate drops. Educated women are better able to raise healthy families and make informed choices about childbearing" (Natural Resources Defense Fund 1993(a)).

### Long-term goals

- Achieve national population policy.

- Reform U.S. foreign aid to reorganize Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) and make more environmentally responsive.
- Participate in the U.N. International Conference on Population and Development.
- Educate members about population and consumption (Jacqueline Hamilton 1993).

#### **Strategies for action**

- Participate in President's Council on Sustainable Development, especially the task force on sustainable communities.
- Release report reviewing A.I.D. population policies from an environmental perspective, with recommendations, to the State Department.
- Participate in regional roundtables with other environmental and immigration policy organizations (convened by Pew Global Stewardship Initiative).
- Distribute educational and activist materials to membership (Jacqueline Hamilton 1993).

#### **Targeted area of efforts**

- U.S. A.I.D. office, President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore.

## Population-Environment Balance

### Prime causes of environmental degradation

- "The root cause of all environmental degradation is population" (Maria Correa, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

### Prime causes of population growth

- "Prosperity leads to fertility increase rather than fertility decline."
- "Fertility is a natural process, fertility would be naturally unlimited if couples were left to reproduce at will, you would have fertility rates that would be 13 or 14, it would be only limited by the woman's ability to bear children."
- "Different cultures have very high fertility rates because that's what they've chosen as a society to value" (Mark Nowak, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

### Why working on population

- Human population growth is root cause of environmental and economic degradation (Maria Correa, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

### Position on immigration

- Advocate replacement-level immigration (Maria Correa, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

### Position on abortion

- Not in literature.

### View towards nature

- "Any reasonable definition of carrying capacity must include city parks and scenic countryside as well as lakes, rivers, and wilderness" (Population-Environment Balance, undated flyer).

### Status of women

- Not in literature.

### Long-term goals

- Create population policy in U.S..
- Revamp immigration policy in U.S.

- Stabilize U.S. population (Maria Correa, personal interview, 3 February 1994)

### **Strategies for action**

- Environmental conversion initiative: "We go out and try to get people who have already recognized that there are environmental problems to understand that population growth is the driving factor of all environmental problems...Our initiative(s) involve a direct mail campaign,...media outreach,...lobbying on Capitol Hill for specific legislation that would push those goals."

- Immigration initiative: "The goal is to present immigration into the U.S. as a carrying capacity and environmental issue" (Mark Nowak, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

### **Targeted area of efforts**

- Environmental activists
- Population activists
- Immigration activists
- Congress

## Negative Population Growth

### Prime causes of environmental degradation

- "Our present world population of 5.5 billion (and growing by over 90 million a year) is poisoning our air and water, destroying croplands and forests, wiping out species at an unprecedented rate, and setting in motion fundamental climate changes" (Negative Population Growth undated).

### Prime causes of population growth

- Not in literature.

### Why working on population

- "We need a smaller U.S. population in order to halt the destruction of our environment, and to make possible the creation of an economy that will be sustainable indefinitely" (Mann 1992).

### Position on immigration

- Advocate reduction.

### Position on abortion

- Not mentioned in literature.

### View towards nature

- "Ample room for open space and wilderness, and for other creatures and forms of life" listed in criteria for optimum population size (Mann 1992).

### Status of women

- Not mentioned in literature.

### Long-term goals

- "To stabilize U.S. population at no more than 150 million, and world population at no more than two billion, after an interim period of gradual population decrease" (Mann undated).

- Lower fertility rate to 1.5 and stabilize it there for 50 years (Mann 1992)

### Strategies for action

- "Educate the American public to the social cost in crowding, unemployment, pollution, energy crises, crime, etc. of ever-increasing numbers" (Mann undated).

- Advocate "non-coercive social and economic incentives for fertility limitation as a matter of social responsibility." (Mann undated) For example,

eliminate the federal income tax exemption for dependent children, give a federal income tax credit only to those parents who have no more than two children, give an annual cash grant to low income parents who pay little or no income tax, and who have no more than two children (Mann 1992).

- Advocate "that 50 percent of our U.S. annual foreign aid be budgeted for population assistance programs to Third World countries, up from two percent at present" (Mann undated).
- Reduce immigration to overall ceiling of 200,000, including relatives and refugees (Mann 1992).
- Promote the ideal of the two-child maximum family as the social norm (Mann undated).
- Promote requiring the federal government to include population impacts in environmental impact statements (Negative Population Growth 1992).

**Targeted area of efforts**

- American public
- Congress and administrative decision-makers

## Population Institute

### Prime causes of environmental degradation

- "Burgeoning population is the single greatest threat to the health of the planet" (Population Institute 1991).
- "Soil erosion, deforestation, desertification, global warming, and ozone depletion. Not far behind would be water,...the water crisis of the '90s will eclipse the oil crisis of the '70s" (Werner Fornos, personal interview, 3 February 1994).
- "The Population Institute is primarily concerned with bringing the world's population into balance with its resources and environment, creating population stability and enhancing the quality of life. The Institute seeks to draw attention to those developing countries where the problems of overpopulation are most critical" (Population Institute undated).

### Prime causes of population growth

- "Female illiteracy, male dominance, lack of availability of family planning, both knowledge and means, and the youthful nature of the world's population" (Werner Fornos, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

### Why working on population

- "We believe that human population growth threatens the quality of life on this planet" (Werner Fornos, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

### Position on immigration

- Not in literature.

### Position on abortion

- Not in literature.

### View towards nature

- A healthy population level is "one that is in balance with its environment and resource base of the area, and of the world. [In balance means] that you're able to sustain life at a reasonable level: free of malnutrition, misery, early death, economic viability" (Werner Fornos, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

### Status of women

- "If we want to reduce the skyrocketing population growth and improve the health and status of women, it can only be done through providing them



with access to education, and the means of family planning...Women's status [is] hampered by high fertility" (Population Institute 1991).

#### **Long-term goals**

- "Make the public aware of the relationship between the population crisis and the world's diminishing resources and environmental degradation..."
- "Develop the leadership required to overcome these problems..."
- "Mobilize the needed response to the developing world's urgent pleas for voluntary birth control assistance" (Population Institute undated).

#### **Strategies for action**

- Educate the public about the population issue through a media campaign on public service television featuring well-known personalities.
- Elevate the status of girls across the globe through lobbying efforts for House Resolution 302 .
- Educate environmentalists about the interrelationship between population, the environment, and resources through distribution of a tabloid to the memberships of major environmental organizations (Werner Fornos, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

#### **Targeted area of efforts**

- American public
- U.S. Congress, administration, and international aid community
- Environmentalists

## **Sierra Club**

### **International Population Program**

#### **Prime causes of environmental degradation**

- "During the last 50 years, when human populations have increased the most, the environment suffered its worst damage ever...Our quality of life in the U.S. is beginning to deteriorate because of too many people" (Sierra Club undated).

- "Many of our environmental, social, and economic problems result from a single source **overpopulation!** As obvious as this 'source' should be, many people fail to see the connection...This huge mass of people is rapidly using up the Earth's limited treasury of resources and dumping its waste into the water, soil and air. We are exceeding the Earth's environmental carrying capacity" (Sierra Club undated).

#### **Prime causes of population growth**

- Not in literature.

#### **Why working on population**

- "The Sierra Club believes that a rapid end to population growth in this country and around the world is an essential part of any effort to protect the environment, sustain the ability of the Earth to support life, and enhance the quality of life for human beings" (Sierra Club 1990(b)).

#### **Position on immigration**

- The Sierra Club has not taken a position advocating limits to immigration, though the Population Committee proposed one in March 1993 and received harsh criticism both within and outside of the Club for it. The proposed new policy (not yet accepted by the Board of Directors) recommends certain conditions be placed on U.S. and Canada immigration policy, for example, nondiscriminatory, non-restrictive of constitutional rights, etc. (Creighton 1993; Sierra Club 1994).

- Current policy: "The Sierra Club urges Congress to conduct a thorough examination of U.S. immigration laws, policies, and practices...All regions of the world must reach a balance between their populations and resources. Developing countries need to enlarge opportunities for their own residents, thus increasing well-being, eventually lessening population growth rates, and reducing the pressures to emigrate" (Sierra Club 1989).

#### **Position on abortion**

- "The Sierra Club urges that each of the individual states of the United States legalize abortion" (Sierra Club 1989).

**Role of nature**

- Proposed Sierra Club population policy entitled, "Toward sustainability of human life on earth" (Sierra Club 1994).

**Status of women**

- Not mentioned in literature.

**Long-term goals**

- "International population assistance--[TOP PRIORITY] working to increase U.S. funding for international family planning to provide birth control for everyone in the world, according to the United Nations Population Fund target levels, to help stabilize world population as soon as possible.
- "Sustainable development--working to link population with long-term economic development policies in the multi-lateral development banks, such as the World Bank.
- "Reproductive rights--working to overturn restrictions on U.S. international population assistance, and to preserve the full range of reproductive options available to a woman throughout the U.S., including the right to safe, legal abortion" (Sierra Club 1990(a)).

**Strategies for action**

- Lobby Congress for increases in foreign appropriations for population assistance.
- Lobby for 100% coverage of family planning and classification as a preventive service in national health care reform (Nancy Wallace, personal interview, 1 February 1994).

**Targeted area of efforts**

- U.S. Congress and administration.

## **Sierra Club**

### **Local Carrying Capacity Campaign**

#### **Prime causes of environmental degradation**

- "The top problem is not only population but also overconsumption" of North Americans (Brian Hinman, personal interview, 1 February 1994).

#### **Prime causes of population growth**

- "The loss of the underpinnings of rural life, machinery, etc. is really upsetting the centuries-held small farmer concept" (Brian Hinman, personal interview, 1 February 1994).

- "People are not educated yet about the serious consequences to their community and to themselves [of population growth]. These issues haven't mattered in human history until now, so we see it as a rather simple, though major paradigm shift and awareness of one's relation to and impact to community..."

- "There's a great close connection between the view of the business community in the U.S. that population growth is good, and the fact that we don't see population issues discussed. [This] is partly driven by a real current economic interest, and, second of all, by the fear of impinging...on individual liberties.

- "We do not culturally put emphasis on community.

- "We have legitimate concern about history of abuses in implementing family planning programs and several of the groups of people of color" (Nancy Wallace, personal interview, 1 February 1994).

#### **Why working on population**

- "We're trying to start a program where citizens regain control of their own future, rather than it be driven by the business...Right now the idea is all growth is good. And what we're saying is that growth may or may not be good" (Brian Hinman, personal interview, 1 February 1994).

#### **Position on immigration**

- See Sierra Club's International Population Program.

#### **Position on abortion**

- See Sierra Club's International Population Program.

**View towards nature**

- Oriented towards social values, focus on human community.

**Status of women**

- See Sierra Club's International Population Program.

**Long-term goals**

- Activate Sierra Club members and others in local carrying capacity efforts.
- Bring environmental thresholds and the carrying capacity concept into the local planning process.
- Build carrying capacity movement from the local level up to the national level so the government will include concept in national policy (Brian Hinman, personal interview, 1 February 1994).

**Strategies for action**

- Hold conferences on the Local Carrying Capacity Campaign in communities around the country.
- The Local Carrying Capacity Campaign "is about the whole community deciding together that their way of life is worth preserving. And that means inclusive, bringing in people of color, bringing in the marginals, bringing in people that necessarily don't benefit from the quality of life in a community, and finding out how they can address those needs" (Brian Hinman, personal interview, 1 February 1994).

**Targeted area of efforts**

- Sierra Club activists
- Local planning agencies (Brian Hinman, personal interview, 1 February 1994)

## The Wilderness Society

### Prime causes of environmental degradation

- "Experts are practically unanimous in ranking... the calamitous consequences of continued exponential population growth...at the top of the list of critical environmental problems...An issue of at least equal importance to population is rarely noted or mentioned elsewhere. Yet it is the key to our environmental future. The absence of a pervasive, guiding conservation ethic in our culture is the issue and the problem" (Nelson 1994).

- Focus on numbers of people, but also talk generally about sustainability.

### Prime causes of population growth

- "The Wilderness Society doesn't have a formal view on that" (Maureen Maxwell, personal interview, 4 February 1994).

### Why working on population

- "Our mission is to look at the public lands and how to preserve them... Obviously, one of the factors that is degrading them is population growth" (Maureen Maxwell, personal interview, 4 February 1994).

### Position on immigration

- No position.

### Position on abortion

- "TWS doesn't take particular stands on particular population policies" (Maureen Maxwell, personal interview, 4 February 1994).

### View towards nature

- A healthy population level is "one that can sustain a decent quality of life without jeopardizing the ability of future populations to sustain a decent quality of life. The main mission of TWS is to look at the public lands in the US and how they're managed, and to preserve them in their full range, not just preserve them as sources of resources, like oil or lumber, or whatever, but also for what might be considered the less tangible resources the public lands provide; recreational opportunities, wilderness, biodiversity, etc" (Maureen Maxwell, personal interview, 4 February 1994).

### Status of women

- No position.

**Long-term goals**

- Develop a proposal that Congress hold a series of educational hearings on the issues of population growth and environmental sustainability, including issues like the effect on the public lands of population growth, agricultural sustainability, water availability, urbanization, ecological limits, etc.
- "Raise the level of awareness and understanding of the effects of population growth on environmental sustainability" among TWS membership.
- "Raise the public discussion...about population and environmental sustainability, what options it affects, what kinds of things we can do to keep our environment healthy" (Maureen Maxwell, personal interview, 4 February 1994).

**Strategies for action**

- Same as long-term goals (Maureen Maxwell, personal interview, 4 February 1994).
- Population and sustainability is on the Earth Day 1995 agenda (recent accomplishment) (The Wilderness Society, 1 November 1993).

## **Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health & Rights**

### **Prime causes of environmental degradation**

- "The myth of overpopulation has been used conveniently to cloak overconsumption and the failure of many western-designed development projects." (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 11)
  
- "It is highly debatable that current patterns of population growth exert undue pressures on the planet's carrying capacity. Consequently, the assumption that the quality of life for every human being will improve by limiting our numbers and those of future generations is extremely simplistic and obscures the real issues relative to poverty and crowded conditions in the world" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 4).
  
- "The real causes of underdevelopment and the global economic and environmental crises can be traced to rampant overexploitation of resources for some, and the subsequent waste of market-driven, consumption-based development practices that emphasize profit for its own sake" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 3).
  
- "The linkage between environmental degradation and population growth remains dubious. Population activities and demographic targeting predate the environmental movement" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 10).

### **Prime causes of population growth**

- "Where fertility tends to be high, lack of development is the problem and not vice-versa. Social research indicate a linkage between women's income level, education, and high birth rates. For poor women, children can help to lessen the adversity of stringent economic conditions...Children also serve as 'security' in old age. It has been noted that a significant reverse association exists between self-esteem, financial and educational societies, technologically advanced and transitional economies, birth rates drop, and the importance of having children for both sexes declines, once needs are perceived to be met" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 6).

### **Why working on population**

- To introduce "a people of color perspective on issues of population as they interact with institutional policies of racism, political oppression, classism and gender bias to entrench poverty and 'underdevelopment' within our



society. U.S. policies on population, reproductive health and development have far reaching implications for people of color not only abroad but also at home" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 2).

#### **Position on immigration**

- "Since transnational corporations can and do migrate anywhere on the globe to seek greater advantages for their enterprises, workers deserve similar freedom. Those who migrate to the U.S. should be assured health care, housing and economic sustenance, regardless of where they choose to live...The movement of people forced by economic, political, and social conditions to move in order to improve their quality of life" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 14).

#### **Position on abortion**

- "Reproductive health encompass access to quality health care, safe, affordable and appropriate means of family planning including abortion, infertility treatment services, and freedom from sterilization, coercion, and other abuses" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 8).

#### **View towards nature**

- "Efforts to address underdevelopment and to devise future opportunities for sustainable development must include: Worldwide development strategies which reflect respect for both cultural and natural biodiversity" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 4-5).

#### **Status of women**

"We propose that the measure of gender equality include:

- The guarantee of all human rights for women and girls;
- Redress of the multiple oppression--racism, classism, and sexism--that confront women of color and indigenous women;
- Acknowledgment of women as individuals regardless of diversity, marital status or occupation;
- Eradication of violence against women...;
- Equal pay for equal work...;

- Improved access to financial resources both through grants and low interest loans for all women" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 7-8).

