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SAVING THE EARTH:
A STUDY OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE SIERRA CLUB

by

Stan Walthall

B.A., Eastern Montana College, 1973

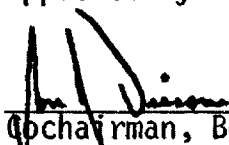
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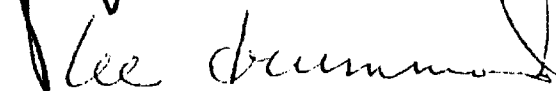
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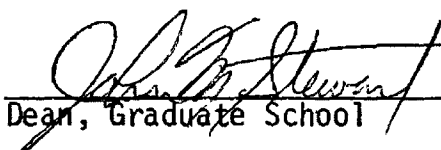
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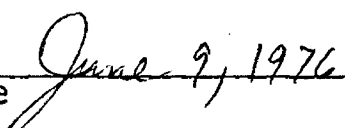
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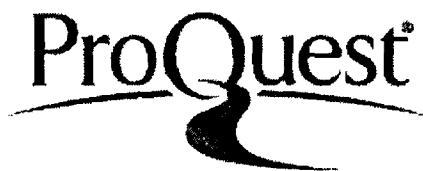


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ABSTRACT

Walthall, Stan, M.S., 1976

Environmental Studies

Saving the Earth: A Study of Membership in the Sierra Club (149 pp.)

Directors: Jon J. Driessen and Lee Drummond

This study was undertaken to identify and describe those views which members of the Sierra Club, a national environmental organization, use to identify, interpret and take action in their everyday lives as a matter of routine. The emphasis of this study is on describing those essential characteristics of belonging which members themselves describe and explain.

As the purpose of this study was to identify and describe those essential characteristics of membership, an ethnographic approach stressing the use of interviews was used. Data was gathered by participating in both an intimate and meaningful way in the Sierra Club and in the lives of members so as to share in their meanings and come to know the club as they themselves have come to know it.

The result of this study is an account of members' expressed methods for typifying, interpreting, and taking action on their world as defined by their natural view and commitment to act. The natural view or sense of Earth deals with members' assumptions about the relationship of man to nature, the knowledge members share about nature and their methods of typifying and categorizing their world and therefore come to know and act on it. The second component of their sense of belonging deals with members' commitment to act. Both components of the sense of belonging were ordered concerning the orientation the member has expressed to the natural view and commitment to act. Finally this study takes up members' expressions of belonging as they talk about the application of the sense of belonging to their routine everyday activities and the correlation between those activities and their individual position within the Sierra Club.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
	ABSTRACT.....	ii
	LIST OF FIGURES.....	v
Chapter		
I	INTRODUCTION.....	1
	Purpose	
	History of the Study and Procedures	
II	HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SIERRA CLUB.....	13
	The Transcendentalists	
	Emerson and Thoreau	
	John Muir	
	The Yosemite Valley	
	Hetch Hetchy	
	Dinosaur National Monument	
	Structure and Organization of the Sierra Club	
III	MEMBERSHIP.....	35
	Membership as a Constitutive Accomplishment	
	Membership as a Practical Accomplishment	
IV	THE NATURAL VIEW.....	42
	Homo-centric Assumptions About Nature	
	Bio-centric Assumptions About Nature	
	Stock of Knowledge	
V	THE COMMITMENT TO ACT.....	67
	Getting Involved	
	Being Involved	
	A Paradigm of Membership	
VI	EXPRESSIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.....	89
	Kinds of Things Members Do to Save the Earth	
	Organizational Things	
	Private Things	

Correlation between Instances of Membership
and the Sense of Belonging

VII SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION..... 110

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 118

 Selected References in Sociology
 Selected References on the Environmental Movement
 and the Sierra Club

APPENDIX..... 123

 Topical Questions for Interviews
 Biographies of Key Informants
 Selected Examples of Narratives from Key Informants
 Transcripts

 Aileen
 Caroline
 John
 Richard

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Typification of Members in the Sierra Club According to Their Sense of Earth and Sense of Action	81
2. Relative Positions and Direction of Movement of Members in Relation to one Another According to Their Sense of Earth	82
3. Relative Positions and Direction of Movement of Members in Relation to one Another According to Their Sense of Action.	84
4. Showing the Relative Positions of Members in The Sense of Earth and Sense of Action Typification Scheme	87
5. Relative Position and Direction of Movement of Members According to Their Expressions of Belonging as Compared to Their Positions in the Sense of Belonging.	108

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

April 22, 1970, the first Earth Day, may be regarded as the official beginning of the "environmental movement," with activities throughout the country concerned with heightening people's awareness of their continuing degradation of the quality of life. This date also marks the expansion of the much older conservation movement whose major concern was the preservation of natural areas, such as wilderness, for their unique features or scenic beauty. The old organizations of the conservation movement, such as the Audubon Society, the National Wildlife Federation, the Wilderness Society, and the Sierra Club became the backbone of the new environmentalism. The Audubon Society and the Sierra Club expanded their areas of concern from a basic orientation towards wilderness and wildlife to include other problems such as pollution, overpopulation, natural resource use, problems of development, energy, and the oceans. New groups were also being formed such as Friends of the Earth and the Environmental Defense Fund which were totally environmental in nature and without the traditions of the older conservation movement. Both types of groups are now fused together to form the Environmental Movement.

The movement is composed of both individuals and groups whose aim is to change the relationship between our social systems and the natural environment. If one assumes as does William Bryan that:

Environmental problems constitute one dimension of social ills that threaten the goals of social and ecological constraints of "this spaceship earth," then environmentalists are, therefore, social activists, with varying degrees of commitment toward affecting change consistent with such ecological and social goals.¹

Groups and individuals working toward this end may then be defined as part of the environmental movement. Herbert Blumer has stated that:

A social movement signifies either a collective effort to transform some given area of established social relations, or else a large unguided change in social relations involving however unwittingly, large numbers of participants.²

The nature of the environmental movement not only allows it to be described as a social movement, but also allows different organizations within that movement to be described as voluntary organizations by the sheer fact that membership is constituted by volunteers.³ These associations can be divided into two major categories: instrumental and expressive. Expressive associations have the pursuit of an activity as their goal and include such groups as the American Alpine Club (mountaineering) and the Rocky Mountaineers (dispersed outdoor recreation). Conversely, instrumental groups are associated to pursue activities that are primarily the means for achieving a desired goal such as the preservation of wilderness or solving urban environmental movement problems.

¹William L. Bryan, "Toward a Viable Environmental Movement" (reprinted by the Wilderness Institute from the Applied Journal of Behavioral Science), p. 1.

²Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in J. B. Gittler, ed., Review of Sociology (New York: Wiley, 1957), p. 147.

³A voluntary association is defined as a group that individuals deliberately join and from which they may deliberately leave, whose purpose is to express themselves or to accomplish something specific either for themselves or for some other segment of society: see Arnold Rose, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 568.

Friends of the Earth, the Audubon Society, and the Sierra Club are examples of such groups. It is this type of voluntary associations that compose the environmental movement.

Since the first Earth Day there has been both a dramatic increase in the size and number of voluntary associations devoted to the preservation or improvement of our environment. This is evidenced by the growth in membership of the Sierra Club from 15,000 in 1960 to 152,000 in 1976.⁴

Investigations of the environmental movement have indicated that it draws its support from the upper-middle class segments of the population and that members of the upper-middle class generally belong to many formal voluntary organizations.⁵ These investigations also have indicated that people become active in outdoor (expressive) clubs originally and then develop preservationist commitments that lead them to join environmental (instrumental) groups. Several studies have also been done to indicate the socio-economic structure of membership,⁶ however little field research has been done to identify and describe membership as an ongoing achievement of member's everyday lives.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe the

⁴Robert A. Irwin, "The Observer," Sierra Club Bulletin, (February 1976), p. 31.

⁵Prior research in this area has been lead by Harry, Gale, Hendee (1969), and Derall (1970) for a more detailed analysis see Harry, Gale, Hendee "Conservation: An Upper-Middle Class Movement," (Journal of Leisure Research, Summer 1969), and John Hendee, "Membership in Conservation and Outdoor Clubs," (Symposium Proceedings, 1971).

⁶Ibid.

basic underlying view, assumptions, concepts and realities that members in the Sierra Club use to construct and carry on their everyday lives. This is an attempt to understand through description those characteristics that persons must share that define them as members and that they use to do membership as a routine matter from day to day. Specifically this was an attempt to come to understand the concept of membership as applied to the Sierra Club from members' talk of how they have come to know it. Plainly the emphasis of this study was on what people say about the world and how that bears on their belonging to the club.

History of Study and Procedures

The purpose of this section is to describe the history of the study and the procedures used to carry out it. Further the purpose here is to describe the procedures I followed beginning in March 1975 and through the conclusion of the project in May 1976, in the attempt to give the reader a better understanding of how the study developed and finally unfolded in its present form.

Preliminary to the study was the development of my interest in conservation organizations, which the Sierra Club is commonly called by its members, and their role in the environmental movement. This interest developed from a seed while I was an undergraduate student, beginning shortly before the first Earth Day in 1970, and was rekindled by my participation in a class on conservation literature in the spring of 1975. In early March of 1975 a decision was made to study the Sierra Club on the grounds of this interest and on the accessibility of the club in terms of opportunities to participate and its location near the university.

After the idea to study the Sierra Club had been established I contacted Holly, then chairperson of the local group, to see if they would mind if such a study was done. Contact was made by calling the local newspaper and asking how one would go about contacting the local Sierra Club, they supplied Holly's name and number. I made a date to meet with him to discuss my study. At our March 7 meeting we discussed the idea of doing the study, and specifically what the study should take up as the topic of inquiry. The club at this time was in a situation of rapid change and Holly was concerned about losing members. Our talk explored many interesting avenues that would have made several excellent topics for research, however, the concept of membership kept coming back to me as a reoccurring theme in all of these topics. I left that meeting and went home to begin writing a proposal to study membership in the Sierra Club. At a second meeting about a week later I met with Holly again to discuss my proposal, at which time he stated his excitement at the prospects of such a study, but also the fear of any disruptive effects on members. He stated that he would give his approval if three other members-in-long-standing also gave their approval. He gave me their names and numbers and suggested I contact them as I had contacted him. This was done, but through the course of my discussing the proposal with them it became evident to me that if any research was to be done it would have to take into account the member's point of view. Anyway, all the members agreed and Holly gave his go-ahead.

The idea of studying membership from the member's point of view was exciting because there were no publications available to me that had ever taken up membership as a topic as it applied to conservation groups.

After this decision was made and approval was given by the club, the major research question involved how I was to go about learning what the member's point of view was. In the fall of 1973 a professor had suggested that "contemporary society should be studied through descriptive methods because they would allow us to best understand it for what it really is."⁷ This opened an interest in a method of inquiry in which I was being trained through my course work in sociology.⁸

The nature of this study and the combination of the two previously mentioned interests in the club and the method provided an excellent twofold learning opportunity for me, that of learning about membership from the way members know it and the opportunity to develop qualitative research skills. But by far the most important reason for choosing this approach was based on the concept of Max Weber, that in order to study human groups the researcher is compelled to do it without either knowingly or unknowingly imposing his own views on the techniques he uses for gathering, analyzing, and reporting the data.⁹ This rests on the assumption of Weber's that one can best understand society for what it is by studying it from the points of view of its members. Translated to this study it means that the way to understand how membership

⁷Dr. Martin K. Baker lecture notes for Human Ecology, Sociology 315, University of Montana, Fall Quarter 1973.