### **Long-term goals**

#### **AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:**

- "Women of color must be equal participants in the decision-making processes on all issues concerning development and population activities...
- Decision-making participants must have demonstrated commitment to advancing women of color and indigenous women's rights and be credible to the population served.
- Universal, comprehensive health care and health education that is respectful of cultural pluralism should be provided.
- Guaranteed access to safe, voluntary contraception and abortion as part of a broader reproductive program of health services...
- There must be an end to the practice of conditioning loans, technical assistance and development aid on political criteria and other coercive strategies that violate the sovereignty of aid recipients, by groups requiring the monitoring or influencing of reproductive behavior.
- Develop and enforce specific guidelines to protect religious and spiritual views from any form of infringement which may result from the activities of government, donors, or population control agencies.
- There must be full public disclosure of any and all activities which involve the use of drugs, devices, procedures that are experimental or being used as part of research efforts.
- Sexual and social relationships between women and men must be governed by principles of equity, non-coercion, and mutual respect and responsibility.
- Safe contraceptives for males must also be produced.
- Barriers to freedom of movement throughout the world should be removed and the right of indigenous peoples to determine the members of their nation and territorial jurisdiction must be honored.
- Resources should be made available to eliminate both the internal and external forces that adversely impact families, e.g. inadequate access to

education and health care, as well as political, social and cultural oppression, violence, war, racism, classism, and sexism" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 16).

**Strategies for action**

- Influence priorities at the upcoming International Conference on Population and Development (September 1994 in Cairo, Egypt), Social Development Summit (Copenhagen), and World Conference on Women (Beijing) (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994).

**Targeted area of efforts**

- U.S. State Department, Bureau of Refugee programs, and participants in United Nations International Conference on Population and Development

## Zero Population Growth

### Prime causes of environmental degradation

- "ZPG is very different from environmental groups with population departments in the way that we perceive population being not just growth in numbers but actual consumption patterns" (Nadia Steinzor, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

- "Americans, as the most environmentally expensive people on the planet, really have a role and a responsibility to change both their habits and also their family size definitions" (Jay Keller, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

### Prime causes of population growth

- Lack of contraceptives and their availability.

- Lack of education on family planning, maternal and child care issues in general.

- Low status of women.

- Lack of education about the impact of an increase in numbers on both the environment and on social and political structure.

- "The absence of dealing with growth in a planned process is a fundamental flaw for local communities across the country" (Jay Keller, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

### Why working on population

- "We see population growth as one of the central problems in preventing us from finding solutions to all the other problems that are out there. Whether you're concerned about hunger, poverty, status of women's issues, housing, everything that's out there, if you have a growing population, you're increasingly trying to fix the problems, plus adding on fixing the problems for additional people, and that wipes out your ability to find solutions... A lot of people see...other population groups as saying... 'If you stop population growth, everything will be fixed.' That's not true. But...it would give us a chance to find a solution to these problems....It gives us time" (Jay Keller, personal interview, 2 February 1994).

### Position on immigration

- "It is ZPG's view that immigration pressures on the U.S. population are best relieved by addressing factors which compel people to leave their homes and families and emigrate to the United States. Foremost among these factors are overpopulation, poverty, and political repression. ZPG believes that unless

these problems are successfully addressed in the developing nations of the world, no forcible exclusion policy will successfully prevent people from seeking to relocate into the United States" (ZPG Board of Directors 1990, 5).

### **Role of nature**

- "Plants and animals represent a pool from which humanity draws for agriculture, medicine and industry...About one-half of the pharmaceutical products on the market include ingredients derived from sources in the wild. But biological diversity gives us much more than just products. It also provides us with crucial 'ecosystem services'--such as clean water, a breathable atmosphere and natural climate control--upon which all species, including human, survive" (Zero Population Growth 1990).

### **Position on abortion**

- ZPG "supports laws and social practices that ensure access for all women to medically safe and affordable abortion services" (ZPG Board of Directors 1990, 4).

### **Status of women**

- "High fertility usually accompanies repression of women, and this fact, more than any other, binds together the women's movement and those concerned with stopping population growth. The extent to which women are sovereign human beings in control of their fertility and free to choose how they live their lives will determine the progress of women and the course of population growth" (ZPG Board of Directors 1990, 6).

### **Long-term goals**

- Stabilize population
- Decrease consumption (better balance between human numbers and natural resource use)
- Improve family planning and access to contraceptives, which includes improved maternal and child health and women's health, plus raise status of women

### **Strategies for action**

- "ZPG's (national) population policy campaign will advocate a package of legislation to increase federal support for population education; family planning; contraceptive research; teen pregnancy prevention; grants to communities for sustainable development planning; and improved demographic data collection and analysis" (Zero Population Growth 1993).

- Reform health care to include reproductive health services.

- Reform of foreign aid so it moves towards sustainable development.

**Targeted area of efforts**

- U.S. public, Congress, President, local decisionmakers

**National focus group and polling data (by Pew Charitable Trusts and Izaak Walton League)**

Pew Charitable Trust focus groups: Public and environmentalist opinion

Between late May and late July of 1993, the Pew Charitable Trusts Global Stewardship Initiative commissioned a series of focus groups to identify public opinion about "rapid population growth, unsustainable resource consumption, and related issues that contribute to environmental degradation" (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 1). The Global Stewardship Initiative targeted several specific groups of people for the focus groups, including environmentalists,<sup>5</sup> internationalists, mainstream Protestants, Jewish people, Catholics (Anglo), fundamentalist Christians, Republican women, African Americans, Catholics (Hispanic), and young people (between ages of 17 and 20). Several research firms were hired to conduct the focus groups, and each wrote its own screening interview to select participants who are committed voters and who are active members of the designated constituency groups (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993a, 2).

While most members of the focus groups expressed concern about environmental protection at both the global and the national level, only the environmentalists and internationalists identified population growth and size as a problem. Instead of feeling concern about the absolute size of the human population or about Northern consumption, many participants

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<sup>5</sup>The environmentalist and internationalist categories include people who regularly read the newspaper and who indicated they are socially or politically active because they had contributed at least \$50 to an environmental or international affairs organization and had done one of the following activities in the past twelve months: written or spoken with a public official about a particular issue; attended a political meeting, convention, or fundraising event; attended a meeting, talk, discussion group, or workshop related to community, environmental or international issues; volunteered for a charitable or political organization; or participated in a demonstration (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 3).

identified the inequitable distribution of resources (such as food), and/or migration or movement of peoples, especially immigration into the U.S. as problems (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 9).

For many, the problem is not too many children, but the wrong people having children, people who cannot support their children and/or are living in places where resources are overburdened (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 26).

When probed about consumption, only a portion of the participants commented that the U.S. and other Northern countries consume at high levels in comparison with the rest of the world.

For the most part, the participants value their ability to consume more than people in developing countries and perceive American's [sic] ability to consume more as a privilege. Rather than agree that we might change our lifestyles or ways of doing business, to require less, most of the members of our groups call for wasting less. Overpackaging for example is the most commonly mentioned aspect of our consumption problem. Most recoil at the notion, on the other hand, of doing without a car, driving less, or abandoning air conditioning (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 8).

The environmentalists and internationalists were the only two groups to connect environmental degradation, population, and consumption as factors that affect each other.

The researchers conclude that although the focus groups have been well-educated about environmental problems, "many argue that we have passed the crises and that environmental and/or population-related problems are likely now to be solved" (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 9). Participants expressed faith that developments in technology will "save the planet;" that because recycling is so widespread, "we are all doing our part already;" or that



an act of nature or catastrophe will adjust problems of overpopulation or maldistribution of wealth. Others feel that the planet offers plenty of space, but people and wealth should be distributed better.

Across the focus groups, participants justify their lack of attention to population and environmental issues because they doubt how effectively the problems can be addressed. They express hopelessness because the problems are so large, and feel that cultural barriers (e.g., religious beliefs and machismo) are almost insurmountable barriers to programs aimed at reducing population. Participants also raised doubts about the appropriateness of advocating for smaller families for other people because they felt it is culturally imperialist and tramples on others' freedom of choice and personal life. They expressed a desire to concentrate efforts on change in the U.S., and a distaste for foreign aid (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 10).

Finally, despite all of their doom and gloom, members of the focus groups highlighted a few strategies toward solutions. People responded positively to the concept of taking personal responsibility to be a "steward of the earth," as well as focusing on localized action. This did not always mean they were thinking globally and acting locally; the surveyors point out that some of the groups only think locally.

The environmentalists showed support for international family planning and education efforts, but were wary about imposing Western cultural norms on other cultures. They specified that environmentalists as individuals should take the responsibility to educate and raise the awareness of others around them, but limited their role there. Some environmentalists in the focus groups stated that they thought population is too big of an issue

for environmental groups to add to their agendas (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 65).

The internationalists target education as the main strategy to reduce population growth. They show concern about overcoming cultural and religious barriers, though they were fairly optimistic that locally designed programs could overcome these barriers. The focus groups of Jewish men and women and young people clearly stated they think cultural differences will prevent education and family planning from being effective and do not support these methods of limiting population growth. Mainstream Protestants also doubted the effectiveness of such programs due to culture, but support them anyway (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 66).

The Catholic Hispanic men and women, Catholic Anglo men, Republican women, fundamentalists Christians, and African Americans "do not accept that there is a population problem." The Catholic Hispanics advocate that international aid programs offer birth control technology, education, and health clinics with full health services. They identify population problems in Mexico, Japan, and Southern countries. The Catholic Hispanic women, especially, believe strongly in the right of the individual to determine family size.

The Catholic Anglo men identify immigrants and minorities as the main source of "a population problem in some communities, but...not their problem" (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 68). Republican women point to countries like India as being overpopulated but in general they, fundamentalist Christians, and African Americans do not think the planet is overpopulated. The Christians believe nature will balance the human population through disease or disaster, and the African Americans expressed

great concern about a depopulation of their community, especially because of the high death rate of young men from drugs and crime (Pew Charitable Trusts 1993(a), 68-70).

#### Izaak Walton League's focus groups

The Izaak Walton League (IWL) conducted two focus groups of its members in July 1993 to determine member attitudes towards their new Carrying Capacity Project, as well as towards the organization in general. They found that the majority of their participants do not believe the Earth has yet exceeded its carrying capacity. When discussing population numbers, IWL members tend to compare the United States to other countries like China and India, and conclude that the U.S. is doing well. "Other comments refer to keeping resource use and population at current levels, which suggests that they do not perceive any current carrying capacity stress caused by current consumption patterns." Participant comments about consumption reflect a poor understanding that people in the United States consume much more than people in other countries, and also "largely seem to compare wasteful Americans with less wasteful Americans." IWL members also show little comprehension of the meaning of sustainable development. Some focus group participants thought it meant sustained development (presumably never-ending). Interestingly, as IWL members became more familiar with the concepts of carrying capacity during the process of the focus groups, they emphasized local action as the best strategy towards making change (Izaak Walton League of America, 1993(c)).

**Survey of Montana environmental organizations (conducted by author of this thesis)**

As stated in the methods section, 83 of 245 organizations returned completed surveys, for a response rate of 33.9 percent (see Table 2). Both quantitative and qualitative results are described below.

**Table 2**  
*Summary of Montana survey responses*

**83** groups responded to survey

**32** groups have a position on population

**21** with a position state they work on population

**11** with a position on population do not work on population

**15** groups have no position, but think the population issue is important

**8** with no position think the issue is important and do not work on population

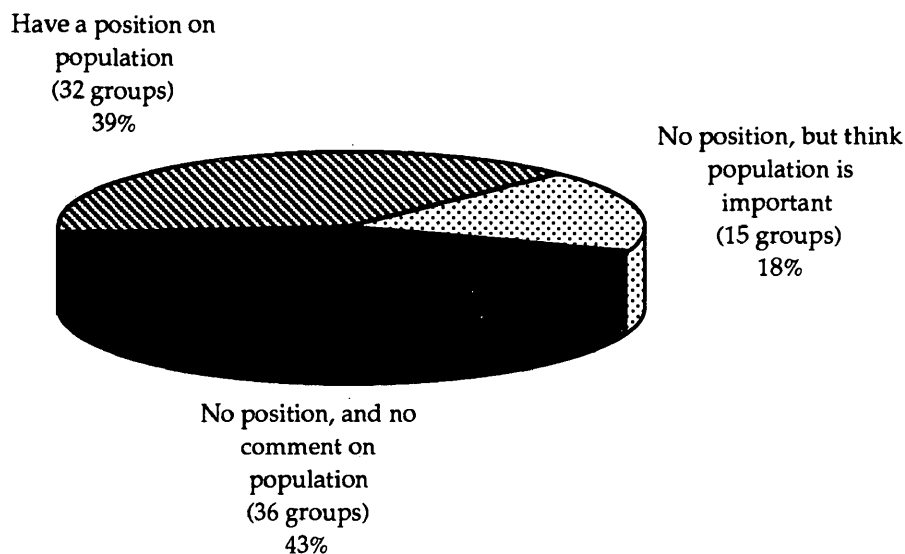
**7** with no position think issue is important and work on population

**3** incorporate population into their other work

**4** work on mitigating effects of local growth

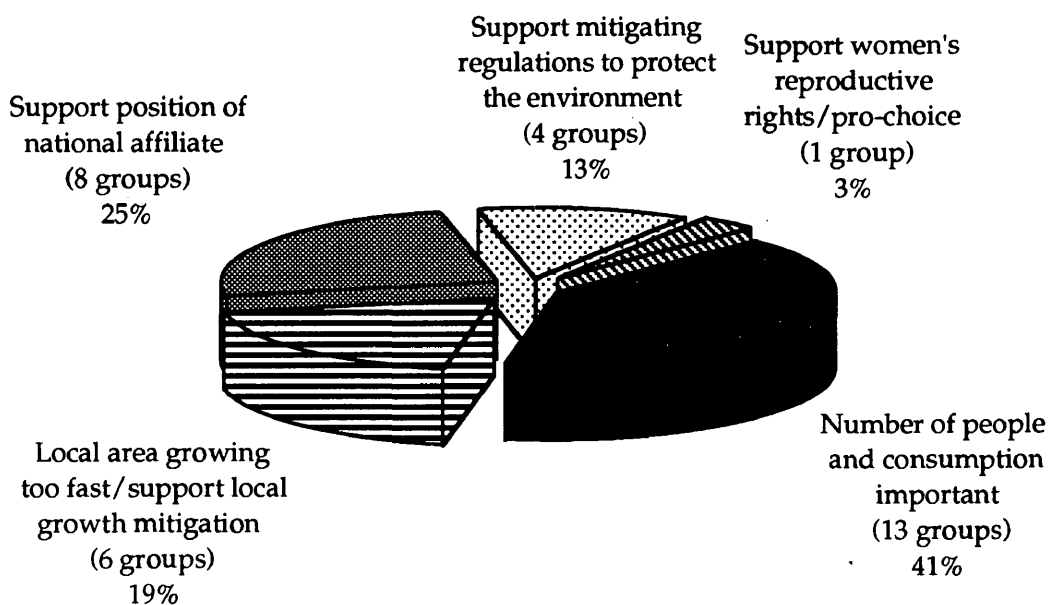
**36** groups have no position, nor do they specifically indicate the issue is important, and do not work on population

**Figure 1**  
**Attention to population among Montana organizations**  
**(83 groups responding)**



Forty-seven of the 83 organizations responding (56.6 percent) either articulated a position about population, or, despite the lack of a position, expressed they feel the issue is important. Thirty-six of the 83 (43.4 percent) organizations stated they have no organizational position on population or did not respond to the question asking about an organizational position. Thirty-two organizations, or 38.6 percent of the 83 respondents, described an organizational position on population. Fifteen of the 83 groups (18.1 percent) have no position, but commented on the importance of the population issue (Figure 1).

**Figure 2**  
**Types of self-identified organizational positions**  
**on population in Montana**  
**(32 groups)**



Montana organizations with positions on population (32 organizations)

The distribution of organizational positions is described above (Figure 2). Twelve of the thirty-two organizations with positions (37.5 percent) stated that both the number of people and their resource-intensive consumption were important in their positions on population. They expressed concern that the current lifestyle in the United States is non-sustainable, but

emphasized that reducing consumption would not matter if the population is not reduced. For example, they said:

*"The primary cause of nearly every environmental problem is overpopulation, and a resource-heavy consumptive lifestyle. Until we control population growth, no amount of recycling, energy and resource conservation will truly help."*

Montana Natural History Center (Missoula)

*"Population now is way higher than the world or country can sustain. This is particularly so in (the) U.S. because of our prodigious use of world resources."*

Bitterroot Chapter, Trout Unlimited (Hamilton)

*"Unless we deal effectively with over-population and wasteful consumption of our natural resources--soon--all of our other efforts will amount to nothing."*

Montana Audubon Council (Helena)

*"Our belief is that the population growth in the area is, as of late, mine related. It causes extra concerns for schools, sewer, police, stores, etc. This is temporary and will cause future problems and expenses for locals when [the] mine ceases operations."*

Stillwater Protective Association (Fishtail)

Six of the 32 organizations (18.8 percent) said they work to shape how local growth occurs, with the varied goals of preserving wildlife habitat or community health, or stabilizing the economy. These groups attempt to mitigate the negative effects of growth, but do not actually challenge the causes of growth.

*"We support planned growth as currently being developed in Flathead [Valley]. There is an optimum population density that is critical for this area. Our goal is to maintain [the] traditional way of life unique to Montana and Flathead Valley."*

Flathead Land Trust (Kalispell)

*"We see a direct correlation between the number of people in Missoula and Missoula County, and environmental*

*quality and the "functionability" of our community. The number of people, and the way those people live, will dictate the quality of life for all beings and the relative state of the area's resources."*

Missoula Center for Responsible Planning (Missoula)

*"We feel that as the population increases safeguards must be installed to assure that recreational opportunities in the environment are increased, i.e. more access points, more trails to diffuse the public over larger areas, stricter visual pollution laws, zoning laws, parks and green belts for cities etc., etc.*

Kootenai Flyfishers (Libby)

Four of the 32 organizations (12.5 percent) try to mitigate the negative impacts of population growth through regulation or manipulating natural resources to accommodate increased human activity and presence. For example:

*"There must be regulations to protect our environment from an expanding population."*

Billings Rod and Gun Club (Billings)

*"Fly fishing has become much more popular in the last several years. This is causing crowding and conflict on our rivers and streams. We are attempting to educate our membership on a code of conduct for floaters and fishers to minimize conflict."*

Joe Brooks Chapter, Trout Unlimited Federation of Flyfishers (Livingston)

The groups concerned about controlling how growth occurs through regulation or land use planning total 10 of the 32 organizations with positions.

Eight organizations have adopted the positions of their national affiliates (Wilderness Society, Audubon, National Wildlife Federation, Sierra Club).<sup>6</sup> One-third of the 32 organizations with positions (these eight

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<sup>6</sup>Montana Audubon Council has adopted the position of the National Audubon Society, but also explicitly expressed their concern about the dual impacts of population and consumption, so they are listed under both categories.



organizations supporting national group positions, in addition to three more local Missoula organizations) support population stabilization.

*"Make it (population) go away. If we don't, then the system dynamics will, and that sure will be ugly. All we want to do is keep non-human species and ecosystems flourishing until it's all sorted out."*

Wild Rockies Earth First! (Missoula)

*"Man [sic] should manage his [sic] numbers such that he [sic] can maintain a sustainable system well below the upper limits of earth's carrying capacity. In addition to man's [sic] needs we should be able to set aside large areas essentially unused by man [sic] --wilderness--for the continuing evolution of all other species."*

Craighead Wildlife-Wildlands Institute (Missoula)

*"As per national greens: we should strive for [a] stable population."*

Bitterroot Greens (Victor)

Only one organization has a position on extractive industry that is exclusive of population numbers:

*"We have stayed away from direct population projects...too often they focus on how 'others' can reduce their populations (i.e., racism). We do work on how populations can reduce their impact/consumption."*

Picture Tomorrow (Great Falls)

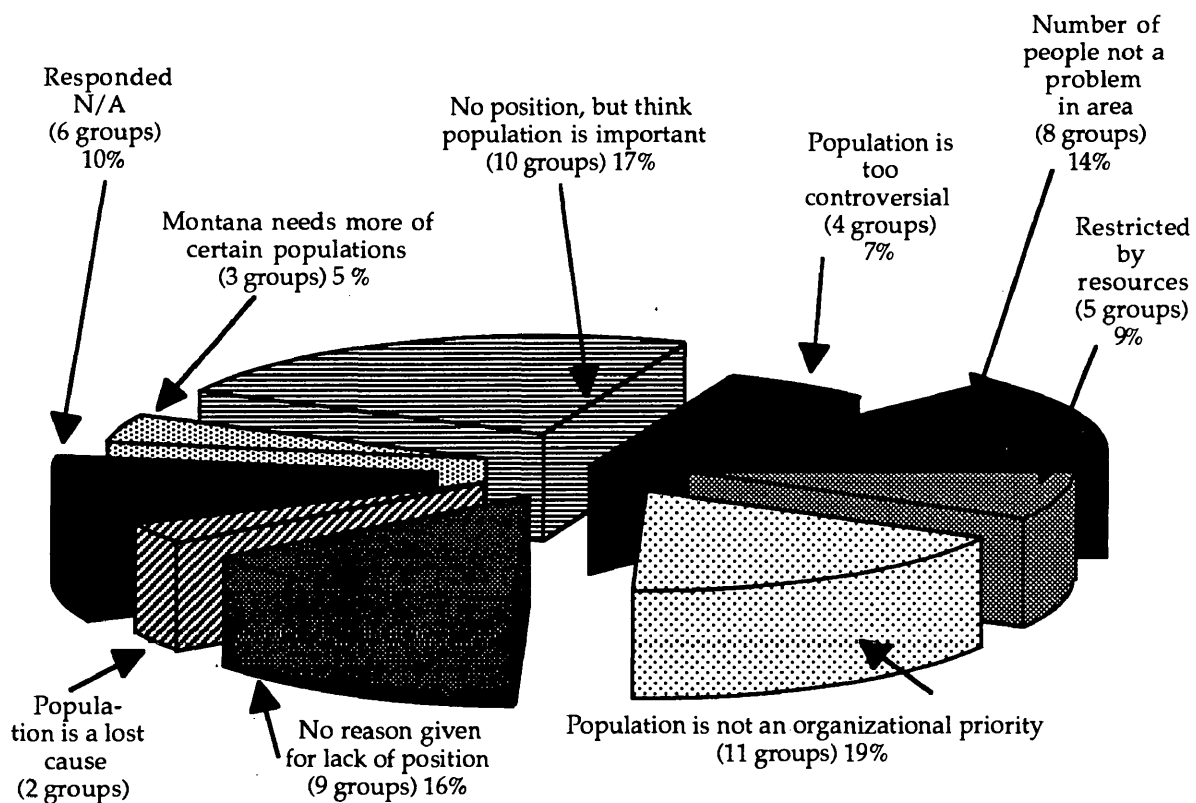
Only one organization, the Jeannette Rankin Peace Center, volunteered that they are concerned about women's rights and advocate a pro-choice position.

#### Montana organizations with no position on population (51 organizations)

A total of 51 of the 83 Montana organizations responding have no position on population. Fifteen of the 51 respondents have no position, but wrote that either as individuals or informally as groups they feel population

is an important issue. Thirty-six of the 51 indicate they do not have positions on population, nor do they think it's important (Figure 3).

**Figure 3**  
**Reasons Montana organizations give for having no position on Population (51 organizations)**



Below are examples of comments by the fifteen organizations with no positions, but who are concerned about population:

*"No local position although we recognize that over-population even in our rural state has an adverse effect on all natural systems."*

Upper Missouri Breaks Audubon Society Chapter (Great Falls)

*"We recognize that population increases have resulted in the decline of many species and are personally committed to population control but we do not have an organizational position that includes population."*

Friends of the Wild Swan (Swan Lake)

*"We haven't adopted any formal policies on global issues, like population, preferring to exert our few resources on what we regard as a vitally important ecosystem."*

Keep it Wild! (Whitefish)

*"I will have no offspring, I promise!"*

(Name not listed to protect anonymity of respondent.)

Six of the 51 organizations wrote "n/a" for no answer or not applicable, or gave no answer to the survey question, "If your organization has a position regarding population, please describe it..If your organization does not have a position regarding population, please explain why not." Another nine wrote "no" in response to the question.

Five organizations cite lack of resources, including time, money, and volunteer or staff energy, for why they don't have a position on population. For example:

*"Although I know population is the root of most of these problems I work on, I/we cannot abandon them to work on population issues and am to [sic] busy holding my own as is."*

Rocky Mountain Front Advisory Council (Missoula)

*"No position--we are basically a single issue group in a very small town. As a practical matter we can easily get spread too thin."*

Concerned Citizens of Pony (Pony)

*"We haven't adopted any formal policies on global issues, like population, preferring to exert our few resources on what we regard as a vitally important ecosystem."*

Keep it Wild! (Whitefish)

Eleven of the 51 respondents with no position answered their organization has either not discussed population, or the issue is not related to their organizational goals.

*"One war at a time."*

Mineral Policy Center (Bozeman)

*"We don't get into issues like that."*

Agriculture in Montana Schools (Great Falls)

*"To the best of my recollection no one has ever submitted a population control issue for funding."*

Cinnabar Foundation (Helena)

*"We are basically a one-issue organization, founded to address one specific problem [hazardous waste incineration]. We see ourselves as a public health group, not as an environmental/conservation group, though clearly environmental concerns overlap greatly with public health concerns. Population is clearly related to environmental/conservation issues."*

Montanans Against Toxic Burning (Bozeman)

Two of the 51 organizations responded they don't believe their organizations effectively challenge population growth, and they shouldn't waste their efforts. (Four organizations write that they do not work on the population issue because they don't know what to do.)

*"The majority (at least 90%) of the active members of P.O.I. are 50 years of age or better and do not believe in battling*

*lost causes, i.e. double beds and all of the activities which goes with them."*

Polson Outdoors, Inc. (Polson)

*"Any ideas you may have about how we can incorporate population into what we do would be helpful."*

Friends of the Wild Swan (Swan Lake)

Four of the 51 organizations state the population issue is too controversial for them to deal with, and that it requires taking too radical of a stance.

*"In order to get landowners to trust us enough to put their land under easement, we can't affront them by flying in the face of their basic notion that 'growth is good.' Therefore, we don't address the issue of population head on."*

Five Valleys Land Trust (Missoula)

*"A very hot topic; too closely associated with narrow focus locally of: 'Population control = birth control = abortion = anti-religious beliefs ('Christian ethics') = EVIL(?)'"*

Flathead Audubon Society (Kalispell)

*"We have a diversity of opinion on this issue amongst our members, so for the good of the organization we do not take a stand."*

Medicine River Canoe Club (Great Falls)

In sum, the 37 organizations with no position on population citing the above reasons (e.g., they can't affect the issue, it's too controversial, it's not an organizational priority or related to their goals, they don't know what to do), or giving no reason for their lack of activity, account for 72.5 percent of the 51 total organizations with no position.

Of the remaining 14 organizations with no position on population, eight identify no problems caused by the number of people in their areas.

*"Subject of overpopulation has not come up, as for several years (early '80s) there was a net migration out of this area."*

Anaconda Sportsmen's Club (Anaconda)

*"It (the issue of population) has yet to impact us, but probably will in the future."*

Artemisia Chapter, Montana Native Plant Society (Billings)

*" Small is beautiful--we live here because there's space."*  
Elkhorn Citizens Organization (Helena)

*"Due to the small population and extent of polarization among private landowners, FTC has elected to take no position on the environmental effects from population in the area, dealing exclusively with state and federal lands."*

Flathead Transboundary Council (Kalispell)

*"If your premise is that increased population has been the cause for environmental degradation, you need to think some more. Butte and Annaconda [sic] in the early 1900's is [sic] a prime example. I don't think population is the culprit, it's lack of laws and enforcement that ensures a good environment...If there were a few more people to complain, some of these problems might be fixed."*

Montana Science Teachers (Billings)

Interestingly, organizations that do not identify a problem in their area are located in both the depopulating eastern parts of the state like Sidney, as well as rapidly growing areas in western and central Montana like Lewistown, Missoula and Kalispell.

Three organizations responded that they do not have a position because certain populations in the state are too small. All three responses are included here:

*"Population problems are not a priority--survival of Indian Tribes is our priority--we want Tribes to flourish."*

Native Action (Lame Deer)

*"Montana is a large state with a sparse population...If there were a few more people to complain, some of these problems might be fixed."*

Montana Science Teachers (Billings)

*"Population (especially low population) may be an impediment to economical recycling."*

Keep Montana Clean and Beautiful (Helena)

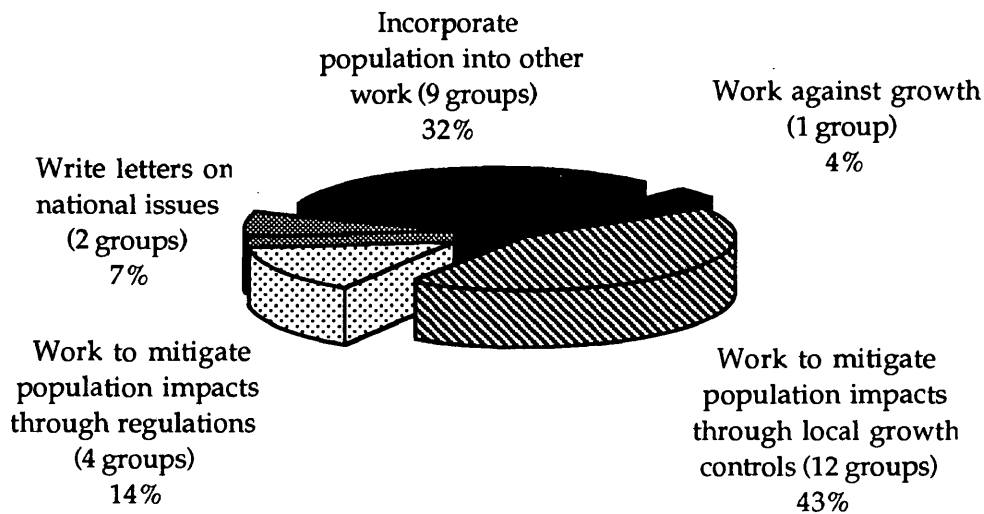
The remaining three organizations of the 51 write they have no position because they are non-advocacy groups.

Montana organizations who work on population (28 organizations)

Twenty-eight of the 83 organizations (33.7 percent) responding to the Montana survey work on population (Figure 4). Twenty-one of the 28 organizations that work on population have positions on the issue, and seven do not. Of the seven groups without a population position, four work on mitigating the impacts of a locally growing populations, and three incorporate population into their messages on other issues.

Twelve of the 28 organizations who describe themselves as doing work on population focus their efforts on mitigating the effects of local growth, and

**Figure 4**  
**Types of work in Montana by organizations identifying themselves as doing work related to population (28 organizations)**



four other organizations attempt to limit the impact of a growing population through regulations controlling human behavior. The activities of these 16 groups (57.1 percent of the total 28 organizations with positions) do not challenge the underlying causes of growth, but merely are efforts to shape how growth will occur.

The twelve organizations working on local growth mitigation describe their activities:

*"We are [a] primary supporter of current LUP [land use planning] in Flathead County. Hopefully, population density*



*and target carrying capacity will be identified through this process."*

Flathead Land Trust (Kalispell)

*"The causes of local population growth are mainly outside our capacity to affect; we are focused on saving something from a flood overtaking our valley, not putting energies into dealing with distant causes and letting go what we can do locally."*

Save Open Space, Inc. (Missoula)

*"We're involved with the Cooperative Planning Coalition efforts to direct and control growth in Flathead County. We're closely involved with efforts in the Swan Valley, for example, to avoid water degradation and habitat fragmentation from haphazard development."*

Flathead Chapter, Montana Wilderness Association (Kalispell)

*"Involved in growth management planning--concerned about impact of expanding urban area on natural areas and populations of species other than humans."*

Five Valleys Audubon Society (Missoula)

*"The only activities of the Montana Chapter that have been directly concerned with population growth in this state have been those concerned with the rapid growth in certain urban areas. The activities concerned with land use planning, and subdivision review are not activities that are directed at stabilizing populations, but are directed at managing population growth so as to minimize growth's environmental impacts."*

Montana Chapter, Sierra Club (Bozeman)

Notably, growth mitigation and control are a primarily a concern of organizations located in western Montana. As is clear from the comment by the Montana Chapter of the Sierra Club, organizations attempting to control local growth do not necessarily think they can or want to affect the causes of the growth, but instead attempt to manage it.

The four organizations that work to mitigate the effects of population growth through regulation or manipulation of natural systems write:

*"Our efforts on stream enhancement projects to increase fish populations could be construed as relating to population, since more fish will offset the fishing pressure of more population."*

Kootenai Flyfishers (Libby)

*"Fencing riparian areas to exclude cattle--Recovery occurs quickly. Catch-and-release fishing so the expanding hordes can still enjoy catching fish without killing."*

Bitterroot Chapter Trout Unlimited (Hamilton)

Nine of the 28 organizations who work on population simply incorporate the population issue into their other work.