⁸This work began with Field Observation and included, Environmental Sociology, Sociology of Language, Advanced Research Methods, and Ethnomethodology, plus a Research Assistantship doing fieldwork of social impact assessments.

⁹Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 10. This concept is further described in Theodore Abel, "The Operation Called Verstehen," American Journal of Sociology 54, no. 3 (November 1948): 211-18.

is achieved is to come to know it as the club's members know it. In this respect an ethnographic approach was appropriate since it placed me in a position of close and continuing contact with the members. By participating intimately with those being studied I was able to share in those meanings they share and thereby come to know how membership was achieved as they themselves achieve it. The assumption here is that those being studied are the ultimate authorities concerning the meaning of what is happening to and around them, that is they are the member's realities which they use to define, understand, and act in their everyday world, or in the words of Raymond L. Gold:

How this reality and its consequences come about, what it means to the individual and his fellows in terms of attitudinal development and behavioral expressions, and the like are matters the researcher continually seeks to understand as the actors themselves understand them in their dynamic, changing situation.¹⁰

The objective of this study now can emerge as to gain knowledge of the processes by which members perceive and define developing and ongoing situations and thereby construct their social realities.

On April 29, 1975 my thesis committee approved this study and all was ready to go. As I had already received the club's go ahead, I began my research with preliminary observations at a Sierra Club meeting that evening. The meeting was held at 7:30 pm which later was observed as the regular time for the club's meetings. It was also held on a Tuesday which also was a consistent day for meetings through the spring.

¹⁰Raymond L. Gold, A Comparative Case Study of the Impact of Coal Development on the way of Life of the People in the Coal Areas of Eastern Montana and Northeastern Wyoming, (Missoula, Institute for Social Science Research, University of Montana, June, 1974) p. 155.

This meeting was held in a local church and concerned the problems of a local area, raising money to help send a delegation of Montana Wilderness Association members to Washington to testify on the Montana Wilderness Study Areas Bill S. 393, and a member talked on the Great Bear Wilderness Bill S. 392. While this meeting was billed a "work meeting" its major emphasis was on informing members about legislation and taking specific action by writing Congressmen and raising money to send people to testify. There were no smokers at this meeting.

The next meeting was held on May 15, 1975 and this was called a "program meeting." It was held at 7:30 pm in the public meeting room of the local library. When I arrived members were sitting around in small groups discussing different issues, one group was discussing the Conservation Easement Bill that had been introduced in the state legislature and another group was discussing the resignation of Holly as local chairman. Gifford was appointed chairman by what I later came to learn was the group's Executive Committee. On the program for that evening was a slide show by Dr. Joe Musselman of Friends of the Rattlesnake on the upper Rattlesnake Area. This was to be the last formal meeting of the group as they had decided to become inactive for the summer and reorganize themselves for that coming fall. I made a date for my first interview with Holly.

Due to the disbanding of the club until next fall I had to reorganize my plan of approach, for originally I planned to begin with general observations of club activities and then move into a form of participant-observation.¹¹ The general strategy now shifted to an emphasis

¹¹The procedure that would have been used is best described in Norman K. Denzin, The Research Act, (Chicago: Aldine 1975), pp. 185-218.

on interviews.¹²

May 20 was the date set for my first interview, which was held at Holly's house. Because he already knew what I was up to I didn't bother explaining my purpose, however I did assure him that his name would not be used.¹³ The interview was very unstructured and informal as he described how he originally became involved with the Sierra Club and some of his ideas about what the Sierra Club was. Our discussion lasted about three hours and notes were taken by hand. It was promptly decided that a portable cassette recorder should be tried since at times it was very hard to record all that was said. I immediately went home and tried to reconstruct the interview. After this time I saw Holly socially, and during the summer we did several climbs together in the mountains around the area.

Toward the end of that first set of several interviews I asked Holly if he could direct me to other members he considered astute observers of the club, or others he thought I should talk with. He gave me a list of ten members. This process of gaining a list of informants is called sociological sampling, as opposed to theoretical sampling, as the purpose here is "to generate an empirically sound description of how research subjects perceive and experience that which is understudy."¹⁴ This was consistently done throughout the interview period. Interviews

¹²Ibid pp. 122-146.

¹³All names of members have been replaced with pseudonyms which were taken from an 1893 roster of members' names. Names were applied randomly except by sex.

¹⁴Raymond L. Gold, p. 157.

were carried on until the member's ability to identify new topics ran out or I was able to predict the answers they would give. The fundamental strategy used to verify information was to seek out contradictory information or look for evidence that would indicate that that information gained from an informant was based on misinformation or faulty perceptions.¹⁵

Little was done through the summer due to a lack of access to members, many were out of town, but mainly because of interference in time with my summer job. No interviews were conducted again until October of that year when Holly was reinterviewed.

At the end of October the study was started again, however, I was having difficulty in developing questions, when it was suggested that I have the club members develop the questions. Three members were asked, during interviews to help me develop a list of questions. Holly, Richard, and Kathleen generated a total of 88 questions they felt essential to carrying out a study of membership. This list was reduced to a set of twelve questions that resulted from grouping the original list by topics, these are listed in the appendix. The questions were then taken back to those three members, discussed, and tried out.

On November 5, 1975 Richard was reinterviewed as the first in a set of informal interviews in which the topics were tried out on other members. By December I was ready to begin formal interviews using my list of topics for questions.¹⁶ By the 3rd of February I had completed

¹⁵Ibid p. 160.

¹⁶A list of the final "topical questions can be found with the facesheet used in the interviews.

indepth interviews with ten key informants from the list of informants previously mentioned. After each interview was completed, the tape was played and compared with my notes at which time reoccurring topics and important quotes were indexed. As this was being done, two variables seemed to be consistent from all of the interviews. A very rough version of member's view of nature and a commitment to act was beginning to take form. Three more interviews were completed and the same picture was formed, after which four more exploratory interviews were used to see if there was anything missing. Eventually the description took form after a narrative analysis was completed on each of the final interviews.¹⁷ At this time I took my ideas back to the members I had interviewed and had them discuss the weak and strong points of those ideas which helped straighten out and bring my analysis closer to their view.

Also in the fall of 1975 I had the opportunity to do fieldwork on a social impact assessment project in southcentral Montana.¹⁸ My experiences here helped considerably when I went back to reinterview members and work with my data. Similtaneously I was introduced to the work of Alfred Schutz, Aaron Cicourel, Edmund Husserl, and Harold Garfinke1 through courses in the Sociology of Language and Ethnomethodology. The formulation of views shared by members with the concept of membership as the mastery of a shared natural language strongly

¹⁷This approach followed a form similar to that described by Jon J. Driessen, "Topical Analysis," in The Trip, (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Colorado, 1968), P. 37.

¹⁸This work was done under the direction of Dr. Raymond L. Gold and for Sociology 400, Environmental Sociology, Fall Quarter 1975.

influenced my further conceptualization of membership in the Sierra Club.¹⁹ Soon after, it became obvious that the reason formal membership was viewed by members as only a technicality was that there was more to it than merely paying dues and filling out an application. The question again became what is the essential characteristic of membership, that is what makes a member different from a non-member.²⁰ How does one go about "becoming" a member and how does one "be" a member?

In summary then, I have tried to describe how I originally became interested and involved in the study, how I entered the field, made contact with potential informants and had those informants criticize drafts and reports so that it would represent their social world of membership as they know and experience it. I have also tried to relate some of the highlights of the development of my views and methodological interest. Before it is possible to describe membership in this fashion it is important to construct a sense of the club through its historical development.

¹⁹Garfinkel discusses this concept in "Remarks on Ethnomethodology" in John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972), pp. 301-324, and in Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967), passim. In both cases Garfinkel is concerned with members' common-sense knowledge, where the concept of member is defined as the mastery of a natural language where language includes not only the grammar but also its use.

²⁰I was also introduced to the concept of ethno-ontologies and ethno-methods, which describe the concepts of members' views and processes used for interacting with the world. It was the latter concept that helped answer my question. A good description of ontologies is found in the paper: Jon J. Driessen and Sam Burns, "A Revitalization of Ethnography of Contemporary Society: Ethnomethodology," (a draft of a paper submitted for publication, University of Colorado) nd.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SIERRA CLUB

The mountains of California and John Muir were the fundamental elements of the Sierra Club. Muir's great love for the peaks and the valleys of the Sierra Nevada Mountains and his intense passion to protect them led the way and influenced others to aid in the preservation of a rapidly diminishing American wilderness. One of the major results of his efforts was the establishment of the Sierra Club in San Francisco in 1892. Nurtured in the mountains, it grew in the struggles for Yosemite, Hetch Hetchy, Sequoia and the great campaigns for Glacier Peak and the Grand Canyon, and came to maturity in the environmental movement of the 1970s. But to be able to understand how the Sierra Club came to be where it is and what it is to be a member, it is necessary to describe the origins of the American view of nature. A description of the origins of the Sierra Club is contingent on the importance of two fundamental influences on the life of John Muir: the influence of the American transcendentalists and the Yosemite Valley. On this foundation the club's history can be used to give a perspective to the organizing of local groups and the relationship of the member to the club.

Transcendentalists

The transcendentalists were a group of young Americans who rebelled against the rationalism and social conformity of the Unitarian

thinking dominant in the New England of the 1830s. Unitarianism emancipated New England from the Calvinism of its Puritan-founding fathers. The transcendentalists were trying to further emancipate the dominant rationalism and social conformity with a blend of sound individual common sense and a discerning insight into the heart of man. Carrying this still further, it may also be seen that it was not so much an assemblage of exotic ideas as it was the first outcry against the materialistic aspects of America's business civilization which grew from the reflective and intellectual approach that developed out of the new literature from Europe and the Orient. The underlying supposition of transcendental thought was based on the reality of the intuitive element of man. Man had the inborn capacity to perceive truth and right so that these could be proved to him with the same certainty that is given quantitative demonstrations. Transcendentalism may be denoted as rationalism. The same rationalism that is exercised for the common everyday works of man was applied to the sacred writings of the Bible. The end purpose was the perfection of humanity.¹

The complex attitudes about man, nature and God were the major suppositions influencing Ralph Waldo Emerson's, Henry David Thoreau's and ultimately John Muir's ideas regarding wildness. They believed in the existence of a reality higher than physical and that there was a parallelism existing between the higher realms of the spiritual and the

¹Roderick Nash, The American Environment: Readings in the History of Conservation (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1976), pp. 9-13; and Roderick Nash, Wilderness in the American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 67-96.

lower of material objects. Natural objects, then if viewed properly would reflect spiritual truths.²

Emerson and Thoreau

Ralph Waldo Emerson set the stage for transcendentalism with the publication in 1836 of "Nature" which became transcendentalists' manifesto. This work was a truly radical split from the traditional attitudes and values. Emerson was primarily interested in man's spiritual relationship to nature. The intent of the treatise was to reclaim an idealistic philosophy and put nature at man's moral service. The consequence was the opening of a new romantic concept of an organic sense which flooded American thought, influencing men to come like William James, John Dewey, John Jay Chapman, Oliver Wendell Holmes and, closer to the ideas of the Sierra Club, Henry David Thoreau, the group known as the American transcendentalists and eventually John Muir. Emerson believed in a living, pulsing nature still in the process of becoming a nature "immanent with spirit, fulfilling the ideas of God and capable also of fulfilling the ideas of man." That man was not dissociated from nature but rather intimate with her "sharing the flow of her spiritual tides and able by means of his own creative powers of perception, to grasp her law and thereby, with his ideas, to be himself a creator of the as yet unformed future."³ This was the first time that a philosophy had actually spoken of God like power for man, but Emerson wanted it to be a liberating voice where man was no longer

²Ibid.

³Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, p. 86.

seen as the victim of his environment, where man could behold God and nature face to face, in other words, to destroy the deterministic universe, and Emerson states: "to teach man to look at the world with new eyes."⁴ Emerson's view of nature could best be described with his metaphor of organic dependence in which he states:

As a plant upon the earth, so a man rests upon the bosom of God: he is nurtured by unfailing fountains and draws at his need inexhaustible power. Who can set bounds to the possibilities of man?

Quoting further, Emerson says:

We nestle in nature, and draw our living as parasites from her roots and grains, and we receive glances from the heavenly bodies, which call us to solitude and foretell the remotest future ...

... we heard what the rich man said, we know of his villa, his grove, his wine and his company, but the provocation and the point of the invitation came out of these beguiling stars ... he who knows the most; he who knows what sweets and virtues are in the ground, the waters, the plants, the heavens, and how to come at these enchantments - is the rich and royal man.⁵

And finally:

Nature is the incarnation of a thought, and turns to thought again, as ice becomes water and gas. The world is mind precipitated, and the volatile essence is forever escaping into the state of free thought.⁶

Emerson did not, like Ribely, Brownson, Theodore Parker, Thoreau and other transcendentalists engage in the actual social reform activities of the 1840's and 1850's; instead he remained detached, however, only to be free "to speak the truth" and by his

⁴Ibid.

⁵Edward C. Lindeman, ed., Basic Selections from Emerson: Essays, Poems, and Apothegms (New York: Mentor Book, 1954), pp. 12-13.

⁶Ibid., p. 23.

examples show the efficiency of this kind of reform, that of moral regeneration.

His perception of man's relation to nature countered the predominant dualism of the time and hinted at an evolutionary process of which man's intelligence was the most highly developed:

Now we learn what patient periods must round themselves before the rock is formed: then before the rock is broken, and the first lichen race has disintegrated the thinnest external plate into soil, and opened the door for the remote Flora, Fauna, Ceres, and Pomona to come in. How far off is the trilobite! How far the quadruped! How inconceivable remote is Man! All duly arrive, then race after race of men. It is a long way from granite to oyster; farther yet to Plato and the preaching of the immortality of the soul.⁷

Agreeing with Emerson that the natural world symbolized spiritual truth and moral law, Henry David Thoreau also believed that nature in its wild state contained a vitality that was needed for strength and creativity. Thoreau's main thrust was to show that there was much more to nature, to wildness, than its material potential. Specifically he was calling for the preservation of wildness for its spiritual value to man. His writings have become the main pillars for the intellectual arguments for American conservation. What began with Emerson as "nature is the symbol of the spirit ... the world is emblematic"⁸ became for Thoreau a slightly different interpretation, "let us not underrate the value of fact; it will one day flower into truth."⁹ For Thoreau, "man cannot afford to be a naturalist to look directly at nature ... he

⁷Ibid., p. 15.

⁸Perry Miller, ed., The American Transcendentalists: Their Prose and Poetry (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1957), p. 49.

⁹Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, p. 89.

must look through and beyond her."¹⁰ Not only was the concept that nature was the proper source of religion important in shaping Thoreau's ideas about wilderness but he also felt that the bustling tempo and materialistic tone of civilization was on the verge of banishing innocence, simplicity and good taste. Wilderness still offered these qualities of life; it was also the source of vigor, inspiration and strength, an alternative to discontentment with society.

The most often quoted and maybe the most significant words of Thoreau to the conservation movement today came from his lecture "Walking":

I wish to speak a word for nature, for absolute freedom and wildness, as contrasted with a freedom and culture merely civil - to regard man as an inhabitant, or a part and parcel of nature, rather than as a member of society. I wish to make an extreme statement, if so I may make an emphatic one, for there are enough champions of civilization: the minister and the school committee, and everyone of you will take care of that ... the west of which I speak is but another name for the wild; and what I have been preparing to say is, that in wildness is the preservation of the world.¹¹

On a trip to the wilds of Maine, Thoreau was for the first time overwhelmed, and instead of his usual "exultation in the presence of nature," he felt "more alone than you can ever imagine."¹² This bad experience altered Thoreau's ideas about civilization where man should now, go the middle route between civilization and Nature, pushing neither extreme.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Perry Miller, p. 143.

¹²Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, p. 91.

John Muir

John Muir, born in Scotland and raised in the "wilderness of Wisconsin," came to the transcendentalist view quite differently than Emerson or Thoreau. His father was a strict Calvinist who believed that only "slacker or sinners approached nature without a plow or axe."¹³ John's religious training was strict; he had to memorize the entire New Testament and most of the Old. His appreciation of nature grew as did his interest in going to college. With his inventive genius providing the means he went to the University of Wisconsin where Muir's study of geology taught him a new way to look at the land, and a stumble onto the study of botany set the stage for a life that would eventually lead him to Yosemite.

Mrs. Jeanne C. Carr, the wife of his geology professor, and Dr. James Davie Butler, a professor of classics, introduced Muir to Wordsworth, Emerson, Thoreau and a lesser known transcendentalist, Walter Rollins Brooks. Transcendentalism removed his last doubts about the conflict between nature and religion. He wrote "... that the Bible and 'Nature' were two books which harmonize beautifully."¹⁴ He left the university and traveled in Canada, worked in Indianapolis and eventually hiked from there to the Gulf of Mexico. A bout with malaria changed his plans from going to the Amazon River Basin, to San Francisco, and from there to the Yosemite Valley. "There it ended amidst mountains capable of satisfying Muir's enthusiasm, developing his wilderness

¹³John Winkley, John Muir Naturalist: A Concise Biography (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1959), p. 40.

¹⁴Ibid.

philosophy, and inspiring his most powerful writing."¹⁵

Most of Muir's ideas were variations on the transcendentalists' major thesis, that natural objects were the terrestrial manifestations of God; and in Muir's view, wildness was God's temple.

Climb the mountains and get their good tidings and nature's peace will flow into you as the sunshine into the trees. The winds will blow their fresh air into you, and the storms their energy, while cares will drop off like autumn leaves ...

Oh, these vast, calm, measureless mountain days ... equally divine, opening a thousand windows to us, God.¹⁶

Muir also felt that civilization had created a barrier to man's proper relationship to nature:

Modern man asks, what good are rattlesnakes, with the implication that for their existence to be justified they had to benefit human beings. Snakes are good for themselves, and we need not begrudge them their share of life.¹⁷

Emerson came to Yosemite in 1871 where he met Muir and spent several hours in discussion. This was also the year in which he started publishing the articles that established his national reputation as a naturalist. In 1877 he traveled to Utah, leaving California for the first time since his arrival. This trip was soon followed by others and in 1879 he made his first trip to Alaska. The year 1889 marked a serious attack on Yosemite from cattle, sheep and lumber interests. Muir went on a world tour in 1899, and in 1903 went camping with President Theodore Roosevelt in Yosemite, the purpose being to decide how best to

¹⁵Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, p. 125.

¹⁶John Winkley, p. 74.

¹⁷Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, p. 128.

to handle Yosemite's problem. In the meantime in 1892 the Sierra Club was Chartered and John Muir was elected its first president.

The Yosemite Valley

The two elements that prepared the way for the establishment of the Sierra Club were the discovery of the Yosemite Valley and the discovery of Yosemite by John Muir. The valley was probably first seen in 1833 by a fur trader but was not effectively discovered until 1851 when the Mariposa Battalion followed Indians into it and were "astonished to discover its beauty and grandeur."¹⁸ It was not until 1855 that any tourists went to the valley at which time lithographs were made of the first drawings and published throughout the country. After the first photographs of the valley were published in 1859, a growing movement to "reserve" the valley and the big Mariposa trees "so that they may be exposed to public view ... used and preserved for the benefit of mankind."¹⁹ In 1864, eight years before the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, the land surrounding the valley and the "big trees" was ceded to the government for the establishment of a reserve.

A definite change in the attitudes of Americans toward wildness was taking place in order for these events to occur. People were now becoming aware of wilderness in other ways than as an exploitable natural resource. The very seeds that were to blossom into the conservation movement were now starting to grow as this was the first time the United

¹⁸Holway R. Jones, John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1960), p. 5.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 6.

States Congress had taken any action for preserving the country's natural heritage.

John Muir arrived in San Francisco in March of 1868 and, so goes the story, immediately stopped a carpenter in the street and asked the fastest way to the wilderness. Muir and a companion walked out of San Francisco, down the Santa Clara Valley, to the San Joaquin Valley and into Yosemite.

What began for Muir as the simple pilgrimage of a devout nature lover ended in his bringing the Yosemite story to to common man all over the continent; certainly Muir awakened a new enthusiasm for the preservation of natural wonders for their own sake.²⁰

The idea of J. Henry Senger for establishing a mountaineer library in the Yosemite state reserve, as a gathering place for those interested in exploring the mountains, was expanded into the idea of an association. Robert Underwood Johnson, editor of the Century Magazine which published many of Muir's articles, had in mind an association whose purpose would be to protect the state-controlled valley and the newly created federal reserves around it from commercial interests. The first idea was a Yosemite Defense Association of which Muir wrote, "count me in the Defense Association"²¹ This was to be the Yellowstone and Yosemite Defense Association that was to be united with the New York based Boone and Crockett Club whose interest was the formation of Yellowstone National Park. Two forces are now present: those interested in the formation of an alpine club made up mostly of the

²⁰Ibid., p. 7.

²¹Ibid., p. 8.

intellectual community of San Francisco and those interested in a citizen group for guarding the Yosemite Valley.

January 16, 1892 saw the first of several meetings that lead to the incorporation of the Sierra Club. John Muir wrote on May 10, 1892:

I am greatly interested in the formation of an Alpine Club. I think with you and Mr. Olney that the time has come when such a club should be organized. You may count on me as a member and as willing to do all in my power to further the interest of such a club ... Mr. Armes of the State University is also interested in the organization of such a club and I advise you to correspond with him.²²

A second letter from Muir to Senger telling of Muir's intention to attend an organizational meeting ended with this: "hoping that we will be able to do something for wildness and make the mountains glad."²³

Founding the Club

On Saturday, May 28, 1892, the articles of incorporation were drawn up and a week later signed by the twenty-seven men present of which six leaders were elected. John Muir was president, Warren Olney and John C. Branner first and second vice-presidents, William Armes secretary, Henry Senger corresponding secretary, and Mark B. Kerr treasurer, while Robert Underwood Johnson was made an honorary member.

From its formation in 1892 and until 1898 the Sierra Club was concerned with the boundary revisions proposed by California congressman Anthony Caminetti that would eliminate a large amount of land from the north, west, and east sides of Yosemite National Park. Two years later the Sierra Club had defeated the bill as well as helped defeat Caminetti's bid for reelection. The club had won its first test by defeating an

²²Ibid., p. 9.

²³Ibid.

intrusion of the new public reserves.

Between 1893 and 1905 the club had organized itself, been instrumental in the formation of the Sierra Forest Reserves (national forests), encouraged and engaged in exploration of the Sierra Nevadas, urged and helped in the creation of Grand Canyon National Park and Mount Rainier National Park, and worked for the preservation of the coastal redwoods and the "big trees." In 1901 the first official Sierra Club outing was arranged by John Muir. In 1905 the first out-of-state outing was taken to Mt. Rainier with an Oregon club called the Mazamas. The state legislature also receded control of the valley and the Mariposa Grove to the federal government, causing it to become part of Yosemite National Park.

Hetch Hetchy

With the club organized and the battle for the recession of Yosemite to the federal government won, the third vital element of the club's formation was beginning: the battle for the Hetch Hetchy Valley. Hetch Hetchy was Yosemite's sister valley to her north and west. Briefly, San Francisco was trying to free the control of city water from the privately owned Spring Valley Water Supply Company and wanted to dam the Hetch Hetchy Valley and use it as a source of hydroelectric power and water. Originally nine other sites were examined and one recommended by the Army Corps of Engineers. From another survey Hetch Hetchy was chosen because of:

The absolute purity by reason of the uninhabited character of the entire watershed tributary to the reservoirs and largely within a forest reservation ... abundance, far beyond possible future demands for all purposes; ... freedom from complicating "water rights"; and ... power possibilities

outside the reservation.²⁴

The Army Corps of Engineers said:

From any one of these sources the water is sufficient in quantity and is, or can be made, suitable in quality, while the engineering difficulties are not insurmountable. The determining factor is principally one of cost.²⁵

The battle moved quickly from one between the Sierra Club and the city of San Francisco to one of National dimensions. A battle also raged within the Sierra Club which became important to the establishment of the club's goals and purposes as more than words written on paper. The side for preservation of the integrity of the valley won, as summed up by William E. Colby's words:

... we have only begun our fight, and we are not going to rest until we have established the "principle that our National Parks shall be held forever inviolate" ...²⁶

Holway Jones best described the resolution of dissention as:

The minority fraction in the club never again raised its collective voice in opposition to the policies of the board regarding Hetch Hetchy. Some fifty members resigned in protest, but many members stayed on because they thought they could do us more harm by saying they were members and were in favor of the Hetch Hetchy [dam].²⁷

With the club solidified internally on its position and now committed to the role of preservation, it learned valuable lessons on political strategies and established itself as a nationwide preservation group. Its interaction with other groups such as the Appalachian Mountain Club, the Society for the Preservation of National Parks and the American Civic Association helped acquire members around the country. After twelve years of fighting to save the Hetch Hetchy

²²Ibid., p. 88. ²³Ibid., p. 188. ²⁴Ibid., p. 82. ²⁵Ibid.

Valley, San Francisco was granted their permit. Harold Bradley who would later become one of the Club's presidents summed it up like this:

What we sentimentalists ... desired and fought for was a fuller examination of conditions, a more exact collection of data and estimates, not only on the sources shown by the Army Board to be adequate, but on those which have been suggested in addition. What we inexact dreamers have demanded is a really adequate canvas of facts obtainable at some pains and expense and time so that a final judgement of the case might represent a proper weighing of the economic value of playground areas over against the economic value of their conversion into municipal assets ... we have preferred not to establish a precedent which will inevitably be used against the integrity of our already scant Park areas. You on the other hand - you men of cold analytical temperament, trained to be exact and study exact conditions, unemotional, knowing just what you are doing - you desire to turn over the Park areas on the advice of a few prominent men like Pinchot, and to do it as expeditiously as possible. It is not necessary for you to check upon the facts - these men are persuaded that it is all right; isn't that enough? Why investigate further? Why look over the facts? Why even subject the statements of these men to analysis? That would be sentimental; it would indicate that you easily went up in the air; "it would suggest that you did not know what you were doing. How indeed shall we explain the fact that a fierce agitation all over the country is kept against a measure which has had the support of Gifford Pinchot." Why it's only a crowd of sentimentalists up in the air. Pinchot himself will say so.²⁸

The great split between Gifford Pinchot, who is considered the father of the U.S. Forest Service, and John Muir took place due to this battle. This Historic rift represented the split in the conservation movement between the utilitarians represented by Pinchot, and the preservationists represented by Muir. Pinchot described conservation based on three principles: first, natural resources now existing on this **continent** must be developed for the benefit of the people who are here now; second, waste must be prevented; and third, the natural resources

²⁸Ibid., p. 167.

must be developed and preserved for the benefit of the many and not merely the profit of the few.²⁹

John Muir died on Christmas Eve 1914, but he wrote after the battle:

As to the loss of the Sierra Park Valley it's hard to bear. The destruction of the charming groves and gardens, the finest in all California, goes to my heart. But in spite of Satan and Company, some sort of compensation must surely come out of this dark damn-dam-damnation.³⁰

The club learned several important lessons from the fight for Yosemite's sister valley. It learned important political lessons: greater coordination between organizations for preserving wildness and scenic beauty, and a need for both local-grassroots and national concentration.

Dinosaur National Monument

The Sierra Club had already become prominent through the writings of its first president John Muir and its efforts to save Yosemite's sister valley, but after the battle for Hetch Hetchy the club settled into its role as an outings and conservation group still mainly based in California. The club had chapters throughout California and one struggling chapter on the east coast with a total membership of about seven thousand.³¹ In 1950 things began to change rapidly. The Bureau of Reclamation had submitted plans to build a reservoir for storing water on the Upper

²⁹Gifford Pinchot, The Fight for Conservation (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1910), back cover.

³⁰Holway R. Jones, p. 170.

³¹"A Look Back," The Sierra Club Bulletin, vol. 52, no. 11, December 1967, p. 11.

Colorado River at Echo Park and Split Mountain in Dinosaur National Monument.

Again the National Park System was under threat as it had been with the battle for Hetch Hetchy and again such an effort by the Sierra Club was significant. Membership had expanded from those seven thousand to fifty-seven thousand in sixteen years, and in 1952 the first executive director was hired.³² The club had also expanded to add five more chapters across the country. The large increase in membership, related to involvements in efforts to preserve the integrity of such areas, also lead to internal changes in the club. In 1956 the Sierra Club Council was established to represent the chapters.

From the time of the battle to save Dinosaur National Monument the club has been increasing not only in membership but in the scope of its involvements, moving from pure conservation of wild areas to include areas of urban decay and general environmental problems. Two such examples include the passage of the Wilderness Act of 1964 and the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act in 1970 which shows how the efforts of the club in combination with other groups can be successful.

In the year 1970 a resurgence of interest in the quality of the environment was marked by the celebration of Earth Day on April 22, and again the club's membership began to grow dramatically. What had begun as a handful of people interested in protecting the Yosemite Valley and exploring the mountains of the Pacific Coast had grown into an international

³²Ibid.

environmental organization of 152,000 by 1976.

Structure and Organization of the Sierra Club

John Muir, Warren Olney, J.H. Senger, W.D. Arnes and others, formed the Sierra Club with two main purposes: (1) the guardianship of Yosemite National Park and (2) as an alpine club that would encourage the exploration of the mountains of California. Their agreement for association stated their purpose this way:

We the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together for the purpose of forming a Corporation under the laws of the State of California, to be known as the Sierra Club. Said corporation shall not be for the purpose of a pecuniary profit, but shall be for the purpose of exploring, enjoying, and rendering accessible the mountain regions of the Pacific Coast, and to enlist the support and co-operation of the people and the government in preserving the forests and other features of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and for such other purposes as maybe set forth in the Articles of Incorporation to be formed. The principle place of business of said corporation shall be at the city and county of San Francisco, State of California.³³

The articles of incorporation did not differ in stated purpose but were, however, limited to a duration of fifty years. The club's purposes as stated in The Sierra Club: A Handbook, published in 1960, were:

To explore, enjoy and preserve the Sierra Nevada and other scenic resources of the United States and its forests, waters, wildlife and wilderness; to undertake and to publish scientific, literary, and educational studies concerning them; to educate the people with regard to the national and state forests, parks, monuments, and other natural resources of especial scenic beauty and to enlist interest and cooperation in protecting them.³⁴

³³Holway R. Jones, p. 170.

³⁴David Brower, ed., The Sierra Club: A Handbook (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1960), p. 110.

The February 1976 issue of the Sierra Club Bulletin, the club's official magazine, stated the club's purposes this way:

To protect and conserve the natural resources of this planet; to preserve the quality of our environment; to restore what has already been needlessly spoiled: these are the ends toward which the Sierra Club applies its strength.³⁵

The club's objectives were also stated in the above as:

Founded in 1892, the Sierra Club works in the United States and other countries to restore the quality of the natural environment and to maintain the integrity of ecosystems. Educating the public to understand and support these objectives is a basic part of the club's program ...³⁶

The purposes and directions of the Sierra Club have not really changed since its inception in 1892, only its scope has changed and matured with the growth of knowledge about the environment and its steady degradation. What began with about twenty-seven interested people grew to 15,000 in 1960 and mushroomed to 152,000 in 1976.

The club, in a general sense, has five fundamental areas of activity: information and education, outings, research, legal and lobbying. The information and education area is primarily concerned with publications which includes books, periodicals, films and exhibits for pointing out the club's purpose "to formulate a sane and tenable relationship between mankind and the fragile world that maintains us."³⁷ The famous yearly national and international trips for such activities as mountaineering, ski touring, scuba diving, bicycling, hiking, camping, photography and

³⁵Sierra Club Bulletin, vol. 61, no. 2, February 1976.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷David Brower, p. 20.

working trips such as wilderness studies, trail maintenance, clean-up and education fall into the outings area. The research section's primary function is to gather information for formulating club policy on issues and to back those policies with facts. This also helps the club state its case to the public and back activities such as litigation and lobbying. The area of the club making the most news is the legal area. The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund's purpose is to motivate the judicial system into giving teeth to the environmental legislation already on the books and to provide legal pressure as a tool for "maintaining the integrity of the environment." Similarly pressure comes through lobbying efforts as the club learned from the battle for Hetch Hetchy.

Financially the Sierra Club is organized into the Sierra Club, which is nontax deductible and whose money goes basically for lobbying; the Sierra Club Foundation to which contributions are tax deductible and whose contributions are used for research, education, and publications; and, finally, the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund for which contributions are tax deductible and go for litigation.