*"Our programs occasionally mention population control. We do have lots of information on issues connecting population, human rights, peace and justice, and environment."*

Jeannette Rankin Peace Resource Center (Missoula)

*"The closest we have to a 'project' on population is our editorial encouragement of writers in Northern Lights Magazine to broach the subject of population growth and influx (including the 'temporary' influx of tourism) as a factor that hugely impacts ecosystems, human and biological communities, and the quality of life in this region (the Rockies)."*

Northern Lights Institute (Missoula)

*"We often imply-but rarely 'say,' 'Population is the problem.' We feel it goes without saying...The big problem is population. We cover the smaller parts of the problem (symptoms): subdivision laws; solid waste in Flathead Co.; 404 permitting system=filling wetlands=lower water quality; loss of habitat due to increases in population; pollution: air, ground water, food sources, dust, etc."*

Flathead Audubon Society (Kalispell)

Two organizations (both affiliates of National Audubon Society) participate in national letter-writing campaigns in support of international foreign aid.

One organization takes a specific anti-growth policy, which is described below:

*"We are against all human-related growth."*

Ecology Center (Missoula)

Organizations that do not work on population (55 organizations)

Fifty-five of the 83 responding organizations (66.3 percent) do not work on the population issue. Forty-four of the 51 organizations with no position on population do not work on the issue. Eight of these 51 have no position, think population is important, but do not work on the issue. (The remaining seven groups with no position do work on population; their activities are described in the preceding section.) Eleven of the 32 organizations with a position on population do not work on the issue. Fourteen of the 55 organizations that don't work on population responded "no," and another thirteen wrote "n/a" or gave no answer to the question, "If your organization considers population a cause of environmental degradation in Montana, but does not incorporate population into your programs or campaigns, please explain why not."

Nine of the 55 organizations not working on population state the issue does not match their organizational priorities. Four of these organizations cited the same reason for why they have no position on population.

*"Our constitution and by-laws mandate that we deal with conservation issues. Population control would not qualify, although there is an indirect connection."*

Billings Rod and Gun Club (Billings)

*"Because there are so many issues we tackle, population control is not an issue that our board wishes to confront."*

Montana Gallatin Alliance (Bozeman)

*"Too much interested in other issues, i.e. bird watching. Can handle only so much."*

Yellowstone Valley Audubon Society (Billings)

Six organizations stated they lack time and resources to work on population. Again, two of these groups gave the same reason for having no position on the issue.

*"The Flathead Resource Organization has too few active members to engage in campaigns and programs. Our activities at present consist mainly of involvement in plans for new highway construction in Lake County and writing letters to officials regarding environmental issues."*

Flathead Resource Organization (St. Ignatius)

*"No time."*

Elkhorn Citizens Organization (Helena)

Four organizations state they are unable to affect the population issue, express that they do not know what to do, or give flippant answers that imply they have identified no concrete strategies for action:

*"[We distribute] self-help vasectomy kits."*

Wild Rockies Field Institute (Missoula)

*"Efforts at human population control remains controversial to many people. It is an important issue that we have not been able to effectively discuss."*

American Buffalo Foundation (Bozeman)

*"It is such a major issue we would not know how to address it."*

Prickly Pear Sportsmen's Association

Nine of the 55 organizations write they focus on other issues; eight of these are engaged in last-ditch efforts to protect remaining fragments of ecological integrity.

*"When we started this chapter we were to help the [pheasant] habitat of Flathead Valley. Due to the mass population influx into our valley we are trying to establish habitat elsewhere."*

Flathead Valley Chapter, Pheasants Forever (Kalispell)

*"Our work in land use is directly related to population in that it restricts conversion of land which might accommodate population increases."*

Montana Land Reliance (Helena)

*"Certainly population is the ultimate cause of many of Montana's environmental problems, such as unsustainable resource extraction and ecosystem fragmentation...We choose to focus on more discrete, proximate issues of a regional nature, such as endangered species and federal land management."*

National Wildlife Federation field office (Missoula)

One of these nine organizations does not recognize human population as negatively affecting their work.

*"Population is not a factor in northeast Montana. We have not considered the effect of population on habitat. We have only considered the effect the population that is here might have on gamebird populations. Our primary thrust is providing a place for birds to nest and then survive the weather."*

Pheasants Forever (Sidney)

## V. Discussion

### *Analyzing the Differences in Population Activism at the National Level and in Montana*

The general conservative and liberal neo-Malthusian and radical (neo-Marxist) categories laid out in Chapter III portray one theoretical model to explain different perspectives towards defining and solving the "population problem." These categories are used to discuss the national environmental, population and social justice organizations within the analytical framework of five concepts derived from the literature review in Chapter III. As a reminder, the five concepts are:

1. The number of people on the planet is threatening ecological integrity.
2. Overconsumption and reliance on resource intensive technologies by some sectors of the human population are threatening ecological integrity.
3. Causes of (and thus solutions to) human population growth must be considered within the global economic context.
4. A just human society (economically, socially, politically and in gender relations) is critical to long-term planetary sustainability.
5. Respect of environmental rights is critical to long-term planetary sustainability.

The purpose of this analysis is to clarify the variations between organizational approaches to population, and to highlight where support of one or more of

these concepts leads to actions or beliefs that conflict with the other concepts. In some cases, organizations simply ignore one or more of the concepts, resulting in limited analysis of the population problem.

The second part of the chapter analyzes the data collected in the Montana survey, again within the context of the five concepts. This analysis brings attention to areas where emphasis on one or another of the concepts obscures the others to such an extent that activists are paralyzed because of the narrowness of their perspective. This discussion is intended to lay the groundwork for a new, comprehensive and empowering approach to the population issue for local activists [which is presented in Chapter VI, Recommendations and Conclusion].

### **Linking theory and action at the national level**

While classifying organizations by analytical approach (e.g. conservative, liberal, and radical/Marxist) may seem to be simply an academic exercise, it is not. As was shown in the focus group, polling, and survey data in the last chapter, activists often characterize the issues of population and overconsumption as "overwhelming," "a lost cause," and "big." Without exploring what underlying forces foster population growth and drive the blatant resource grab in the North, activists can find themselves in a powerless position. Whether particular goals are viewed by activists as being achievable and worthy of effort is partly dependent upon how they analyze relationships between human population and the environment. Depending on their ideological approach, environmental organizations challenging rapid population growth help shape how the issue is perceived as a problem,

as well as what strategies and solutions are perceived to be appropriate to that problem. Local activists can be more effective and clear in designing their own strategies to tackle population and environmental degradation if they are able to recognize the varying strengths and deficiencies of existing programs.

As stated in Chapter III, the conservative and liberal neo-Malthusian and radical perspectives differ according to the factors they identify as the major causes of population growth (e.g., valuing large families, need for a labor force to enable family production) and environmental degradation (e.g., overpopulation, unequal land tenure, global inequity and capitalism). Further differences become evident when the organizations are analyzed according to how they approach population within the context of number of people, consumption and destructive technologies, social justice, the global economic structure, and environmental rights (See Table 3). Please note that the classifications of organizations described below are not meant to place groups in intractable boxes, but merely to highlight general differences between them.

### The ultraconservatives

The Carrying Capacity Network (CCN), Population-Environment Balance (Balance), Negative Population Growth (NPG), and the Wilderness Society (TWS) fall in the ultraconservative category because they believe fertility rate is primarily based on values (e.g. cultural, religious, personal, etc.). According to Balance Executive Director Mark Nowak, "Different cultures have very high fertility rates because that's what they've chosen as a



society to value...It's relatively easy to define a value; I think it's relatively difficult to influence that value" (Mark Nowak, personal interview, 3 February 1994). CCN, Balance, and NPG all advocate incentives and disincentives to lower people's fertility rates because they believe mere accessibility to contraceptives will not overcome the fundamental value systems they see as determining people's family size. Mark Nowak illustrates this in his comment describing Bangladeshis as "people who very definitely recognize that they've got depleted resources, they're exceptionally poor, high risk of starvation...(yet they) continue to place a very strong value on having children" (Mark Nowak, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

*Focus on reducing the number of people*

CCN, Balance, and NPG advocate limiting the number of people in the United States through strict immigration controls.<sup>7</sup> The main thesis of their argument is that the U.S. quality of life and environment are being degraded by the sheer number of people. They firmly believe the root cause of all environmental degradation is population (Maria Correa, personal interview, 3 February 1994; Ed Lytwak, personal interview, 7 February 1994). This group strives towards the fastest stabilization (or reduction, in the case of NPG) of population possible, but focuses on the United States rather than Southern countries.<sup>8</sup> The ultraconservative organizations view population reduction as the means by which major environmental, social, and political conflicts

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<sup>7</sup>The Wilderness Society does not advocate any particular population reduction policy except development of an environmental ethic among the American populace (Maureen Maxwell, personal interview, 4 February 1994).

<sup>8</sup>NPG advocates for a shrinking of the global population to two billion, and reducing the national population to 150 million (Mann undated).

can be diminished, lessening the importance of consumption as an issue (Mark Nowak, personal interview, 3 February 1994). CCN, Balance, and NPG all argue that because legal and illegal immigration account for one-third to one-half of population growth in the United States each year, the fastest and simplest way to reduce national growth rates are to tighten immigration laws to allow only the number of people into the country as leave every year (approximately 200,000 people). While the ultraconservatives also advocate reduction of the "native" (versus immigrant) fertility rate through incentives and disincentives, the bulk of their efforts target immigration heavily because "right away we could halve our population growth rate. It's a very practical and immediate solution" (Ed Lytwak, CCN, 2 February 1994).

The Wilderness Society (TWS) performed a phone survey of its members in late September and early October of 1993, with four specific questions about population. The illustrates the organization's conservative neo-Malthusian bias, because their questions framed all of its questions exclusively around the number of people. When asked what impact they thought population growth has on the health and well-being of people in the United States, 72 percent of the members polled said a "big impact," and 23 percent responded "moderate." Seventy-six percent of those polled said they think the projected rise in population from 248 million to 382 million by the year 2050 will "weaken the U.S. economy and decrease the standard of living."

After informing respondents that the U.S. population increases by about three million people each year, one million of which are accounted for by immigrants, TWS asked about the appropriateness of that number. Fifty-

seven percent of TWS members responded that it is "too many," and 26 percent said it was "about the right number." Finally, the surveyors asked respondents how concerned they are about the increasing demands of population growth in the U.S. on public lands and wilderness areas. Forty-six percent of those polled responded that this concerned them "a great deal," 30 percent answered "quite a bit," and 19 percent said "just some" (The Wilderness Society 1994).

The poll shows that Wilderness Society members are highly concerned about the social, economic, and environmental impacts of population growth. While it is difficult to know the intentions of the Wilderness Society poll, but it is interesting to observe that they framed the population problem in terms of numbers only, and with no comment on lifestyle and consumption or social or economic issues.

### *Consumption rhetoric*

The ultraconservatives mention consumption peripherally, but maintain their stance that no effort to reduce consumption will matter if population growth continues. The Wilderness Society comes the closest to articulating an explicit statement about consumption. Gaylord Nelson, founder of the Wilderness Society's population program, strongly believes in the ability of education to create a new "pervasive, guiding conservation ethic in our culture," leading the United States towards a sustainable economy (Nelson 1994, 3).

True to Hardin's "tragedy of the commons" model, CCN, Balance, and NPG represent each person's impact on the environment as equal. They link many social, economic, and environmental ills directly to the number of

people. Maria Correa of Population-Environment Balance, for instance, blames overpopulation for lack of school classrooms, increasing social difficulty with bilingualism, urban unrest, and unemployment (Maria Correa, personal interview, 3 February 1994). Balance almost exclusively blames population growth for pollution and depletion of water supplies and loss of wetlands and farmland. The group asserts that water development projects such as the Glen Canyon dam in Arizona and the draw-down of Mono Lake in California were "created to support population growth." None of the fact sheets include any mention of resource-intensive consumption practices, or of corporate benefits of water projects or real estate and industrial development (Population-Environment Balance 1986, 1992, 1993).

*Global economic context not considered*

The ultraconservatives fail to discuss the dependence of the U.S. quality of life on exploitation of resources and people in other parts of the globe. Both CCN and Balance define carrying capacity as "the number of individuals who can be supported without degrading the natural, cultural, and social environment, i.e., without reducing the ability of the environment to sustain the desired quality of life over the long term" (CCN letterhead; Balance membership flyer).<sup>9</sup> While this definition seems fairly innocuous, it is important to note that these organizations are referring to the environment of the United States. With no consideration of the impacts of world trade on the environments of other countries, the concept of carrying capacity based on local environmental quality rings false.

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<sup>9</sup>Balance's definition uses the word "physical" rather than "natural."

The Wilderness Society defines sustainable society in almost exactly the same way as CCN and Balance define carrying capacity. Again, their focus is on the quality of life in the United States (with an emphasis on the health of the public lands) as impacted by the number of people and consumption, with no acknowledgment of the impacts of Northern lifestyles on Southern countries.

Some argue that one of the ultraconservative groups' goals in adopting a strong anti-immigration policy may be to create a needed crisis prompting public acknowledgment of an overpopulation and quality of life problem (Mary O'Brien, personal interview, 12 April 1994). The strategy could be viewed as parallel to that of the Citizen Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste (Williams 1993), who attempts to force corporate industry to deal with the hazardous waste they generate themselves rather than incinerating or shipping it off-site to become someone else's problem. Closing the borders to people and not to goods, however, is a strategy that does not consider population within the global economic context. Flow of people does not occur independently of flow of goods. Therefore, to halt only the people entering the U.S. from an unjust and crowded nation, while allowing products to enter the U.S. from an unjust and crowded society, weakens the strategy.

In their explanation of what motivates immigration, CCN and Balance promote the ideas of Dr. Virginia Abernethy, who serves as a director on both of their boards. Abernethy argues that the "optimism" of people in poor countries who see the opportunity for a better life reflected in the liberal

immigration policy of the United States leads them to increase their family sizes, regardless of whether they actually emigrate here or not.

Acting as a safety valve for other countries' excess population, the U.S. will increase suffering in the very countries we most want to help. We risk raising the expectations of the many millions who will never be able to emigrate. We must ask ourselves if the better lives for those who move justify possible harm to the far greater number who will never have the opportunity (Abernethy 1993, 81).

With this rationale, Balance and CCN defend their call for closing off the borders, arguing it is the humane and just action to take because it avoids creating false optimism in people of poor countries, and assuring disbelievers at the same time that they do not discriminate by race, color or creed.

*Social justice is relative*

CCN, Balance, and NPG do not discuss disparity of wealth as a cause of migration from poor countries to United States, and they accept, rather than challenge, inequity as an inherent part of human society. As per the conservative model, Mark Nowak of Balance said:

Social justice is relative. There's no absolute social justice. The United States can never consume at a low enough level that we will be just in terms of the relative consumption of a Bangladeshi. Other people will always be hungrier and less well off than we are in the United States, because we have a resource rich country...People need to be sure that they're not asking the United States to consume at subsistence level, because at the same time...they're working hard to raise everybody else in the world above subsistence level (Mark Nowak, personal interview, 3 February 1994).

The ultraconservatives argue that America must take care of its own first, and set an example for other countries, documenting the negative impacts of immigrants with figures about the added tax burden they create, the jobs they are taking from U.S. minorities, the damage they are doing to the environment. They appeal to citizens' desire to maintain the high quality of life currently enjoyed in the United States. For example, a Balance membership form reads, "Yes! I want to protect the quality of life in America by fighting uncontrolled population growth" (Population-Environment Balance undated(b)).

### *Environmental rights*

Deep ecologists are attracted to the ultraconservative perspective on immigration because it justifies the subordination of the rights or value in human life to the rights of Nature to exist. Edward Abbey was one of the first people to go public with a proposal to close the borders to Mexican immigrants in his essay "Immigration and Liberal Taboos" (Abbey 1978), a sentiment later repeated by Dave Foreman (Zakin 1993). It also offers what on the surface appears to be a quick, efficient method of keeping people out of wild lands in the short term, allowing time for work to be done to transform society and reduce population growth rates and enabling protection of wild nature in the long term.

## The conservatives

### *Contraceptives to reduce the population*

The headline-grabbing statistics about 85+ percent of global population growth occurring in Southern countries are what the American public and mainstream environmentalists hear about most frequently. The Population Institute and the Sierra Club's International Population Program work primarily to increase U.S. funding of United Nations and U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S. AID) programs improving accessibility to contraceptives. They target most of their efforts internationally because their primary goal is to reduce the human population where the numbers of people are the most dense, though both organizations call for a U.S. national population policy.

The Population Institute, founded in 1969, initially worked to improve access to reproductive health services and combat teen pregnancies through U.S. state laws and a publicity campaign. In 1978, the organization added the international element of population growth to its agenda, and in 1980, decided to devote all of its resources exclusively to "educate industrialized countries about the effects of overpopulation on the global resource base and the environment" (Population Institute 1993, 3). The Institute reasons that once the industrialized world recognizes the global environmental degradation and regional human suffering that results from the overpopulation in the Southern countries, they will increase funding of family planning services to the Third World.