In 1905 the bylaws of the Sierra Club were amended to provide for the formation of chapters which would give local groups more autonomy and opportunity to act on local issues. The first chapter to be formed was the southern California (now Los Angeles) chapter in 1911; since then, forty-six chapters have been formed over California and throughout the rest of the United States with the most recent chapters being established abroad.

The club is governed by a fifteen-member board of directors who are annually elected by the membership at large. The board of directors

are aided by the Sierra Club Council whose delegates are elected representatives of the chapters. The purpose of the Sierra Club Council is stated in the bylaws as:

The Council shall have power to recommend to the Board of Directors or appropriate committee on any matter affecting the club and to act upon any matters delegated to it by the Board of Directors.³⁸

The Sierra Club Council is made up of elected delegates from the forty-six club chapters.

The club is organized on the local, regional, and national levels. Beginning on the grassroots level are the local Sierra Club groups which man the battle lines of local conservation issues, hold meetings and programs and form the essential core of the club's volunteer effort. Local groups are the basic units of the club's chapters as established in the bylaws, which state:

Members of the club who reside in the same region may, with the approval of the Board of Directors form a chapter of the Sierra Club. No chapter shall be approved unless signed by at least fifty members of the club in good standing, all residents of the designated region ... the bylaws of the chapter shall not contain anything which is invariance with the expressed purpose of the club or its bylaws ... Any member of the club who resides within the territorial limits of a chapter shall be considered to be a member of that chapter and shall be entitled to all its privileges ... No dues shall be assessed or collected by a chapter. Each chapter shall be entitled to recieve from the treasurer of the club an amount determined by the Board of Directors, not greater than twenty-five percent of the amount collected as regular dues from members of the respective chapter ... Each chapter is authorized to undertake all such local activities within its own territory as are not inconsistent with the purposes of the club and are **not prohibited** by the Board of Directors by a **general rule applicable** alike to all chapters. Chapters shall not act on questions of public policy without the consent of the

³⁸Ibid., p. 112.

Board of Directors, except to recommend action by the Board of Directors, [through the Sierra Club Council] or to secure from it permission to take such action as the chapter may desire.³⁹

Situated between the board of directors and the chapters are the Regional Conservation Committees (RCC) whose primary function is similar to that of the Sierra Club Council except on the level of regional chapter organization. There are two such committees in California: the Northern California RCC which includes the northern two-thirds of the state and the Southern California RCC which covers the southern one-third of the state. The remaining eight RCCs are constituted by areas of three or more states and provinces. For example, the Northwest RCC is made up of the following chapters: Western Canada, Pacific Northwest and the Northern Rockies, which includes Montana, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon and the western two-thirds of the Northwest Territories. Of this, the Northern Rockies Chapter is composed of Montana, Idaho and seven eastern counties in Washington (Ferry, Stevens, Pond Oreille, Spokane, Whitman, Garfield and Asotin).

Following in the footsteps of the Sierra Club's founding fathers, the concerns have broadened from wilderness alone to man's total environment with his commitment the same: to assure a natural, balanced, quality environment for all living things. To attain this purpose the club must depend on a host of experts from many fields and geographical areas. All of these people, except for a handful of paid staff personnel, **are volunteer club members**; and it is these volunteers that are the club's Most important asset. The Sierra Club is then a group which "individuals

³⁹Ibid., p. 113.

in and from which they may deliberately leave, whose purpose is to express themselves or to accomplish something specific either for themselves or for some other segment of society."⁴⁰ This means that the Sierra Club, because of the nature of its members, may be viewed sociologically as a voluntary association; further, this definition of the club's membership combined with the club's purposes and the notion of society⁴¹ may simultaneously define the Sierra Club as a member of a social movement.⁴²

⁴⁰Arnold M. Rose, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 568.

⁴¹Society here refers to a group of people who interact more with one another than with others, share significant sections of a common culture, and is a group fitting their behavior together. Culture constitutes the distinct way of life of a particular society. For a further elaboration on these two concepts see Clyde Kluckholm, Mirror for Man: A Survey of Human Behavior and Social Attitudes (Greenwich: Swcett, nd), chapter 2.

⁴²A social movement is defined as an informal organization (including formally organized subunits) of a larger number of persons gain a social goal, the combined efforts of many to modify or replace dominant aspect of the way a society fits its behavior together. From Arnold M. Rose, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1956), p. 564.

CHAPTER III

MEMBERSHIP

The most important single resource recognized by the club leaders is a large number of volunteers. Since membership is voluntary, that is, members choose to belong, membership¹ is seen as something that is accomplished and therefore can be taken up as a topic for study in its own right. This is done not by viewing it as something ascribed but rather as something that is achieved through the practical accomplishment² of members' common everyday activities. One way to take up the study of

¹As so many other social scientist, I do not want to assume the concept of membership because if membership is to be investigated as an accomplishment, and described, it is necessary to define it in terms of its commonly agreed upon (invariant) meaning as applicable to all groups and its meaning (indexicality) as it applies specifically to the Sierra Club and to its members. The Oxford English Dictionary defines membership as: the condition of a member of society or organized body. Condition refers to a "state of being" and the arrangement of a member of a society or organization to that group. Member is defined as: each of the individuals belonging to or forming a society or assembly. To be a member is a synonym for belonging.

Belonging is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as: relations with another person or thing, and something connected with, forming a part or accessory of another. In the case of this study, belonging is defined by the relationship or the way in which the member is connected to the club based on those persons' natural views and meanings about the common everyday world.

²The Oxford English Dictionary describes accomplishment as a special skill or ability acquired by training, experience or practice that is used to fulfill, achieve, perform or carry out. Accomplishment **extends** this description further to include the act of accomplishing or state of fulfillment, completion, consummation and the act of completing. In the case of this study it refers to the attainment of membership or the occasioning of belonging as an attainment and performance based on constitutive and natural rules members share.

membership as an accomplishment is to look at how belonging is occasioned.³

Belonging is a feature of any membership in that it includes the members sharing and viewing of ordinary situations and events, including their common way of typifying and looking at the world. What is of interest here is the members' knowledge and ways of interpreting the world around them as a function of their belonging to the Sierra Club.

Garfinkel has defined accomplishment as consisting of

... members doing, recognizing, and using ethnographies. In unknown ways that accomplishment is for members a common place phenomenon. And in the unknown ways that the accomplishment is common place it is for our interest, an awesome phenomena, for in its unknown ways it consists (1) for its members' use of concerted everyday activities as methods to recognize and demonstrate the isolatable, typical, uniform ... in short, the rational properties and indexical action. (2) The phenomena consists too, of the analyzability of action-in-context given that not only does no concept of context-in-general exist, but every use of "context" without exception is itself essentially indexical.

From: Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 10. In the sense of this study it pertains to those rules for the achievement of belonging based on the club's bylaws and in the members' stock of knowledge about and ways of interpreting the world.

³Erving Goffman has defined the social occasion as:

A wider social affair, undertaking, or event bounded in regard to place and time and place and typically facilitated by fixed equipment; a social occasion provides the structuring social context in which many situations and their gatherings are likely to form, dissolve, and reform, while a pattern of conduct tends to be recognized as the appropriate and (often) official or intended one.

From Erving Goffman, Behavior in Public Places (Glencoe, Free Press, 1963), p. 18.

Occasion as defined in the Oxford English Dictionary means to bring something about that arises from a particular set of circumstances. In the case of this study it refers to the bringing about of membership

For the purpose of describing membership it is necessary to begin with the way belonging is achieved constitutively and practically. In this way the investigation can begin with the rules all members share in common through the club's charter and then move away from those rules concerned with the form of membership to those concerned with the experience of belonging.

Membership as a Constituted Accomplishment

In general, belonging can be described as a constituted accomplishment of members in that they follow certain prescribed rules and meet certain requirements as they themselves have agreed upon through their own organization.⁴ This specifically means, for the Sierra Club, that if the individual wanting to belong follows the rules and meets the requirements as established in the bylaws, that that person will be accorded full membership. The bylaws set forth the customs and ritual, or the form through which belonging is accomplished, and when achieved defines the member. Accomplishing belonging in this constitutional sense accounts for membership with respect to the club's formal organization. The Sierra Club bylaws have set forth this form and these requirements for becoming a member:

in the Sierra Club that arises from a particular set of circumstances defined by members' views about the world. As this relates to Goffman's definition of occasion, belonging is to necessarily apply the constitutive and natural rules members share to accomplish becoming and being a member.

⁴Constitute refers to the establishing or giving formal, definite or organized to give legal or official shape to something. That which is properly established. With reference to this study it refers to that which was officially established through the Sierra Club's charter and bylaws.

The membership of the club shall consist of persons twelve years of age and older and who are interested in advancing the purposes of the club ... Each application shall be accompanied by the admission fee and dues prescribed in Article XVII ... Applications shall be in writing and shall be signed by the applicant, and shall contain a statement that the applicant is aware of the purposes of the club and desires to support them ... each applicant shall be sponsored by one member of the club in good-standing and more than twenty-one years of age who has been a member for at least one year.⁵

The bylaws of the Northern Rockies Chapter of the Sierra Club describe the method for accomplishing membership in the chapter in this manner:

The membership of the chapter shall be comprised of members of the Sierra Club who reside in (territory) and other members of the club admitted under the provision of Article XII of the club's bylaws ... no one shall be a member of this chapter who is not a member of the Sierra Club in good-standing.

The bylaws of the Bitterroot-Mission Group contain this rule about membership:

The membership of the Bitterroot-Mission Groups shall consist of all members of the Sierra Club residing in (territory in Western Montana) ... and ... The territorial boundaries of the group shall consist of the territory stated above.

The above has set out the formal requirements for membership: agreeing with the purpose, paying dues, being sponsored by a member in good-standing and being accepted by the membership committee. This has been the basic procedure from the early days of the club up through the early 1970's. After this time the above system became archaic in several ways because many of the procedures were dropped, including being sponsored by a member in good standing, and in many

⁵David Brower, p. 115.

cases writing a statement that you were aware of the purposes of the club and supported them.

The formal categories of membership, as defined in the bylaws in Article XVII, deal specifically with the financial contribution a member makes to the club. These categories consist of: life, \$400.00; contributing, \$50.00; supporting, \$25.00; regular, \$15.00; regular with spouse, \$23.00; junior (through age 14), \$5.00; student, \$8.00; student with spouse, \$13.00; senior (60 years and over), \$8.00; and senior with spouse, \$13.00. All categories, excluding life, are on an annual basis; all categories except life, junior, and student require an admission fee of five dollars.⁶

The Sierra Club is also organized in such a way that the member belongs to the Sierra Club as a national group and then is arranged territorially by chapter and group and regionally by conservation issues. It is through this basic structure that members take action in order to pursue the club's purposes with the support and advice of the "mother office." The club's headquarters sets the goals and objectives and acts in an advisory capacity to local groups working on local issues. The chapters and local groups carry out their purposes within the policy of the national organization.