The Sierra Club's National Population Committee Chair Frank Orem said the Club focuses its efforts on increasing foreign assistance for access to



contraceptives because their strength lies in its volunteer network. Mobilizing its 450,000 members (40-60,000 hard-core activists) to get the calls into Congress is one tool the Sierra Club can employ to influence policy that many other environmental groups lack. Rather than working on the technical aspects of reforming foreign aid or negotiating details, the Sierra Club chooses to focus its energies on pressuring decision-makers with brute force. Their goal is to achieve "100 percent access to safe, affordable, high-quality contraception for every person on the planet by the year 2000" (Wallace 1994). They have been successful, too. The Club claims credit for major increases in U.S. funding of international population assistance in the past four years (Frank Orem, personal interview, 6 April 1994; Nancy Wallace, personal interview, 1 February 1994).

### *Consumption and the global economy*

The Population Institute calls for halting population growth not only to improve human life but also to stop environmental degradation. They target overpopulation as the preeminent cause of resource degradation and the reason why Southern countries are unable to produce food for their own people, but fail to acknowledge the role of corporations and government policies in denying people access to land. For example, they write:

Seventy percent of Third World families depend solely on wood for their fuel...When it comes to deforestation, it is people--even more than commercial logging or ranching--that are responsible for the rapid depletion of the world's forests. Indeed, in developing countries, this already scarce resource is daily being cleared for cropland because the existing farmland is inadequate to provide sufficient food for the starving masses (Population Institute 1991).

This simplification of the relationship between people and the environment results in a "blame the victim" approach that relieves people in industrialized countries from their responsibility for destruction of ecosystems in other countries.

The Population Institute does call for reduction of U.S. consumption and fertility in the U.S., but relates the effects of that consumption specifically to the North American environment: old-growth forest depletion in the Northwest, overgrazing by cattle and sheep causing desertification in the West, and polluted cities. What about the impact on the Amazonian Oriente of Texaco's oil extraction for U.S. markets? Or logging for tropical hardwoods in Indonesia to meet the demand for fine furniture in the North? The Population Institute ignores the roles of the United States government and corporations as inhibitors of Southern countries' ability to overcome the triple challenges of reducing their populations, maintaining an intact ecological, social, and political base, and interacting effectively in the world economy at the same time.

The Sierra Club's policy on international development calls for a policy shift in loan institutions towards sustainability, and asserts that "multinational corporations should recognize that their long term survival depends upon a sustainable world rather than an increasingly degraded, disrupted and impoverished one" (Sierra Club 1993). The Sierra Club also took a strong stand against the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993. Current Club policy on population does not comment on international trade or consumption. The draft proposed policy on population includes strong statements about consumption and pollution in the U.S. and Canada.

They also make an interesting side comment about consumption: "quality of life should be defined in more than just material terms" (Sierra Club 1994).

*Social justice dependent upon reduced numbers*

The Population Institute argues that time has run out for humans and the environment, and the population must be reduced now. The Population Institute writes that there is no humanitarian alternative to slowing population growth, because:

having babies produces more death...Many of those children will die because their mothers did not know how to allow appropriate intervals between pregnancies (Population Institute undated).

While the Institute does support increased education to enable women to space their children and regulate their fertility and reforms of family planning programs so they include women in their design and implementation, and does call for men to take responsibility for fertility decisions, they believe reforms are impossible when places on the planet are so overcrowded. "Women's status," the Population Institute asserts, is "hampered by high fertility" (Population Institute 1991). The Institute maintains that a just society is not possible until population is reduced.

*Environmental rights*

The Population Institute advocates reduction of the human population to protect the environment in order to reduce human misery and raise the standard of living. The diminished ability of soil to support crops, the danger to people of getting skin cancer because the ozone layer is depleting,

deforestation causing extinctions--all these are posed in terms that relate the environment to human needs and values. The Institute states: "Right now there is an alarming disparity between the Earth's dwindling resources and the number of people sharing them" (Population Institute 1991).

The Sierra Club, too, frames protection of the environment in terms of its utility to humans, at least in regards to population. The Club's draft proposed policy is called, "Towards sustainability of human life on earth." Within it, sustainability is not defined in the context of flourishing and diverse ecosystems, but rather in terms of the sustained ability to meet human needs (Sierra Club 1994).

### The liberals

The liberal neo-Malthusians, who include the National Wildlife Federation (NWF), Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), National Audubon Society (Audubon), and Zero Population Growth (ZPG) work within the current system to improve foreign aid so it not only funds family planning and contraceptives, but also funds programs to improve access to reproductive health services, fight poverty, raise the status of women, and protect the environment. These groups tightly link population and consumption together as causes of environmental degradation, and call for changes in consumption patterns in the United States. They adamantly support the individual's right to determine family size, take no position on immigration, and advocate economic and social reform in Southern countries.

*Thinking globally about "overpopulation consumption"*

The liberal organizations argue the cause of environmental degradation is more complex than simply being a matter of the number of people on the planet. Audubon has created a new term for it: "overpopulation consumption" (National Audubon Society undated). The liberal neo-Malthusians not only recognize that population and consumption do damage to the environment, but also identify a cause and effect relationship between population growth and social factors such as poverty and displacement of people onto marginal lands. Audubon asserts that it is impossible to view population growth separately from "poverty, lack of education and health care, unjust land tenure policies and overconsumption of natural resources by the United States and other industrialized countries" (National Audubon Society 1993(b), 6). This concept is also directly stated in NWF literature:

Excessive demand for resources and mismanagement and abuse of resources by industrialized countries, including the United States, are primary causes of environmental degradation. The population issue is related to, and compounded by...high rates of consumption and waste of natural resources, [non]sustainable economic development plans promoted by international banks and aid agencies, and extremes of poverty and debt in many developing countries (NWF 1993).

While this acknowledgment of cross-border impacts by "industrialized countries" specifically targets only international aid policies and not corporations, it hints that accountability should extend beyond individuals in the U.S. installing low-flow shower heads and recycling their aluminum cans. The introduction of equity and the articulation that industrialized

citizens' consumptive habits contribute to despoiling of the environment both within and outside of Northern borders creates an important distinction between the conservative and liberal neo-Malthusians. None of these groups, however, target multinational corporations, but instead focus their pressure on government institutions.

NWF, NRDC, and Audubon all criticize international development policies put forth by the World Bank and U.S. AID for various reasons, including because they're nonsustainable, short-sighted, destructive to ecosystems, wasteful in their funding of foreign and U.S. military fortification, and unresponsive to people's needs (NWF 1993; National Audubon Society 1993(b); NRDC 1993). Importantly, these groups also recognize how bad policies can promote poverty and adversely affect social services, resulting in increases in population growth (Karen Rindge, personal interview, 7 February 1994). Audubon calls for the redirecting of

scarce foreign assistance funds into programs focusing on poverty alleviation, population, health care, increasing opportunities for women, sustainable agriculture, and energy and natural resource conservation and away from areas such as foreign military financing and base rights payments (National Audubon Society 1993(b), 6).

The Clinton Administration and Congress are currently in the process of reviewing and restructuring the U.S. foreign assistance program, and the liberal groups are working to influence that process. Audubon specifically advocates the replacement of the U.S. Agency for International Development with a Sustainable Development Agency (SDA). The SDA would be structured like a foundation, and both governmental and non-governmental agencies would be required to apply for individual grants for funding.

Audubon asserts this structure would enable more projects to originate in the grassroots, rather than result from "inappropriate, top-down planning" (National Audubon Society 1993(b), 4).

### *Social justice and environmental rights*

The liberal neo-Malthusians separate themselves from the conservative organizations described earlier because they work on social justice as a route towards reducing population growth. They do not specifically challenge the existence of particular social conditions, but instead seek to alter them. The liberal organizations call for social reforms in areas that specifically help move towards their goals of reducing population growth and protecting the environment. In the way these groups approach social justice, they show it is regarded as more a part of a process than an end result.

NRDC and ZPG strongly advocate protection of the environment, but their stance is similar to the conservatives in that they primarily value the environment for human use. Audubon, NWF, and Sierra Club take a step farther towards the concept of recognizing environmental rights in that they seek to preserve lands and waters for habitats, biodiversity, and human enjoyment.

### Working on population at the local level

The Sierra Club and the Izaak Walton League both recently launched carrying capacity projects. Both the Sierra Club and IWL are early in shaping their programs and are using models for their programs that range from conservative to radical. The carrying capacity projects do not specifically work

to reduce fertility, but they do seek to rebuild supportive communities that are able to challenge growth pressures from outside the community. Several of the models they use for their programs directly address high fertility rates in segments of the community's population (e.g. improved access to health care, sex education, poverty alleviation).

The Sierra Club's Local Carrying Capacity Campaign aims to help citizens incorporate sustainability and population into local community planning processes by determining quality of life standards, called environmental thresholds, for their area. It's a local, grassroots approach that questions the industrialized society's mantra of "growth is good" and helps "citizens regain control of their own future, rather than it be driven by business, which is the way it is at the moment" (Brian Hinman, personal interview, 1 February 1994). IWL's Carrying Capacity Project, which is primarily educational at this point, acknowledges and emphasizes to its members that the U.S. standard of living not only degrades the local environment, but also degrades environments in other countries.

*Local carrying capacity models: Focus on the environment*

Only a year old, the Sierra Club campaign patterns itself after other community-based growth control efforts including the *Regional Plan for the Lake Tahoe Basin* (which is now a local government planning tool) and the *Sustainable Seattle Indicators of Sustainable Community* (Tahoe Regional Planning Agency 1986; Sustainable Seattle 1993). The Hawai'i Chapter of the Sierra Club successfully pushed for revision of state statutes to include policy language about Hawai'i's carrying capacity, the need to limit growth, and



working to increase federal assistance to states with high numbers of immigrants and promote "a more balanced distribution of immigrants among the states" (Sierra Club Hawaii Chapter Population Committee 1991, 1). They attained similar language in the General Plan for the City and County of Honolulu, including a policy to encourage family planning and control growth.

Lake Tahoe limits its efforts to protecting environmental values in the local community. It does not address the size of the population, Lake Tahoe's impact on other parts of the globe through world trade, or social justice. Information was not available to determine whether environmental rights are respected in their *Regional Plan*, though it is doubtful they do because they measure threshold capacities in terms of the human relationship with the environment (Tahoe Regional Planning Agency 1986).

#### *More comprehensive local carrying capacity models*

Two programs--Sustainable Seattle, and the Annapolis Alliance for Sustainable Communities--work to reduce consumption and the resulting environmental degradation from it, make strides towards viewing their communities as parts of the global economy, and put value in social justice. Sustainable Seattle (promoted by the Sierra Club) sets forty aggressive environmental, economic, cultural and social thresholds, including, among others, goals for wild salmon runs through local streams and biodiversity in the region, air and water quality, resource consumption and waste production, distribution of personal income with differentiation by ethnicity and gender, reliance on renewable or local resources, percentage of children

living in poverty and citizenry that can afford housing, adult literacy rate, equitable treatment by the justice system, and average number of people who know their neighbors names (Sustainable Seattle 1993). They aim for a slowly growing or stable population, and do not mention immigration. Sustainable Seattle does not specifically address access to family planning and health services, but does use the percentage of infants born with low birthweight as an indicator of community health. They clearly place importance on equity within the community, as well as economic stability. For example, Sustainable Seattle seeks to reduce the percentage of employment concentrated in the top ten employers as a strategy to increase economic diversity and minimize boom-and-bust shocks.

IWL states that solutions to economic and social problems are found in taking a "truly ecological perspective." IWL cites a Maryland project called the Annapolis Alliance for Sustainable Communities, which defines an ideal sustainable community as one which:

...lives more lightly on the (land), recycles its wastes, returns water to the environment in the same or better condition than it was before it was used...uses mostly renewable energy, eats organically grown food and creates local jobs and minimizes travel (IWL 1993(a), 4).

Besides having goals of environmental quality and emphasizing a local economy, the Annapolis Alliance strives for healthy relationships between neighbors and social and environmental justice.

*Strengths and weaknesses of current models*

The Sierra Club and Izaak Walton League's work to spread the word about developing community-based carrying capacity projects takes a much more complex look at human's relationship to the planet than simple efforts to reduce population. Sustainable Seattle and the Annapolis Alliance programs border on the radical because they reach beyond the myopic view of carrying capacity or sustainability that does not consider trade relationships (with its attendant social and environmental implications) of the community with the outside world. These community models strive to recreate community relationships, both among humans in the social, political, and economic sphere, and also seek to reduce human impact on the environment.

The Sierra Club's LCCC defines local carrying capacity as "the number of people, living in a given manner, which a given environment can support indefinitely" (Sierra Club undated(b)). In the Izaak Walton League's introduction of the Carrying Capacity Project to its members, they quote the British organization Optimum Population Trust's definition of optimum population as "one which is most likely to produce a good and sustainable quality of life for its inhabitants without adversely affecting the quality of life in other countries" (Izaak Walton League 1993(b), 2). Notably absent from these definitions, and from the model programs described (except for a slight mention in Sustainable Seattle) is the inclusion of populations of non-human species and habitat in the measure of carrying capacity.

The programs also are in danger of simply limiting growth, rather than directly challenging it. Challenging the causes of growth requires examining

the forces behind immigration and seeking to alleviate them on a broader scale than just the community level, as well as earnestly focusing attention on fertility and supporting a two-child family norm.

### The radicals

*Too many corporations and corrupt governments, not too many people*

For the radical organizations of the Left, nothing short of a complete overhaul of the hierarchical, capitalist system currently in place is adequate in the fight against environmental degradation and for human rights. This group includes the Committee on Women, Population and the Environment (a coalition of women activists, community organizers, health practitioners and scholars), the United States Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights (U.S. Women of Color), and the Earth Island Institute's Urban Habitat Program (UHP). These voices of the Left raise alarm at the neo-Malthusian focus of many environmental and conservation groups, and call for a redirecting of attention away from population and towards aggressive action to dismantle exploitative economic systems, militarism, inequitable distribution of wealth within the United States and across the Earth, and the subjugation of women and peoples of color.

*Social justice first, Nature second*

Social concerns--and the utilitarian and quality of life link between humans and the environment--remain central to the message of these groups, though the U.S. Women of Color do call for "worldwide development strategies which reflect respect for both cultural and natural

biodiversity" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 5). The radical groups often take the position that once human relationships are straightened out, human interaction with Nature will take care of itself. These organizations are part of the environmental justice movement, which fights against the locating of hazardous waste dumpsites and facilities in poor and minority communities. They criticize the mainstream environmental organizations for their failure to incorporate minorities into their structures, as well as their failure to address issues of environmental racism while focusing on "birds and bunnies" (Lois Gibbs 1992).

*World trade, workers, women, and cultural diversity*

Besides a strong emphasis on women's rights and men's responsibilities in discussion of population policies, U.S. Women of Color attacks trade pacts like the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). The conditioning of development loans or assistance on political criteria or reproductive behavior, they argue, is coercive and violates the sovereignty of aid recipients (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 15).<sup>10</sup> These groups demand a central focus of attention on women's rights. "We call on the world to recognize women's basic right to control their own bodies and to have access to the power, resources, and reproductive health

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<sup>10</sup>This is in direct opposition to the position of the Sierra Club, which supports making international development loans contingent upon population reduction programs (Sierra Club 1989).

services to ensure that they can do so" (Committee on Women, Population and the Environment, undated).

The U.S. Women of Color argue that if transnational corporations are allowed to wander freely across the globe and seek more advantageous business conditions for profit, then workers deserve the same freedom. When workers do migrate, they should receive the same level of health and economic services as others in a country, should be protected from discrimination, and their cultural and language needs should be accommodated. In their Agenda for Sustainable Development, the U.S. Women of Color assert: "Barriers of freedom of movement throughout the world should be removed and the right of indigenous peoples to determine the members of their nation and territorial jurisdiction must be honored" (U.S. Women of Color Coalition for Reproductive Health and Rights 1994, 16).

The National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation's Center of Race, Poverty, and the Environment advocate specific actions to target the motivations for migrating and to protect the rights of immigrant (and other) worker's rights in the face of exploitative corporations. Their broad agenda holds international money lenders and corporations accountable for the environmental, social, and economic impacts of their projects, attacks consumption, incorporates local communities into project development and siting decisions, and calls for a legislative mandate of resource conservation and pollution prevention policies.

In summary, U.S. Women of Color, Committee on Women, Population and the Environment, and other radical groups place strong emphasis on reforming society as the first priority, sometimes to the detriment of attention to preserving Nature. They also regard reducing the size of the human population as being at the bottom of the priority list, partially in backlash to the history of contraceptive abuse among peoples of color and coercive policies. Immediately halting environmental degradation is clearly of critical importance to the radical groups, but primarily in relation to the effect of an unhealthy environment on humans.

#### Efforts to bridge the gaps

Amidst all of the fingerpointing and arguments over whether the Earth really *is* overpopulated or not and which goals are most important to tackle in what order, some organizations are attempting to bridge the gaps between the ideological and strategic differences described above. This section analyzes how successfully those groups are addressing the five concepts in the analytical framework laid out.

A conference on environmental justice issues in California held in January 1993 by an organization called EDGE: The Alliance of Ethnic and Environmental Organizations<sup>11</sup> brought together people representing different perspectives on population. Conference organizers included representatives of the Sierra Club, Natural Resources Defense Council, Latina Issues Forum, Earth Island Institute's Urban Habitat Program, Japanese American Citizens Alliance, among others, and two hundred and eleven

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<sup>11</sup>The acronym does not directly match the name of the organization.

people attended conference, over half of whom were people of color. In workshops on population, people first discussed whether there is a population problem. Some people said yes, others said no. So they proceeded to identify areas of common belief to help plan acceptable and identify unacceptable strategies.

Shared values include the right to live, work and play in a healthy environment and to have a family; targeting Northern consumption as a greater problem than Southern population growth; recognizing economic justice and respect for cultural diversity; and calling for democratic decision-making. The group identified as acceptable actions changes in consumption patterns; a shift away from single-issue to multi-issue and multi-cultural perspectives; work to improve the status of women through increased access to education, health care and family planning; and an increase in political empowerment of disenfranchised peoples and broadening of participation in the population discussion. Unacceptable actions include mandatory or coercive birth control; closing the borders; decision-making from the top down and by whites only; education about population that is not in the context of issues of consumption and resource distribution; and continuance of present consumption patterns (EDGE Conference Summary 1993).

The EDGE meeting did an admirable job of bringing issues of disagreement onto the table, and, more importantly, constructively identifying areas of shared belief and opportunities for action. The proceedings target actions to reduce the number of people and reduce Northern consumption, they clearly work within a broad context of the global economy, and they are strong in advocating for social justice. They do not,



however, address environmental rights, or even mention wildness, non-human species, biodiversity, etc.

A new group called Enough Already! is resolute in their advocacy of the rights of other species to exist and evolve, and also recognizes the importance of social justice. Started by some Earth First! members, Enough Already! points to the fallibility of focusing exclusively on the number of people or the Marxian imperative of working towards justice for *people* only, while neglecting the rest of the natural world. Kelpie Wilson, a founder of Enough Already!, writes, "The solution is to bring about both economic justice and population reduction at the same time...Greed and fertility control must be considered as a whole" (Wilson 1993a, 16). Enough Already! calls for a pregnancy strike in defiance of the pro-natalist culture of the United States, and quotes Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, an International Workers of the World organizer who distributed birth control information to women because "the large family system rivets the chains of slavery upon labor more securely. It crushes the parents, starves the children, and provides cheap fodder for machines and cannons" (Wilson 1993b, 23).

Enough Already! works to educate college students and children about birth control through street theater, and they draw direct links between loss of wilderness and non-human species and population and consumption. While they do not work directly against poverty or social inequity, they clearly recognize the importance of transforming the current society into less patriarchal and hierarchical, and more just, equitable relationships.

## National environmental and public opinion data

### Pew Charitable Trusts and Izaak Walton League focus group data

*The public: Lack of connection between population and consumption*

The Pew Charitable Trusts and Izaak Walton League focus group studies on the population issue offer helpful insights into the attitudes of mainstream environmentalists and the public. At the level of debate among national organizations working on population, arguments fire back and forth over the dynamics of the relationship between population growth, environmental degradation, and consumption. But out in the hinterlands of the United States, the public doesn't see a connection. While "citizen" focus group participants (all groups with the exception of the environmentalists and the internationalists in the Pew study) and IWL members understand the environment is threatened, they do not appreciate that environmental degradation is directly related to their activities as humans, including consumption and fertility. The recognition that "Earth day is every day" comes to a standstill once the individual takes the waste-reducing step of putting an aluminum can in the recycling bin or buying phosphate-free dish soap; focus group participants were not willing to make any substantial efforts to reduce the amount of aluminum cans or soap they buy.

### *Line of sight thinking*

The "citizen" and IWL member participants' eagerness to act locally as "stewards," alongside their unwillingness to acknowledge that Americans are not only wasteful in how they consume, but just plain consume too much, affirms the common perception that people do not understand the cause and

effect of a problem unless it very clearly and directly affects them (e.g. their groundwater is contaminated, they lose a job, they experience traffic). They have difficulty conceptualizing their actions as degrading the environment elsewhere in the world. While the general public and IWL focus group participants recognize some problems with distribution of food and living standards, their comments show they do not perceive any disparity in power or ability to overturn those unequal conditions.<sup>12</sup> The consistent statements against U.S. funding of foreign aid and blaming of a population problem on immigrants illustrate this failure to comprehend any structural problem, either at the national or the global levels. The lack of recognition of any social or economic aspects of these issues suggests "citizens" and IWL members view environmental problems as isolated, scientific phenomena.

*Environmentalists and internationalists: Overwhelmed by people*

The environmentalists and internationalists, while they do observe linkages between population, environmental degradation, and consumption, hold a classically conservative neo-Malthusian perspective. They blame cultural values as the main determinant of family size, emphasize family planning and education as strategies to reduce population growth, and fail to include issues of social justice in their definition of the problem. The most interesting element of the environmentalists' neo-Malthusianism is their pessimism about the potential for slowing population growth. They, along with members of other focus groups, commented on feeling overwhelmed by the population problem and having little faith in effective solutions. The

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<sup>12</sup>Some focus groups did comment on women's lack of power in other countries.

conservative neo-Malthusian emphasis on a link between culture or religion and fertility rates and the fact that values are so difficult to change or impose on someone else reinforces the perception of population growth as a huge, intractable and uncontrollable "bomb" or "explosion." People do not feel they have the power to effectively challenge the problem. This sense of helplessness also seems to be manifested by the inability of the "citizen" and IWL focus group members to observe any connection between local environmental problems and national and global phenomena, and vice versa. Has the dominant neo-Malthusian message paralyzed environmental activists?

## **Perspectives from Montana**

### Survey of Montana organizations

#### *Not our department*

While survey responses of Montana environmental organizations suggest that in some ways these groups have a greater grasp of the factors causing environmental degradation than the Pew and IWL focus groups showed, they reveal a fairly shallow perception of the problems--both at the local and the global levels--and lack creativity in developing combative strategies. Importantly, less than half of the Montana group respondents have either a position on population, or think the population issue is important, even though the group has no position.

Some respondents who do recognize a "population problem" seem to generally acknowledge that population growth and resource use, or both in

combination, are major causes of environmental degradation at the global level, but they don't draw any subsequent connection to their own communities. For example, Keep it Wild!, located in Whitefish (one of the fastest growing areas in Montana) commented that "We haven't adopted any formal policies on global issues, like population, preferring to exert our few resources on what we regard as a vitally important ecosystem." This comment reveals a failure to question whether the source of that local environmental degradation lies in larger events outside the community.

In one sense, it is encouraging that organizations are so locally focused because it is at the local level that their actions are the most tangible and perhaps the most effective. On the other hand, it is important to ask whether organizations deny that local environmental and social problems are manifestations of global events because as activists they are overwhelmed by the immensity of the implications of truly thinking globally. Almost one half of the organizations who do not have a position or work on the population issue in any capacity said they lacked resources, population is unrelated to their organization's goals, or they simply had not discussed the issue, or responded "n/a." It almost seems some groups are thinking locally and acting locally in an intentional effort to insulate themselves--or deny--underlying forces that transcend regions.

In addition to the failure to link local environmental degradation to global population growth, organizations show a failure to associate local problems like threats to wilderness and habitat, clean air and water, damaging extractive resource practices, etc. to human population growth. One also must ask why organizations are so hesitant to relate population to their own issues. While it is true that a great deal of environmental degradation in

Montana is from extractive resource industries, the materials those industries produce and export support highly-consumptive populations in other places. The water used for agriculture, for example, is devoted almost exclusively to growing crops to feed beef cattle.

Another reason organizations may not view population as important is because they have been conditioned through literature and the media to define the population issue in terms of areas of high human stress, like Somalia and India. If those countries are the standard, then it is not surprising activists do not think of environmental degradation in Montana as a result of overpopulation. If this is how organizations perceive the issue, then they are likely to identify strategies not traditionally considered environmental--like distribution of contraceptives and sex education--as the major methods to slow population growth. Clearly, an expanded understanding about the relationships between population, consumption, and other issues is needed so organizations can feel able not only to protect what habitat and community cohesiveness is left, but also challenge the causes of the threats to those values.

### *No challenge to growth*

Most of the actions the organizations who do address population take are front-line, defensive moves to protect a particular value (e.g. wildlife habitat, aesthetics and landscaping within a community, environmental quality). Most respondents who identified pressure from the numbers of people and their activities work either on habitat protection, development of regulatory controls, or land use management within their communities. Their comments show they either feel powerless to affect the underlying

causes of growth, or think growth is inevitable. By far, most groups concerned about local population growth regard the swarm of people moving into western Montana, and the exodus of people from eastern Montana, as a phenomenon completely out of their control. The view of Save Open Space (Missoula) depicts this attitude: They describe local population growth as "mainly outside our capacity to affect," and "a flood overtaking our valley." This perspective gives organizations little choice but to respond to the environmental effects of population growth, because they don't feel empowered to fight the causes of migration. The survey results manifest that the feeling of powerlessness of many activists, and the typical focus of activists on human-Nature conflicts to the exclusion of consideration of the potential environmental impacts of inter-human conflicts, limits their ability to identify strategies.

None of the respondents attempt to contest the definition of acceptable family size or the economic and political structure advocating that "growth is good." Five Valleys Land Trust said they purposefully do not challenge the pro-growth stands of landowners. While organizations do work towards slowing growth to avoid "haphazard development" and "habitat fragmentation" (Montana Wilderness Association), they are only easing the pain of increasing pressure on the land. Montana environmental groups are not facing the bottom line that mitigation of growth is not enough. Growth, whether it be in numbers of people, construction of ranchettes, or locating of new industries, presents inherent problems to communities. While working to shape how growth occurs is a valuable effort, organizations seem to need help in developing tools to challenge the causes of local growth, whether they're external to the community or not. Growth mitigation is temporary.

The organizations working on growth control through land use management (determining an optimal population level, for example) are a step ahead of those that are attempting only to mitigate impacts of population through regulation, because at least they recognize technology and behavior modification have finite utility in reducing negative impacts on the environment. Still, they focus on moving people around rather than reducing the number of people. The hunting and fishing organizations that advocate disciplining people's behavior (regulations, codes of etiquette), manipulating nature so people can continue a particular activity (stocking streams), or diluting people's presence over the landscape (more trails), seem to even believe technology and behavior modification will enable them to protect the environment without any halting of human population growth or substantial alteration of activities.

*Ecological values in a social and economic vacuum*

A fair number of the survey respondents who do identify a population "problem" show a strong desire to protect wildlife habitat, though their motives differ (for example, Pheasants Forever affiliates desire birds to hunt, while Audubon groups want to preserve the species and ecosystem just so they know it's there, and Wild Rockies Earth First! recognizes intrinsic value in ecosystems). Montana environmental organizations in large part work to protect the environment in order to preserve the human quality of life, though several used terms like "all beings" and "non-human species and ecosystems" in their survey comments.

Notably absent from the survey responses was mention of human rights, poverty, women's status, socioeconomic strata, etc. In fact, several of



the comments specifically show disregard for inter-human issues. For example, the Ecology Center in Missoula wrote:

We do our best to destroy jobs so no one can afford to have kids. We are against all human-related growth. Apparently, hope for the future is one of the most important factors in determining whether people spawn or not. We at the Ecology Center endeavor to destroy all hope.

This statement is obviously made partly in jest, yet it reveals a low level of interest in understanding how hurtful relationships among people lead to an impoverished relationship between people and wild Nature.

No radical perspectives were represented in the comments. While organizations associate themselves with a particularly ecological region (e.g., the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, Cabinet Mountains, Missoula Valley), in general they do not consider their work in the context of the local human community. Of course many organizations observe the detrimental impacts of a human community (town or city) upon the land, but few perceive a connection between the interhuman relationships and structure of the community and the damage done to the environment. For example, no respondent mentioned disparity of wealth between neighborhoods, lack of health care (and/or contraceptives), or unemployment rates as affecting or being affected by environmental degradation. Only one group--the Stillwater Protective Association--specifically identified economic factors in their own community as fundamental contributors to growth. The Stillwater Protective Association (Fishtail) commented on the economic and social impacts of a boom-bust cycle created by a large mine in their area, as well as the mine's negative environmental impacts. In general, though, Montana

environmental groups do not see a linkage between their work to protect the environment and workers rights, or community and economic stability.

The comment by Native Action (Lame Deer) that "survival of Indian Tribes is our priority" shows an important perspective in the population discussion in Montana. If the conservation community in this state is going to work effectively on population and consumption, the concerns of the diversity of peoples in Montana must be discussed in an open and sensitive manner.

*Running from controversy, feeling powerless, and not knowing what to do*

It's interesting to hear from environmental groups--people who are presumably accustomed to confrontation--that population issues are too controversial. Several organizations commented that taking a position on population would require a more radical stance than their group was willing to advocate. While to some extent there is no way around the controversy, it seems these organizations have not been able to identify various options in strategy. Supporting a healthy human and natural community does not seem contentious; activists need alternative ways to think and talk about population.

*Concluding statement*

Overall, those organizations working on population in some capacity are employing defensive strategies to protect something they value against what they perceive to be unstoppable population growth. An important component that is currently missing from population-related work in

Montana is a vision for the future that people can work towards. What is a sustainable number of people and lifestyle for Montana, and how is sustainability measured and maintained? Where do animal and plant communities fit into that vision? Besides environmental factors, of what importance are economic, social, and political conditions?

The groups that do not identify a population problem in Montana use "space" as their criteria; massive, visible starvation and crowding is not visible among the human communities here (it does not look like other densely populated countries), so they see no problem. If these organizations were offered a vision of what Montana could look like environmentally, socially, economically, etc., then they could perhaps perceive and work towards different options than those employed under current conditions.

The narrow, defensive posture of environmental activism in Montana with regard to population is stifling activism energy, creativity, and boldness. This is a call for a more positive, aggressive approach. Montana organizations could be more effective in their population efforts if they worked towards transforming current conditions while also striving to protect what is left. This will require a redefinition of population pressure, an acknowledgment of trade linkages between Montana communities and the rest of the world, and an extension of environmental issues into the social, economic and political realm.

## VI. Recommendations and Conclusion

### *Principles and Action*

No one strategy will effectively obliterate the causes of environmental degradation or stabilize the global human population. Intellectuals and activists alike could argue among themselves for years over which strategies are better and which are not even worth trying at the same time that they accuse each other of false motives. It is certainly important to acknowledge the reasons for disagreements and seek to understand them. Perhaps then it is possible to transcend the quarrel by identifying shared goals, then plucking the best ideas to create a new agenda for action that challenges population growth and environmental degradation with hope and with vigor.

In my mind, the five concepts used as a framework for analysis of the current national and local Montana organizational approaches to population demand attention when considering population strategy at the local level. In this context, they become principles to guide activism. They require a broadening of the agendas of either spectrum of the environmental-social justice communities.

1. The number of people on the planet is threatening ecological integrity.
2. Overconsumption and reliance on resource intensive technologies by some sectors of the human population are threatening ecological integrity.
3. Causes of (and thus solutions to) human population growth must be considered within the global economic context.

4. A just human society (economically, socially, politically and in gender relations) is critical to long-term planetary sustainability.
5. Respect and protection of environmental rights is critical to long-term planetary sustainability.

None of these principles stands alone. All are of the utmost importance.

Each organization or activist will inevitably choose different targets from among these principles and strive towards one or another of them, but in doing so, must acknowledge the importance of the other principles and take care not to diminish progress towards them. While we may disagree over which of the five should be tackled first, we must recognize that all efforts are critical. The time to argue has passed.

### **Recommendations for action at the local level<sup>13</sup>**

#### Start to think about population in the context of local organizational agenda

##### *Reduce the number of people*

As a first step, environmental organizations at the local level could make great progress towards relating population to their issues of concern simply by visualizing the environmental resource the organization is working to protect over the next 50 years. What are the likely impacts of human population growth? With this in mind, how could population be incorporated into current issue work?