Categorizing members by the amount of dues they contribute is also viewed as the officially sanctioned method by which becoming a member, and maintaining that membership, is accomplished. This procedure

⁶There is currently before the membership an amendment to Article XVII that would eliminate the admission fee and raise the annual fee for only the regular category from \$15.00 to \$20.00 annually.

is controlled constitutionally and does not necessarily help in describing belonging as something to be accomplished, but rather describes its structure. The bylaws provide the rules whereby membership may be accomplished, but it gives little insight into the natural rules members share and use to create a strong experiential sense of belonging. Thus it is necessary to go beyond the formality of membership and explore it as a practical accomplishment.⁷

Membership as a Practical Accomplishment

In contrast to membership as a constitutive accomplishment attained through the procedures set forth in the bylaws, membership can also be seen as a natural accomplishment where members are viewed as constructing their own rules and experiences which often do not correspond with any sense of membership as outlined in the charter. Membership at this point can be taken up as an everyday accomplishment, the focus being on the practical reasoning members use to accomplish belonging, which is to say, how membership is experienced, carried out and achieved in its own right by those persons who belong to the Sierra Club.

One who has accomplished membership in the constitutive manner may be a member in good standing, one who has attained the position by following the rules set forth in the bylaws or may be a member in every sense of belonging but who has not satisfied all of the constitutive rules, such as one who participates in club activities and

⁷Practical is used here to refer to the daily common-sense way that members are actually engaged in belonging that is quite distinctive from the charter.

agrees with the purposes yet has not paid any dues.

It is here that the ethno-ontological nature of belonging, which is the major concern of this study, is situated. This concern can be further defined as an inquiry into the individuals' views of the reality of man and nature relationships and how such views are related to a commitment to act or not. Interest can now focus on what are the fundamental, taken-for-granted assumptions, common sense knowledge and everyday activities that members hold in common and how these are used to experience, carry out, and achieve belonging as an everyday activity.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATURAL VIEW

Belonging, as a practical accomplishment, is achieved through a set of taken-for-granted¹ rules based on the shared natural views² of members. As discussed previously, membership is attained by adhering to those rules set forth in the club's bylaws, and those, that while not stated, are implied and taken for granted by members. The latter are the rules based on the natural views members share in common, upon which is based an interpretive scheme of the common, mundane, everyday world. The underlying supposition in which the natural view is grounded is the concern for man's position in the relationship of man to nature.³

The natural view of members concerning nature, functions as the basis for the typification of their common-sense world in that it provides the scheme through which members come to know their world.

¹Taken-for-granted simply refers to the unquestioned acceptance of the assumptions that underly, in this example, the rules of membership.

²The natural view refers to those ontologies which develop out of the everyday life and events in which members participate, that is the interpretation of the world as based on their stock of previous experiences and those handed down to them by parents or teachers to form their knowledge at hand which functions as a scheme of reference. The natural view defined in this context is the world seen, acted upon, interpreted and understood without the help of the professional social scientists. For a more concise development of this concept as related to the natural attitude see Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers II (ed.) Arvid Brodersen, (The Hague, Martinus Nijoff, 1964), p. 7, and Edmund Husserl, Ideas, trans. W.R. Boyce Gibson (New York: Collier Books, 1967).

³Nature is used in the context of the biophysical (natural) laws that are used to describe the processes of ecological systems.

Sharing this view is one of the requirements for belonging that is ordinarily assumed by all members. The commonly shared knowledge held about the natural world functions as the point from which members find their bearings without difficulty in common surroundings and are guided by a set of recipes that help them come to terms with and interpret situations.⁴

The ways in which members conceptualize nature and express that conceptualization via their commonly shared views, functions as the keystone for the interpretive scheme members use to understand and take action in their everyday life. The shared manner of conceptualizing the world, including their method of interpretation, frames the stock of knowledge⁵ that distinguishes members from nonmembers. To begin describing what this stock of knowledge consists of it is necessary to begin to develop a sense of the way in which members talk about what the Sierra Club means. Holly described the Sierra Club in this manner:

⁴Alfred Schutz II, p. 251.

⁵Schutz refers to stock of knowledge:

I bring into each concrete situation a stock of preconstituted knowledge which includes a net work of typifications of human individuals in general, of typical motivations, goals, and action patterns. It also includes knowledge of expressive and interpretive schemes, of objective sign systems, and in particular, of the vernacular language. In addition to such general knowledge I have more specific information about particular kinds and groups of men, of their motivations and actions.

From Alfred Schutz, Collected Works II, pp. 29-30.

Anybody Can Join Who Wants to Improve Environmental Quality:⁶

It's a non-profit group of citizens who are interested in the preservation of wildlands and the improvement of environmental quality of the U.S. and the world. It's a grassroots organization in which the rank and file members have the opportunity to set policy, ah, most of the membership is in California, most of the leadership is from California, and in the past has been more active in California issues than present. For a long time, focus, the club's interests were on the preservation of wildlands, but that has broadened since 1970 to include a number of other issues, primarily air and water pollution and land-use, it's not an elitist organization in that anybody can join that subscribes to its principles: to explore, enjoy, and protect the Sierra Nevada and the other mountain ranges of the world more or less. In general terms, I would say, to protect wilderness by whatever means possible, to assure quality land management, whether private or public and the so called amenity values of scenery, ecological diversity and non-game wildlife. The major purpose of the club as I see it is to bring our economy into a steady-state pattern approaching a sustained yield of all renewable and non-renewable resources, and speaking very generally, I think to change the kinds of awareness that all Americans have of the land. You might say the Sierra Club exists to educate people and change their beliefs about their beliefs about the land: to foster a land-ethic in the sense of Leopold.

Richard described the Sierra Club this way:

The Preservation of Naturalness:

I feel the Sierra Club is an organization that is involved in the preservation of the naturalness of the Earth, and it's about, like getting together a bunch of members and paying dues, having periodic meetings where people can get together and formulate their plans into action and then proceed with the action to whatever ways they want to go, whether it be wilderness preservation, saving the whales, um, cleaning up oil spills, or what ever it happens to be.

⁶The technique of pulling the topic out of the member's narration is applied here for the purpose of stressing and listing those topics indexed to the features of membership which have been identified by members and organized into chapters and sections. There is ample precedence to use such techniques from the works of Jon Driessen, Edward Rose, and Frank Leuthold. See the bibliography for listing of some of their work.

Caroline expressed her conceptualization this way:

Action Oriented Conservation Groups:

To me the Sierra Club is the biggest and perhaps the most effective action-oriented conservation organization in the country ... to get people interested enough and concerned enough and liking the outdoors enough to want to fight for it.

The overwhelming concern shared by members and illustrated above is their expressed concern for maintaining a quality of life and the integrity of the natural environment. This expressed concern necessarily forces them to consider either consciously or inadvertently what the relationship between man and nature should be. Relating the quality of life with the natural environment, assumes some type of relationship between man and nature, or as expressed through John: "... but it's there and we're there too, and where do we fit in." Those persons who are concerned about "fitting in" are sharing in the natural expressed view of membership which underlies belonging as a practical accomplishment. Those individuals who do not share this concern would express views that could allow for the exploitation of the natural environment without being concerned about problems of degradation or the quality of life. Instead, such views would show greater priorities for the production of material goods and their related activities such as resource extraction. Such a view was expressed by a nonmember when speaking about a proposed copper mine on Glacier Peak in the Corth Cascades of Washington:

You're Going to get Copper:

Copper affects the international balance of payments, we are a net importer of copper ... the mine has to come. Population pressure is irresistible ... seven million people are going to be on Earth by the year 2,000 ... the mine would

remove the area from wilderness because there will be people, equipment, machinery, blasting, waste dumps, but you're going to get copper, which contributes to the national wealth and, I think, well-being. And that can't possibly effect Glacier Peak.⁷

In contrast, John's statement about the club summarizes the view members share: "To me the Sierra Club is a national group organized to save the Earth." The distinction between members and nonmembers is the nonmembers do not share in the social knowledge that allows members to view the Earth in the manner expressed above by John. Or as Holly described it: "anybody can join who subscribes to its principles." In the case of the non-member, a higher value was expressed for the integrity of the mountain as when he stated: "the mountains are good for berries."

The idea of a shared natural view held by club members was well expressed by a member when she said: "the direction from which you get information about these issues, environmental issues, is from their point of view." This points to the possibility of a shared natural view of nature functioning as a focal point from which members view events as "realities and states possessing practical theoretical meanings."⁸ Members' conceptualization of the relationship between man and nature, because it is shared, acts as the basis for their stock

⁷John McPhee, Encounters with the Arcdruid (New York: Farrar, Straus and Circouz, 1971), p. 39.

⁸This points to the importance of the views members hold (ethno = peoples, ontologies = views, or ethno-ontologies) as the basis for the accomplishing of belonging. For a fuller development of the concept of ethno-ontologies see Edward Rose, "Uniformities in Culture: Ideas with Histories," in Decision, Values, and Groups, (ed.) Anitol Rapoport, (New York: Pergamon Press, 1967), pp. 154-176.

of knowledge about the world and their methods for interpreting that world. An interpretive scheme based on their social knowledge enables members to bring in those aspects of that knowledge that are relevant to the situations at hand. The individual need not hold the knowledge of all the members combined, however, to accomplish belonging, there is a certain kernel stock of knowledge that anyone who is a member shares. Members' shared view of nature, then, functions as the common denominator for both their social knowledge and interpretive procedures. This shared social knowledge and an interpretive scheme of the everyday world is the keystone on which membership as a practical accomplishment is achieved.

The idea of a shared view of nature functioning as a common denominator was clearly illustrated by another member when he made this statement:

All Environmental Issues:

The club's interest extends to virtually all environmental issues now, though land-use issues have always figured prominently in the club's activities, and continue to be in the front. The management and disposition of federal lands concern us still very much ...

He continued further, to point out:

Idea of Ecology:

It's very difficult to pick out any one thing and say that's the biggest issue. The very idea of ecology is that everything is tied to everything else. You don't just have separate issues.

And as Gifford pointed out: "I think that the group's main effort is directly on nature as a whole, the quality of water, wilderness, they're all interrelated." The point made is that while all issues are individually important, they are part of a much larger whole, an

interrelated whole being nature. How members conceptualize nature and man's relation to nature, necessarily functions as the natural view members share that in part constitutes their stock of knowledge.

Caroline approached this question from the point of view that:

We are not Just Another Creature, We are Creatures Apart:

I feel myself as a part of it, but I don't feel myself quite that way, you know, with the deer and the bears, and people -- not that way. Man's not on the same level, we are creatures apart. I feel, obviously, the world will not remain untouched with man in it. There are things in it we need to exist, but I think we have an obligation to be as gentle as possible, using what we have to use, and just being as careful as possible with the whole world.

Richard, a more inactive member, held a slightly different view:

To Preserve Them for Beauty:

Well, okay, okay, looking back on my awareness of nature, a couple of things that really brought it out in my mind were some of my original backpacking trips in the Sierra Nevadas, just south of Yosemite, and at that time I was not aware of the process of nature. I could see the land, the beautiful glacial lakes, and the high mountain lakes, and say, wow, this is really beautiful. But I didn't know how the glaciers carved out the cirques, but because I was so awe struck by the beauty ... I don't think a person who is not educated is going to save the land because of natural processes it's going to be for the beauty.