Secondly, the responses to the Montana survey show that organizations with a stated position on population are more likely to work on

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<sup>13</sup>See Appendix 4 for an abbreviated version of action strategies on population for local environmental organizations.

the issue than those with no position. Simply articulating a position on human population growth is a basic step an organization could take towards eventually incorporating population into its work. Groups must walk before they run.

Third, acknowledgment of the links between women's reproductive rights, population, and the environment at the local community level--even if only in discussion--is a key step towards broadening one's perception of local environmental degradation to include women's and population issues. Half of the pregnancies in the United States are unplanned, and this country experiences the highest teenage pregnancy, infant mortality, and fertility rates of any industrialized nation (Rauber 1993, 41). In addition, the number of pharmaceutical companies researching new birth-control methods in the U.S. has shrunk from nine to one. It is critical that environmental organizations recognize that even in Montana, unintended children are born.

*Battle overconsumption and destructive technologies and ways of living*

Most of the issues Montana organizations are involved with currently are extractive industry and land use issues that confront damaging technologies. Rarely, however, do local organizations target the source of the demand for the products of logging or mining, and directly make linkages between local environmental damage and consumption of a refined product. Idaho pine, for example, is a common wood sold in lumberyards in Philadelphia, yet there is no visible effort by environmental groups to educate builders, retailers, and consumers about the impact of industrial logging in the Northern Rockies (Kert Davies, personal interview, 24 April 1994). More of this needs to happen.

### *Call for environmental rights*

Environmentalists must shift their mental image of what "too many people" looks like from the pictures of large numbers of starving people in Southern countries towards an examination of the carrying capacity of their local area. Carrying capacity is not simply a measure of how many people can live enjoying a particular type of lifestyle. Environmentalists, especially, are compelled to expand their definition to include the health of the ecosystem in which they live, including thriving plant and animal communities as well as clean water, air and land. The connections between the impact of human population and more traditionally defined environmental issues (e.g., mitigating the effects of extractive resource industries, preventing incursions into wild lands, etc.) need to be drawn more clearly by environmentalists so they can educate others.

### Work local environmental organizations can do on population

#### *Reduce the number of people*

Once environmental organizations recognize the interconnectedness of population and environmental degradation (in the expanded context of consumption and technology, the global economy, social justice and environmental rights, not just the number of people), then they should make a conscious effort to educate others. One easy way to do this is to mention population and consumption and how they relate to a particular environmental issue in every public presentation and in written work, especially in terms of a 50-year vision of a particular land region, river or human community.

Abortion rights are a population issue, and they are an environmental issue. One Zero Population Growth slogan says "Pro-choice for Earth's Sake-- Support Reproductive Rights." Of the mainstream environmental groups, only Sierra Club and Zero Population Growth mention in their literature that they support abortion rights. National Audubon Society, National Wildlife Federation, Izaak Walton League and the Wilderness Society specifically clarify that they take no position on abortion. Local environmental organizations, especially affiliates of national organizations, could lobby their national boards to strengthen support for abortion rights, as well as adopting local positions supporting abortion.

Similar to the abortion rights issue, only the Izaak Walton League, the Sierra Club, Negative Population Growth, and Zero Population Growth visibly advocate for a two-child family. Local groups could adopt their own two-child policy, as well as lobbying the national organizations to do the same. Following the lead of Enough Already!, local organizations could also work to shed the pro-natalist pressures of U.S. culture, support couples without no children or with fewer than two children, and encourage friends and relatives to adopt if they want more than two children.

As Negative Population Growth points out, the current federal tax structure provides incentives for couples to have more children. Environmental organizations could examine state policies for the same type of incentives and work to change them. It is important, however, that activists do not work against social support of the poor and the children already born. This is admittedly a difficult task.



*Battle overconsumption and destructive technologies and ways of living*

Organizational representatives could mention the link between population, consumption, and their particular resource issue in every address to the public, comment on development plans or environmental impact statement, and publication. The Ehrlich's  $I = PAT$  formula is helpful in describing the varying impact of a population with the multiplicative factors of per capita consumption and destructive technology.

In the mail survey of Montana environmental organizations, many groups expressed concerns about accelerated growth in their areas (and some mentioned the problems accompanying depopulation). When organizations involve themselves in local growth mitigation through land use planning, they can minimize human "consumption" of land and open space by advocating for dense, clustered housing, rather than sprawling suburbs on subdivided ranches.

In addition, citizen organizations have an obligation to remind their communities that planning to accommodate an artificially static growth target (meeting housing needs by the year 2010, for example) does not address long-term growth issues. Environmentalists could design "growth impact statements" for their communities that project the social, environmental, and economic impacts of increased expansion of a community. "Growth impact statements" should also include desired conditions for local communities, not just predictions of doom and gloom from uncontrolled expansion of industry and people.

Because the concept of growth--economic growth, population growth, increased consumption--infiltrates every environmental issue, local organizations need to shed their inhibitions about explicitly stating a position

against Western society's mantra of "growth is good." If growth is not fundamentally challenged, then how can environmental organizations expect to protect the environment for more than a temporary time? If environmental organizations don't challenge growth, who will?

Sustainable Seattle (Sustainable Seattle 1993) and the Annapolis Alliance (Izaak Walton League 1993(b)) offer promising models of communities taking stock of the impact of consumption patterns and production methods on local neighborhoods, economies and environment, as well as less visible impacts on places far away. While slow and tedious, developing a vision for one's community is much more empowering than responding to major job layoffs from plant closings.

### *Think globally*

Buying locally--and knowing where goods originate and who produced them--removes from citizens the burden of contributing to the international export-based economic system which exploits human labor, communities, and the environment. In the same way, opposition of citizen groups to the export of products from the United States--and especially Montana--forces a strengthening of local markets, blocks the "resource grab" from destroying the fabric of a community's social and economic relationships, and prevents the resources of Montana from being used by multinational corporations to support highly consumptive populations in other parts of the country and the planet.

The export issue provides environmental organizations the opportunity to align with workers. This is already beginning to happen in Montana. For example, an alliance of environmentalists and millworkers

joined together to oppose Crown Pacific and Stimson Lumber Company's export of logs from private lands in Washington and Oregon, and simultaneous cut of public land timber in Montana and Idaho. The millworkers in Superior, Montana see their jobs and natural resources being exported overseas, and the environmentalists see ecological destruction resulting from poor logging practices. "If U.S. mills were guaranteed that logs harvested in the Northwest would be milled here as well, the goal of a sustainable timber industry would be within sight," said Don Judge, executive secretary of the Montana AFL-CIO (Devlin 1994, 6). Until the economic system is altered to charge consumers for the environmental and social degradation of extracting and transporting goods across the globe, small steps like the one taken by the Montana Wilderness Society and the AFL-CIO can help reduce dependence on imports and prompt human communities to live more within their ecological limits.

Environmental organizations need to recognize that multinational corporations pollute and manipulate communities all over the world. Environmentalists rarely challenge the right of corporations to operate in their area, or directly defy economic development strategies that promote community subordination to large industrial projects.

### *Call for environmental rights*

Environmentalists must continually remind the public of what has been lost in non-human species habitat, and what could be recovered. One example of a way local groups can emphasize human impact on the landscape

is to insist that population projections--and their projected resource demands--are included in environmental impact statements.

#### Work of others environmental organizations can support

The links between the environment and access to contraceptives need to be strengthened at the local level. Environmentalists would do well to shed their nervousness about entering into coalitions with organizations like Planned Parenthood or local health care clinics. Another important area warranting the attention of local environmental organizations is the effort of the Christian Right and Wise Use movement against sex education and access to contraceptives in the schools.

Here in Montana, Governor Racicot is threatening to veto the state health care package if it contains funding for abortions in response to anti-choice organizations who are lobbying the Montana Health Care Authority (Anez 1994). At the national level, President Clinton's health care package is experiencing similar attacks from the Christian Right and anti-choice factions (Montana Right to Life Association 1994). Again, environmental organizations could support pro-choice organizations through endorsements, joint fundraisers, shared board members, etc.

A March 1994 press conference held by five Montanan women activists in Missoula highlighted that women have unequal access to general health care in Montana--especially preventive services--compared to men. Under the current system, they are dependent upon employment or marital status for health care. Insurance is not available for every job, and women tend to hold fewer of the full-time, high-paying jobs that offer health care benefits, according to Montana State Representative Vicki Cocchiarella (Bloomer 1994,

6). Janet Robideau reports that Native American women, especially, are disadvantaged in their access to health care if they live off a reservation (Bloomer 1994, 6). While health care may not be an issue that an environmental group wishes to exclusively embrace, there is a need to draw connections between women's reproductive rights, population, and the environment at the community level. Simple acknowledgment of those linkages and statements of solidarity are important steps for environmentalists. Violence against women is an issue that falls into the same category; environmental organizations should step forward against societal trends that reduce the status and health of women and of families.

#### *Fight for social justice*

The maldistribution of wealth in communities in the United States is an environmental issue because people living in poverty have less access to education and health care, and have higher fertility rates as a socioeconomic class. Rates of poverty and hunger in Montana, especially on Indian reservations, are high in comparison to other states in the country and within the northwest region. Between the 1980 and 1990 census periods, hunger increased by 44.2 percent. In 1989, 67.1 percent of female-headed families with children under five years old lived below the poverty level in Montana (Miller 1993, 10-11). Building a strong community support network is a needed part of the environmental agenda. Welfare reform, children's health care, provision of school breakfasts and lunches, etc. are important components of making communities liveable. Within the expanded environmental agenda on population, these social reforms are vital in the effort to slow population and move towards a more caring society. If local

environmental organizations do not work directly on these issues themselves, they should support organizations who do.

### **Closing**

These recommendations are not intended to be interpreted as a call for compromise of the current environmental message on population in favor of coalition building or redirecting of focus. Instead, they are a bid for expansion of the environmental agenda into other vital areas and recognition of the important relationships between population and social justice, the global economic system, consumption, and preservation of environmental integrity. The traditional focus of the environmental community on the number of people as the "ultimate" issue, and emphasis on values as the sole determinant of fertility have simplified perceptions of population among activists. If local, grassroots environmentalists continue to feel powerless and unable to affect the population issue because of a narrow definition of the problem and a limited array of options for activism, we are lost. I hope this paper has made clear the complexity of the population issue, as well as the corresponding richness and diversity of available strategies for action.

## **Appendix 1:**

### **Interview Questions for National Environmental and Population Organizations**

## Interview Questions for National Environmental and Population Organizations

SCRIPT: As I think I've told you, I am writing my graduate thesis in environmental studies on whether and how environmental organizations work on U.S. human population at the local level, using Montana as a case study. When answering these questions, please try to answer as a spokesperson of your organization only, without inserting your personal opinions. Thanks again for your time.

### Philosophy:

1. Please list your organization's view of the top five causes of environmental degradation.
2. Does your organization think there is a human population problem at the global level? National level? Local level?
3. Please describe your organization's view of the mechanisms driving population growth.
4. What are the characteristics of a healthy population level?

### Program structure:

5. Why is your organization working and applying resources towards human population growth?
6. What prompted the creation of your organization's population program (or the founding of your organization)?
7. Please name the top three long-term goals of your population program (or organization).
8. Please name the top three campaigns of your population program (or organization) for this year, who they target, and why.
9. Which aspects of your campaigns are the most effective, and which are the most challenging or difficult, and why?
10. Where does your program get its funding?
11. What strategies would your program recommend local activists take in Montana, for example, if they are a pesticides or toxics group?

A wilderness or wildlife group?



12. What resources does your program think local organizations need to increase their effectiveness in addressing population?
13. What is the most successful population program you know of, and why?
14. What else does your program feel needs to be done, and who do you feel should be doing it?
15. Is there anything you would like to add?

## **Appendix 2:**

### **Cover Letter and Survey of Montana Organizations**

February 22, 1994

*Dear Organizational Leader:*

I am a graduate student in the Environmental Studies Program with the University of Montana at Missoula. I am surveying whether Montana environmental/conservation groups choose to include population issues in their program activities here in Montana. The results will be used to develop a report that I'd be happy to provide to your organization if you are interested in a copy. Because you are working "on the ground" with Montana environmental issues in Montana, your response is critical to the success of this project.

Enclosed is a very brief survey. I ask that an organizational spokesperson respond to it. Because this research targets organizational policies and actions, I ask that the survey be filled out by someone who is familiar with the organization's planning, positions, and activities and can speak on behalf of the organization.

**Please return your completed survey by Monday, March 7, 1994.**

Enclosed is a self-addressed, stamped envelope. If you would like to receive a copy of the results of this survey in the late spring of this year, please make note of that on the top of the survey. Please call me if you have any questions or concerns, or if you would like to answer the questions verbally over the telephone. *Thanks in advance for your help.*

Sincerely,



Karen Wood  
(406) 728-4217

# Survey of Montana Conservation Organizations

137

2/17/94

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this survey. No names of individuals will be used, but survey responses may be attributed to "(organization) spokesperson" in the summary report and related articles. If you are a local affiliate of a national organization (Sierra Club, for example), please focus on Montana activities and policies only. Feel free to use additional paper if needed for your response, or enclose flyers or brochures helpful in answering the questions. *If you have any questions or further comments, please contact Karen Wood at (406) 728-4217.*

**Please return this survey by March 7, 1994.**

You will find a self-addressed, stamped envelope enclosed with this mailing.  
*Thank you.*

Name (of person completing survey):

Title (of person completing survey):

I am:    volunteer    staff  
(please circle one)

Name of organization:

Number of members:

Address:

Phone:

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*Please answer all questions from an organizational--not personal--  
perspective. Thank you.*

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1. Please briefly describe your organization's main issues and activities.
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
2. What is the geographical area your organization's activities encompass?

Please return to Karen Wood, 304 Stephens Ave., Missoula, MT 59801

3. Please list, in ranking order, what your organization views as the main causes of environmental degradation in Montana.
- A)
- B)
- C)
- D)
4. If your organization has a position regarding population, please describe it. Please be specific. If your organization does not have a position regarding population, please explain why not.
5. If your organization considers population a cause of environmental degradation in Montana, but does not incorporate population into your programs or campaigns, please explain why not.
6. If your organization does have projects or campaigns relating to population, please describe them.

*Thank you for completing this survey.  
Your efforts and activism are greatly appreciated.*

## **Appendix 3:**

### **Responses to Montana Survey**

## Responses to Montana Survey

### 89 groups responded to survey

#### 6 groups responded but did not complete survey

1. Unidentified recycling group that no longer recycles
2. Naddum News--no longer active
3. Whitehall Sportsmen's Association (illegible)
4. Two responses from Sierra Club, Montana Chapter
5. Great Falls Conservation Council (does not take positions)
6. North American Falconer's Association (international organization that does not take positions on Montana issues)

### 83 groups completed survey

#### 32 groups have a position on population

#### 21 with a position state they work on population

1. Bitterroot Chapter Trout Unlimited (Hamilton)
2. Brown Bear Resources, Inc. (Missoula)
3. Canyon Ferry Limnological Institute (Helena)
4. Craighead Wildlife-Wildlands Institute (Missoula)
5. Ecology Center (Missoula)
6. Five Valleys Audubon Society (Missoula)
7. Flathead Chapter of Montana Wilderness Association (Kalispell)
8. Flathead Land Trust (Kalispell)
9. Jeannette Rankin Peace Resource Center (Missoula)
10. Joe Brooks Chapter of Trout Unlimited (Livingston)
11. Kootenai Flyfishers (Libby)
12. Last Chance Audubon Society (Helena)
13. Missoula Center for Responsible Planning (Missoula)
14. Montana Audubon Council (Helena)
15. Montana Ecosystems Defense Council (Kalispell)
16. Montana Natural History Center (Missoula)
17. Montana Water Environment Association (Havre)
18. Save Open Space (Missoula)
19. Sierra Club, Montana Chapter (Bozeman)
20. Stillwater Protective Association (Fishtail)
21. Swan View Coalition, Inc. (Kalispell)

**11 with a position on population do not work on population**

1. American Buffalo Foundation (Bozeman)
2. Billings Rod and Gun Club (Billings)
3. Bitterroot Greens (Victor)
4. Flathead Resource Organization (St. Ignatius)
5. Flathead Valley Chapter of Pheasants Forever (Kalispell)
6. National Wildlife Federation field office (Missoula)
7. Picture Tomorrow (Great Falls)
8. Wild Rockies Earth First! (Missoula)
9. Wild Rockies Field Institute (Missoula)
10. Wilderness Society regional office (Bozeman)
11. Yellowstone Valley Audubon Society (Billings)

**15 groups have no position, but think the population issue is important**

**8 with no position think the population issue is important and do not work on population**

1. Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics (Missoula)
2. Five Valleys Land Trust (Missoula)
3. Keep it Wild! (Whitefish)
4. Montana Land Reliance (Helena)
5. Montana Loon Society (Polson)
6. Rocky Mountain Front Advisory Council (Missoula)
7. Upper Missouri Breaks Audubon Chapter (Great Falls)
8. Wild Rockies Action Fund (Missoula)

**7 with no position on population think the issue is important and work on population**

**3 incorporate population into their other work**

1. Flathead Audubon Society (Kalispell)
2. Nature Conservancy Pine Butte Preserve (Choteau)
3. Northern Lights Institute (Missoula)



### **4 work on mitigating effects of local growth**

1. Cottonwood Resource Council (Big Timber)
2. Friends of the Wild Swan (Swan Lake)
3. Gallatin Wildlife Association (Bozeman)
4. Rosebud Audubon (Miles City)

### **36 with no position do not work on population**

1. Adventure Cycling Association (Missoula)
2. Agriculture in Montana Schools (Great Falls)
3. Anaconda Sportsmen's Club (Anaconda)
4. Artemisia Chapter, Montana Native Plants Society (Billings)
5. Big Hole River Foundation (Butte)
6. Central Montana Chapter of Pheasants Forever (Lewistown)
7. Chouteau County Pheasants Forever (Fort Benton)
8. Cinnabar Foundation (Helena)
9. Clark Fork-Pend Oreille Coalition (Missoula)
10. Concerned Citizens of Pony (Pony)
11. Elkhorn Citizens Organization (Helena)
12. Federation of Flyfishers (Bozeman)
13. Flathead Chapter Montana Native Plant Society (Bigfork)
14. Flathead Transboundary Council (Kalispell)
15. Glacier-Two Medicine Alliance (East Glacier Park)
16. Growing Friends of Helena (Helena)
17. Keep Montana Clean and Beautiful (Helena)
18. League of Women Voters of Montana (Missoula)
19. Madison Gallatin Alliance (Bozeman)
20. Medicine River Canoe Club (Great Falls)
21. Mineral Policy Center (Bozeman)
22. Montana Community Shares (Bozeman)
23. Montana Energy Education Council (Bozeman)
24. Montana Environmental Education Association (Dillon)
25. Montana Environmental Information Center (Helena)
26. Montana Native Plant Society (Bozeman)
27. Montana Pheasants Forever (Sidney)
28. Montana Public Interest Research Group (Missoula)
29. Montana Science Teachers (Billings)<sup>1</sup>
30. Montanans Against Toxic Burning (Bozeman)

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<sup>1</sup>Montana Science Teachers gave two reasons why they don't have a position on population: 1) the number of people in their area is not a problem, and 2) perhaps if there were more people, they could advocate for the environment.

31. Native Action (Lame Deer)
32. Nature Conservancy (Helena)
33. Polson Outdoors, Inc. (Polson)
34. Prickly Pear Sportsmen's Association (Helena)
35. Richland Opportunities, Inc. (Sidney)
36. Snowy Mountain Chapter of Trout Unlimited (Lewistown)

## **Types of self-identified organizational positions on population in Montana**

### *Number of people and consumption/extractive industry problems*

Ecology Center  
 Bitterroot Chapter Trout Unlimited  
 Canyon Ferry Limnological Institute  
 Stillwater Protective Association  
 Flathead Valley Chapter of Pheasants Forever  
 Montana Natural History Center  
 Craighead Wildlife-Wildlands Institute  
 Swan View Coalition, Inc.  
 Montana Ecosystems Defense Council  
 Wild Rockies Earth First!  
 American Buffalo Foundation  
 Wild Rockies Field Institute  
 Montana Audubon Council

### *Local area overpopulated or growing too fast; support local growth management*

Flathead Land Trust  
 Flathead Resource Organization  
 Missoula Center for Responsible Planning  
 Flathead Chapter of Montana Wilderness Association  
 Save Open Space  
 Kootenai Flyfishers

### *Pro-choice*

Jeannette Rankin Peace Resource Center

### *Consumption/Extraction main problem*

Picture Tomorrow

### *Support national position<sup>2</sup>*

Bitterroot Greens  
 Wilderness Society regional office

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<sup>2</sup>All national positions of the organizations listed advocate population stabilization.

Montana Audubon Council  
 Sierra Club, Montana Chapter  
 Five Valleys Audubon Society  
 Last Chance Audubon Society  
 Yellowstone Valley Audubon Society  
 National Wildlife Federation field office

*Regulations can protect environment from expanding population*

Billings Rod and Gun Club  
 Montana Water Environment Association  
 Joe Brooks Chapter of Trout Unlimited  
 Brown Bear Resources, Inc.

**Reasons for having no position on population**

*Number of people not a problem in area*

Flathead Transboundary Council  
 Elkhorn Citizens Organization  
 Artemisia Chapter, Montana Native Plants Society  
 Montana Science Teachers  
 Clark Fork-Pend Oreille Coalition  
 Anaconda Sportsmen's Club  
 Pheasants Forever-Montana  
 Snowy Mountain Chapter of Trout Unlimited

*Too controversial*

Flathead Audubon Society  
 Medicine River Canoe Club  
 Prickly Pear Sportsmen's Association  
 Five Valleys Land Trust

*Lost cause/don't know what to do*

Polson Outdoors, Inc.  
 Friends of the Wild Swan

*Lack of resources*

Concerned Citizens of Pony  
 Madison Gallatin Alliance  
 Rocky Mountain Front Advisory Council  
 Montana Loon Society  
 Keep it Wild!

*Need more people*

Richland Opportunities, Inc.  
 Keep Montana Clean and Beautiful  
 Native Action

*No answer*

Federation of Flyfishers  
 Montana Energy Education Council  
 Nature Conservancy Pine Butte Preserve  
 Big Hole River Foundation  
 Adventure Cycling Association  
 League of Women Voters of Montana

*Not an organizational priority/haven't discussed*

Rosebud Audubon  
 Cottonwood Resource Council  
 Glacier-Two Medicine Alliance  
 Montanans Against Toxic Burning  
 Flathead Chapter Montana Native Plant Society  
 Cinnabar Foundation  
 Agriculture in Montana Schools  
 Mineral Policy Center  
 Montana Public Interest Research Group  
 Gallatin Wildlife Association  
 Wild Rockies Action Fund

*Not an advocacy organization*

Montana Environmental Education Association  
 Montana Community Shares  
 Northern Lights Institute

*No reason given*

Nature Conservancy  
 Chouteau County Pheasants Forever  
 Montana Native Plant Society  
 Montana Environmental Information Center  
 Growing Friends of Helena  
 Central Montana Chapter of Pheasants Forever  
 Montana Land Reliance  
 Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics  
 Upper Missouri Breaks Audubon Chapter

## **Types of work by Montana organizations identifying themselves as doing work related to population**

### *Incorporate into other work*

Flathead Audubon Society  
 Northern Lights Institute  
 Nature Conservancy Pine Butte Preserve  
 Canyon Ferry Limnological Institute  
 Montana Natural History Center  
 Jeannette Rankin Peace Resource Center  
 Craighead Wildlife-Wildlands Institute  
 Montana Ecosystems Defense Council  
 Swan View Coalition, Inc.

### *Anti-growth*

Ecology Center

### *Mitigation--Control growth*

Rosebud Audubon  
 Stillwater Protective Association  
 Flathead Land Trust  
 Friends of the Wild Swan  
 Sierra Club, Montana Chapter  
 Missoula Center for Responsible Planning  
 Gallatin Wildlife Association  
 Five Valleys Audubon Society  
 Flathead Chapter of Montana Wilderness Association  
 Save Open Space  
 Brown Bear Resources, Inc.  
 Cottonwood Resource Council

### *Mitigation-Control Regulations*

Bitterroot Chapter Trout Unlimited  
 Montana Water Environment Association  
 Joe Brooks Chapter of Trout Unlimited  
 Kootenai Flyfishers

### *Write letters on national issues*

Montana Audubon Council  
 Last Chance Audubon Society

## Reasons given for not working on population

### *Lack of time/resources*

Elkhorn Citizens Organization  
 Picture Tomorrow  
 Keep it Wild!  
 Rocky Mountain Front Advisory Council  
 Flathead Resource Organization  
 Mineral Policy Center

### *No*

Artemisia Chapter, Montana Native Plants Society  
 Upper Missouri Breaks Audubon Chapter  
 Medicine River Canoe Club  
 Montana Environmental Information Center  
 Growing Friends of Helena  
 Keep Montana Clean and Beautiful  
 Anaconda Sportsmen's Club  
 Snowy Mountain Chapter of Trout Unlimited  
 Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics  
 Montana Loon Society  
 Concerned Citizens of Pony  
 Federation of Flyfishers  
 Montana Environmental Education Association  
 Montana Science Teachers

### *N/A*

Chouteau County Pheasants Forever  
 Nature Conservancy  
 Montana Native Plant Society  
 Clark Fork-Pend Oreille Coalition  
 Montana Community Shares  
 Montana Energy Education Council  
 Central Montana Chapter of Pheasants Forever  
 Big Hole River Foundation  
 Adventure Cycling Association  
 League of Women Voters of Montana  
 Agriculture in Montana Schools  
 Native Action  
 Montana Public Interest Research Group

### *Not in Organizational Priorities*

Glacier-Two Medicine Alliance  
 Montanans Against Toxic Burning

Flathead Chapter Montana Native Plant Society  
Cinnabar Foundation  
Polson Outdoors, Inc.  
Madison Gallatin Alliance  
Billings Rod and Gun Club  
Bitterroot Greens  
Yellowstone Valley Audubon Society

*Not in position to affect/don't know what to do*  
Richland Opportunities, Inc.  
Prickly Pear Sportsmen's Association  
Wild Rockies Field Institute  
American Buffalo Foundation

## **Appendix 4:**

### **Summary of Recommended Strategies**



## **How to start thinking about population in the context of your environmental organization's agenda**

### *Reduce the number of people*

- Visualize the environmental resource an organization is working to protect over the next 50 years, evaluate the impacts of human population growth, and consider whether and how population could be incorporated into current issue work.
- Articulate an organizational position on population in Montana.
- Acknowledge links between women's reproductive rights, population, and the environment at the community level.

### *Battle overconsumption and destructive technologies and ways of living*

- Make direct linkages between local environmental damage and consumption of a refined product in distant markets.

### *Call for environmental rights*

- Shift mental image of what "too many people" looks like from one of large numbers of starving people in Southern countries towards an examination of the carrying capacity of their local area, which includes thriving plant and animal communities as well as clean water, air and land.

## **How your environmental organization can work on population**

### *Reduce the number of people*

- Make a conscious effort to mention human population (in the expanded context of environmental rights, social justice, global economy, and consumption) at every public presentation and in written work.
- Lobby national environmental organizations to take a pro-choice position.
- Articulate a pro-choice position at the local organizational level.
- Lobby national environmental organizations to adopt a two-child policy.

- Articulate a two-child policy at the local organizational level.
- Articulate support for couples with no children or with fewer than two children.
- Work against state and federal tax incentives for couples to have more children (with care not to do harm to families currently living in poverty).

***Battle overconsumption and destructive technologies and ways of living***

- Mention the link between population, consumption, and a particular resource issue in every address to the public, comment on development plan or environmental impact statement, and publication.
- Advocate for dense, clustered housing, rather than sprawling suburbs on subdivided ranches.
- Design "growth impact statements" for local communities that project social, environmental, and economic impacts of increased expansion of a community.
- Identify desired conditions for local communities.
- Work towards creating a vision of a local community living sustainably environmentally, economically, and socially.
- Take a stand and work against "growth is good" societal norm.

***Think globally***

- Buy locally.
- Oppose export of products from local area and from United States.
- Challenge the right of corporations to operate in local community.
- Defy economic development strategies that promote community subordination to large industrial projects.
- Align with workers.

***Fight for social justice***

- Acknowledge the importance of social issues and a strong community with few people in poverty and homeless, low domestic violence, equality for women, etc. in environmental protection efforts.

***Call for environmental rights***

- Continually remind the public of what has been lost in non-human species habitat because of human incursions, and what could be recovered.
- Insist that population projections and their projected resource demands are included in environmental impact statements.

**How your environmental organization can support work of other organizations*****Reduce the number of people***

- Support organizations like Planned Parenthood, local health care clinics, etc. through endorsements, monetary commitment, public alliances and coalitions, etc. who are working to:
  - Improve access to contraceptives;
  - Oppose the Christian Right and Wise Use movement's efforts against sexual education and access to contraceptives in schools;
  - Women's reproductive rights, including pro-choice efforts;
  - Improve universal access to health care and insurance;
  - Fight violence against women.

***Fight for social justice***

- Support organizations like Montana People's Action and Montana Hunger Coalition to buttress efforts to:
  - Reform welfare;
  - Provide school breakfasts and lunches;
  - Provide access to housing, etc.

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Table 3

### Variances in Analytical Approach to Population Among Environmental and Social Justice Organizations

	Ultraconservative	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Radical
<b>Geographic focus</b>	United States	Southern countries/ some attention to U.S.	U.S. and Southern countries	local communities in U.S.	all nations
<b>Goals</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•preserve U.S. quality of life</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•reduce fertility in rapidly growing populations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•reduce fertility in rapidly growing populations</li> <li>•reduce Northern consumption</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•empower local community voice to challenge "growth is good" paradigm</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•poverty the underlying problem</li> <li>•attain full range of rights for women, workers, and people of color across the planet</li> </ul>
<b>Underlying causes of population growth</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•cultures valuing large families</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•cultures valuing large families</li> <li>•low status of women (lack of educational, economic opportunities)</li> <li>•lack of understanding about environmental damage of large populations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•need for a work force</li> <li>•low status of women (lack of educational, economic opportunities)</li> <li>•high infant mortality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•destruction of rural, agrarian community structure:</li> <li>•lack of understanding about environmental and social impacts of large populations</li> <li>•economic value for "growth is good" (real estate)</li> <li>•religious beliefs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•poverty: need for a work force</li> <li>•low status of women</li> <li>•lack of safe contraceptive options</li> <li>•high infant mortality</li> </ul>
<b>Strategy to reduce population growth</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•provide incentives and disincentives for fertility control</li> <li>•close off U.S. borders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•increase access to family planning</li> <li>•raise profile of "population problem" among NGOs and governments of other countries and the U.S.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•change destructive international development policies</li> <li>•expand foreign aid to include programs to fight poverty, raise status of women, education, sustainable development, land tenure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•stabilize communities through local growth control and change consumption patterns and community relations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•provide for people's basic needs</li> <li>•equity</li> <li>•fight against: militarization; maldistribution of wealth, economic systems exploitative of people and resources, and that pollute</li> </ul>
<b>View of role of population numbers in causing environmental degradation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•number of people most important cause of environmental degradation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•number of people most important cause of environmental degradation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•number of people and consumption both important and can not be separated</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•population regarded in local context of number of people and their activities on the land</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•population numbers not very important</li> <li>•systems of consumption and production (manifested by corporate and government activities) and social inequity of paramount importance</li> </ul>
<b>Concern about corporate structure/impacts of world trade</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•no, disregard it as an influence on migration</li> <li>•current system of international, export trade is accepted</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•current system of international, export trade is accepted</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•acknowledge trade impacts, and challenges them through reform of government policies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•varies according to different local carrying capacity models; some communities recognize their interconnectedness to the rest of the planet through trade relations, others disregard</li> <li>•all programs do seek to reclaim citizen control over decisions in their communities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•world trade of prime importance and corporate and government activities directly challenged</li> </ul>
<b>View towards nature</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•quality of life for U.S. most important</li> <li>•some deep ecologists express intrinsic value of nature</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•environmental quality important to provide healthy, sustainable place for humans</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•environmental quality and resources important for human use, but habitat protection and importance of survival of other species to human existence is mentioned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•varies according to different local carrying capacity models</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•ecological diversity mentioned peripherally; primary concern for environment is to support healthy human communities</li> </ul>
<b>Concern for social justice</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•accept inequity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•peripheral only; social justice regarded as possible once population numbers are reduced</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•interactive relationship between social justice and population</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•important in some local carrying capacity projects, disregarded in others</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•of prime importance</li> </ul>
<b>Organizations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Carrying Capacity Network</li> <li>•Population-Environment Balance</li> <li>•Negative Population Growth</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Population Institute</li> <li>•Sierra Club International Population Program</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•ZPG</li> <li>•Audubon</li> <li>•NRDC</li> <li>•NWF</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Sierra Club Local Carrying Capacity Campaign</li> <li>•Izaak Walton League Carrying Capacity Project</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Committee on Women, Population and the Environment</li> <li>•U.S. Women of Color</li> <li>•Earth Island Institute's Urban Habitat Program</li> </ul>