Another point I wanted to bring out is, that the reason he might want to preserve it is because, say, this area is a beautiful trout fishing area and one of the first things I did was to take my fishing pole and catch fresh trout, and if you've ever tasted fresh trout you know what I'm talking about.

He also stated about being a member:

You have to have an appreciation of nature, you have an appreciation in the mind of natural process ...

Kathleen talked about "man as a piece of the ecosystem, biologically dependent on the whole system, but able to push it around and assume a dominant position over it." But when she was asked how

she related to it she commented in terms of basic aesthetics: "I enjoy being in an aesthetic, enjoyable environment."

Common to the examples above of how members approach the relation between man and nature are two essential points. Members have expressed an approach that is based in the scenic and ecological components, but they have also illustrated it from its importance to man either for survival or enjoyment. Another member, Virginia, emphasized this orientation when she was describing how she initially became involved with the Sierra Club:

Belongs to People:

I would say that it was a combination of its being a question of aesthetics and ethics. It wasn't just that it had been ugly where there had been beauty, but it was also the idea of one corporation's ruining something that was beautiful for so many people. The air presumably belongs to everyone, and the natural surroundings, you can't close your eyes to them, and we normally have the choice, say, if we're choosing a place to live, to move into an area that doesn't offend our aesthetic sensibilities. ... air pollution can't be escaped, because it just goes everywhere, it seems that it's a violation of individual's rights.

The concept of "man as a piece of the ecosystem" was a common thread in the way members expressed their views about nature; however, the idea of how a quality environment is related to man did not always assume the benefits should be for man. John illustrated this approach to the concept of nature in this manner:

Where Do We Fit In:

... but it's that personal experience, that getting a sense of how mysterious, inexplicable the ecological process is, that everything's alive and then the sense that it's not there to hear us or serve us necessarily, but it's there and we're there, too, and where do we fit in? ... but the unbelievable edifice of meaning we've built up seems to make us so different, I don't think we are

qualitatively, although quantitatively we have a bigger brain power than other species. I have a respect for all other living things.

When Holly was asked how he conceptualized the man-nature view, he expressed a view that closely followed John's in a couple of ways. He stated:

Man Does not Have Dominion to the Earth:

Generally pretty lousy, let's see, nature sustains man and man destroys nature. Sooner or later it's going to catch up with him. Mankind more than any other species has damaged the Earth's life support system. He is the first species that I know of that has posed a threat not only to himself but to the survival of many other organisms and has caused the extinction of probably thousands of species over the time he has been around. I see that as a moral issue, I can not feel that man has a right to the dominion of the Earth, I feel that very strongly, just as strong as I feel no man has dominion over another. And I see the major battles facing the environmental movement in the future are getting other people to accept that, and once you accept that I think the other actions will flow naturally. A respect toward the Earth, a respect for two reasons, one, because it's a support system and it's in our own self interest and, two, because I think we have that moral obligation.

When John was expressing how he saw man's place in nature, he referred to the poem by Gary Snyder, "Mother Earth: Her Whales."⁹ He recited this refrain:

The whales turn and glisten, plurge
and sound and rise again,
Hanging over subtly darkening deeps
Flowing like breathing planets
in the sparkling whorls of
living light.

and John continued:

⁹"Mother Earth: Her Whales" was read from: Gary Snyder, Turtle Island (New York: New Directions Books, 1974), pp. 47-49.

Their Going Signifies Our Going:

He says they are floating like breathing planets, and I think the whale therefore becomes a symbol for all of nature and Earth itself and, ah, I think implied here is the suggestion that their going signifies our going, as used symbolically by Melville in Moby Dick.

Aurelia focused on this variation of the natural view when she was discussing how she became involved in environmental issues. She had been talking about her sensitivity to unfairness:

Organic Wholeness You Know, not Man Apart:

... to transfer that from unfairness on people to unfairness on the environment. The rape, the exploitation of natural resources is very real to me. You know I don't separate them though, I see people as part of the environment, the typical Aldo Leopold community. You are - or what FOE¹⁰ calls organic wholeness - you know, not man apart. And that's why I don't necessarily see wilderness as a preserve where man stays out, because man is a part. It's just that most people don't realize how much they are a part of it, they're not sensitive to being a part of it, they have to subdue and multiply it. So my sensitivity I think was always there ...

She went on to add her interpretation of that organic wholeness:

I do not see Myself as any more or less Important:

He would be the not man and nature, he would be "nature," man as a part of nature, or just nature. You know the Forest Service just actually cringed once because I talked about seeing myself as no more important than the whole cycle of things, as the trout in Rock Creek, in fact I went so far as to say I don't see myself as any different or as any less or more important than the Mayfly that the trout feeds on. I think, Stan, that people who are still with the man and nature have not completed the genesis. Okay, I think the seed is germinated, the plant has sprouted, ah, but I don't think it's bloomed entirely, yet, because there is no way they can get a feeling of what it's all about, by it, I mean life - life, the thing which sustains us all, and of which we are all a part. You can not really get to that point of understanding and see yourself as separate.

¹⁰FOE is the abbreviation for Friends of the Earth, a sister organization to the Sierra Club in the environmental movement.

The views expressed by John, Aurelia, and Holly are very similar to that of John Muir's when he was speaking of a rattlesnake after an instance of finding himself with one between his feet:

What Good are the Rattlesnakes, Good for Themselves:

Modern man asks, what good are rattlesnakes, with the implication that for their existence to be justified they had to benefit human beings. Snakes are good for themselves and we need not begrudge them their share of life.¹¹

Muir neither killed not kicked the snake, but merely moved away from it and left it alone. But what he said about justifying the existence of a part of nature to how it will benefit man, as opposed to it's having equal standing with the rest of life, illustrates the two fundamental approaches to nature that members have been expressing above. The one view has man as its fundamental orientation, the other orients itself to nature. To use a metaphor, it is very much similar to the way in which people viewed the position of the Earth in the solar system prior to and after the Copernican Revolution. The initial view had the Earth as the center of the solar system, and of the universe, for that matter. The latter view placed the sun as the center of the solar system, and the planet Earth was placed in its proper position relative to the rest of the system. Members' views of nature take on a similarity in the way one assumes the perspective from which nature is viewed. One view suggests that the quality of nature must be maintained because it constitutes the quality of man's life. The basic assumption underlying the other view holds nature as the focal

¹¹John Winkley, p. 74.

point, and that other things and creatures have the same standing as man. Other creatures have the same rights to exist, however; in order for man to exist he needs to utilize certain parts of nature, but should only do so in a manner that is compatible with the processes (ecology) of nature's system. The concept homo-centric¹² adequately describes this approach to the natural view where man is the central sentiment. In contrast, where the totality of life is the central sentiment, the concept bio-centric¹³ more adequately describes the point of view in which nature underlies the natural view.

Homo-centric Assumptions About Nature

This orientation to the natural view falls within members' shared stock of knowledge about nature but addresses itself to the differences of the importance and position of man within this scheme. Man holds the central position and is the overwhelming concern in the homo-centric assumption. The quality of life for man is an underlying theme and nature is related to this in ways that will develop and maintain that quality for man. When Caroline expressed her view of nature she emphasized that she felt man was "not just another creature," that "man's not on the same level, we are creatures apart," she was pointing

¹²The word homo-centric describes this concept in a most literal sense. Homo, defined in the Oxford English Dictionary, refers to the genus of primate animals comprising of all surviving and various extinct men. With special reference to this study it describes man as a separate and distinct species. Centric simply refers to center, or in this usage centered. Homo-centric then refers to that view as man-centered.

¹³Bio-centric, defined similarly, means life-centered, where bio means life and centric, centered.

to the homo-centric bias. Richard, on the other hand, gave an example when he spoke of the awestrking beauty and recreation potential of an area. Aileen summed the homo-centric bias when she talked about the way she felt about the relationship between man and nature:

That We can best use the Earth:

I don't think that man is a part of nature in the sense that he is meant to live completely natural off the land the way the very primitive people do. There is a reason for our intelligence, and the development of technology, and I think we should be using technology in a way that can, well, in a way that we can best use the earth ...

The homo-centric view of nature was very clearly expressed in one of the Sierra Club's publications when discussing the evolution of conservation in the United States:

A Universe Designed for Man:

The conflict as old as the snake in Eden split us. From Europe, where since before Columbus, nations in dire need had been planting forests, Gifford Pinchot brought the concept of perpetual yield: now resources considered wild - timber, wildlife, pasture, fish - could be farmed, increased, improved, for us forever. From this concept he fought to open all closed forests and inviolate parks.

Thousands believed with him. There was no nobler concept than material use: why in a universe designed for man, should a hawk soar and circle? Any wild meadow blossom ungrazed, or any great tree fall from age, unfelled for timber, back to the mosses and ferns?¹⁴

The homo-centric orientation to the natural view helps the member find meaning in the events and experiences he has in making it through a typical day. He does this by assigning meaning to events based on his interpretation and understanding of the world. A member with a homo-centric orientation would become involved in a campaign to save

¹⁴From Ansel Adams and Nancy Newhall, This is the American Earth (New York: Sierra Club-Ballintive Books, 1960), p. 51.

an area for reasons that would benefit man, that is, the first concern is with the best use of resources for the benefit of the people. Such as when a member made this statement:

We are Totally Dependent:

I think we are totally dependent on nature for air, food and trace elements. When the micro-organisms, they're really part of the chain, and we're dependent on them, when one gets wiped out then the whole chain will be broken. That's why we're opposed to the use of DDT because it gets right in and effects the chain, also the effects are long lasting so that it goes up the chain and DDT is carried along ... eventually back to us.

This example shows how the view translates the problem of DDT into a real and direct concern for him specifically since the man-nature relationship is stressed by the homo-centric orientation. Another example of this orientation was shown by Aileen when she was talking about her view of nature:

An Aesthetic Point of View:

Some destruction is necessary if human beings want to live, if great numbers, populations, have to exist, then developments have to take place, um, I'm interested in natural landscapes, mainly from an aesthetic point of view ...

It came out in further discussion that by aesthetic she was referring to how specific situations affected her sense of "beauty," and her sense of how the "scene should be." This very much corresponded with Virginia's concept of aesthetics in her previously mentioned description of how she became involved with the Sierra Club:

Aesthetic Sensibilities and Individual Rights:

... to move into an area that doesn't offend our aesthetic sensibilities ... air pollution can't be escaped because it goes everywhere, it seems that it's a violation of individual rights.

The member's stock of knowledge and assumption about the relationship functions as a beginning point from which situations and events can be defined. As in the example above, if the member was offended by the sight and odor of the air pollution, that would be a starting point for interpreting what should be done about the problem. The interpretive process begins, first, by ascertaining that there is in fact a problem and then by identifying that problem in relation to the member's natural view. This then allows the member to interpret and define the situation for their possible action. What members are really sharing are skills for making decisions about events to determine whether they are affected by the homo-centric assumption and how to reasonably assess what is going on.

It appears as though the homo-centric assumption about nature is dependent on a specific part of members' stock of knowledge. This assumption depends more on the individual's sensitivity to beauty, to the scenic aspects of natural environments, or as Richard expressed this condition:

The Non-educated Will not Save the Land Because of Natural Process:

... I didn't know how the glaciers had carved the cirques, but because I was so awe-struck by the beauty. I don't think the person who isn't educated is going to save the land for natural processes, it's going to be for its beauty.

This also points out that the aesthetic orientation, saving something for its scenic beauty, may function as a beginning point for acquiring knowledge about the natural processes, or ecological aspect of an area. Caroline expressed it this way:

Feeling:

... to protect the land for future generations. I think anyone

who is a member would accept that, and should accept that. I don't think you have to be an activist to belong, you should have a subtle feeling for the outdoors, especially since the Sierra Club, in the beginning, started out as an outings group with a conservation orientation ... the outings and programs are also very important from the club's point of view ... They are also very important in getting people to become more concerned and more oriented towards conservation action ...

Caroline stressed the programs and outings are mutually increasing member's stock of knowledge about their environment. Entry to that knowledge for the member comes through his basic assumption about nature, which in this case is from the homo-centric bias.

The Bio-centric Assumption

This bias in the natural view, in contrast to the homo-centric assumption, holds man, not apart from nature, but as a part and parcel of it, occupying a place no "different nor any more or any less important" than other living things. Where Aileen suggested "man was not a part of nature in a particular sense," Aurelia suggests:

Not Man Apart:

I see people as a part of the environment, the typical Aldo Leopold community. You are - or what FOE calls organic wholeness - you know, not man apart ... you know the Forest Service just actually cringed once because I talked about seeing myself as no more important than the whole cycle of things, as the trout in Rock Creek ...

John elaborated this point by saying:

Our Needs, our Activities are Similar With all Other Things Alive, We are Brothers:

... biological science has helped us a lot, it's way back, beginning in the years of evolution, where we came from, ah, again I'm an extremist, I think that, ah, most of our activities are no different in the kind of activities of other species, we get shelter, we get food, we get clothing, most mammals have fur, we also get fuel. But you know we don't have fur, so we need those extras, okay, and so we

exploit, we use things, we kill things, what other animal doesn't do that. Other animals communicate, warning cries, cries of love, mating cries, cries of alarm, of calm and so we do too ... I got hung up on Buddhism three and a half years ago, and ah, if you look at it, it's a biocentric religion ... what Buddhism has is a sense that our neighbors are all living things ... and their Jesus figure, called the Holsanto, goes around saving everything ...

There is a moral twist suggested in this assumption about man's place in nature. As William pointed out:

The Standing of Other Living Things:

... while man is a part of the whole system, he must, therefore, function within the laws of nature ... when he breaks those laws and destruction follows as with the cases on DDT, chemicals, and forest clear cuts, he violates the rights of other creatures and damages the ecosystem's ability to regain its stability.

The question boils down to ... should rattlesnakes have standing. Those sharing this assumption would say, yes, in and of itself. The homo-centric bias would say, yes, if the snake was in some way beneficial either directly or indirectly to man's well being. If it was in conflict with that well being, it would become something that had to be eliminated. Holly described the essence of this assumption:

Dominion:

... I cannot feel that man has the right to dominion over the Earth, I feel that very strongly as I feel that no man has dominion over another. And I see the major battles of the environmental movement in the future are getting other people to accept that.

David Brower, when he was Executive Director of the Sierra Club outlined this assumption by saying:

The Rights of Creatures Other Than Man:

Right, but I go further. I believe in wildness for itself alone. I believe in the rights of creatures other than man. And I suppose I accept Nancy Newhall's definition:

Conservation is humanity caring for the future. It is the antithesis of eat drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die.¹⁵

As previously used in the metaphor about the Copernican Revolution, the importance of man has shifted, in this assumption, from himself to the totality of the system. Man is no longer life, life is life, and man is a part of life, a part of the parcel of nature. Again, John's statement is applicable: "that everything is alive, and then the sense that it is not here to hear us or serve us necessarily, but that it's there and we're there" as a part of it.

Both the bio-centric and homo-centric assumptions fall within the members' shared stock of knowledge. This stock of knowledge concerns what members know about nature, the natural view deals with the relationship members see between man and nature. Their assumptions, their bias toward either man or nature, distinguish them within the natural view.

Stock of Knowledge

The skills members have for practically accomplishing belonging are based on; one, having a sense of what nature is; two, having a conceptualization of how man is related to nature; and three, having a way of interpreting and typifying events in relation to their sense of nature. A shared knowledge of the natural environment and scheme for interpreting events related to it constitute the members' stock of knowledge.

Basic to their understanding nature is a shared understanding of the natural processes and a sensitivity to the land. Richard brought up this point in an earlier statement: "I don't think a person

¹⁵John McPhee, pp. 74-75.

who is not educated is going to save the land because of natural processes, it's going to be for beauty." A sensitivity to the land, for Richard, came about from the effect of the "awe-striking" beauty on him. For John, a sensitivity to naturalness came about in a similar fashion:

Getting to Know Nature First Hand:

I think where I came from was the sportsman way of thinking, mainly because I was a fly fisherman for so long, and that was the way I used to get outdoors - was to go fly fishing. At the same time I got interested in the several guidebooks; Peterson's Guide to Western Birds, and the Craigheads' Wildflowers, and I began to take more pleasure in simply walking around and getting to know the flora and fauna rather than go fishing. So I don't fish much any more, I'd much rather hike.

For John, an understanding and sensitivity to nature came about more through direct experience than anything else. William learned a sensitivity from his father and through reading about nature:

Getting to know It from Books and Others:

My interest originally came from my father who required me to read a chapter once a week and report on it in the Nature Life Book series. My father had a great reverence for life, you could see it in the way he believed and treated natural things, and from the time he spent in the woods.

Another approach to gaining a sensitivity and understanding of nature came about through reading. Aurelia was first taken by one of Paul Ehrlick's books:

Moved From a Totally Unaware Person to Totally Aware:

What happened to me in 1972 was what happened to a lot of people, but over a much greater period of time. In 1972 I went from a conservative Republican who voted for Nixon in 1968, and worked for Ronald Regan, and was this way because I was in a kind of vacuum when I got married and I was influenced by my husband's philosophies. From

that, I eventually became a very liberal, independent person who voted for McGovern in 1972, and became very disgusted with Nixon, and totally educated on natural resource issues, ... I moved from a totally unaware person to a very aware person ... it was not issue specific to begin with, I became involved in a planet sense of the environment and what we are doing to the place where we live, whether it's Montana, the United States, or the whole planet Earth. I think I did that because I picked up a copy of Paul Ehrlich's, Population, Resources and Environment, which dealt with all kinds of environmental impacts. If I had picked up Dale Burk's, The Clear Cut Crisis, then I probably would have gotten specifically issue oriented ... but I didn't. In that respect, I think it's a function of the book you pick up, the person you talk to, or however the seed is planted.

The second component of members' stock of knowledge is the knowledge they share about the environment. The way members are introduced to their sense of earth, the way "the seed is planted," can come about in three distinct but related ways. John's introduction to nature, for example, came from a predominantly aesthetic orientation with utilitarian and ecological aspects:

Concern for Loveliness:

... and I realize that it's a great step to take, one becomes more civilized or something, ah, when I was a kid I always dreamed of wild places, of green places on the map. I used to draw pictures of guys dressed the way I am now but with suspenders on, and, ah, with a sheath knife, they were woodsmen, and I really liked that stuff when I was a kid. But on occasional visits outside suburbia, when I went fishing with my father - I've been a nature lover for a long time, but it's been restricted to a sportsman. But I think it's very important, Leopold went that way by simply learning to be out in nature, to love nature, from killing things to gradually a concern for loveliness. The education goes on.

William came about his concern by reading and learning about nature from his father while Richard developed a concern from using wild areas for recreation. From these "first seeds" both members developed

a sense of Earth that reflected either an aesthetic appreciation or a utilitarian benefit. Aurelia's concern originating from her introduction through reading about the effects of overpopulation and development on an infinite resource base helped develop in her a recognition of the situation and the problems. The sense of Earth she developed centered more on an ecological understanding rather than utilitarian or aesthetic interests. The sense of Earth that members acquire influences what their practical concerns and orientations toward the environment will be on a day-to-day basis, which in turn will influence what knowledge about nature members will share and ultimately what kind of schemes they will develop to interpret events.

As illustrated by John, William, and Aurelia, a practical concern for nature originating from either a utilitarian or aesthetic interest will, after time, shift to an ecological concern as the basis for typifying everyday events. This concern shifts primarily due to an increasing understanding of ecological principles that members develop in doing their research when they become involved in special projects such as saving the Redwoods or stopping a timber sale in a roadless area, or as John put it, "the education goes on." The acquisition of a sense of Earth is an ongoing process building on existing knowledge and channelling knowledge to specific issues. This was illustrated by a member when discussing the issues of the whales:

Doing Homework:

... begin with their general orientation to the environment which comes about by understanding the finiteness of the Earth and what our relationship to that finiteness is in that what we are doing to jeopardize this system ... this is where they begin, but to work for the whales, they have

to do a lot of homework to teach themselves about the whales, what their relationship to the system is, and how and why they should be saved.

The third component of knowledge concerns members' conceptualization of life on Earth. It assumes John Muir's statement that "when we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything in the universe." Gifford described this point this way:

Concept of Spaceship Earth:

The thing that made the biggest impression on me is the case for the Spaceship Earth theory. The idea that there isn't unlimited resources, that they are finite, whether it's air, atmosphere, coal, it's just no end, but there is an end, there definitely are limits to the resources we have, and people don't seem to realize it... I don't know where I picked that up, it may be a book. Also the astronauts, they viewed the Earth as a small speck and the atmosphere as a very thin layer. Looking at it from the outside it's a very thin atmosphere that can be easily ruined.

The concept of Spaceship Earth emphasizes a closed finite system dependent on natural cycles. This theory assumes an ecosystems' concept which stresses the functional and precessual relationship among organisms, and between organisms and their physical environments. Examples of these relationships include food chains through which energy flows in the ecosystem, and the pathways by which chemical elements essential to life move through the system. These relationships are understood to be cyclical, that is, in the form of cycles functioning in a closed, self-sustaining system analogous to the life support system in a spaceship. Aldo Leopold's Round River concept is often referred to by members to mean the same as the Spaceship Earth theory, within the context of this concept members extensively refer to the concept of community from Leopold's essay "The Land Ethic." Aurelia

exemplified this in her statement: "I see people as part of the environment, the typical Aldo Leopold community." Leopold wrote:

The Community Concept:

The land ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land. In short the land ethic changes the role of Homo-sapiens from conqueror of the land community to plain member and citizen of it. It implies respect for his fellow members, and also respect for the community as such ... that man is, in fact, only a member of a biotic team is shown by an ecological interpretation of history ... All ethics so far evolved rest upon a single premise: that the individual is a member of a community of interdependent parts.¹⁶

The importance of these assumptions are that they provide a perspective for viewing man as a passenger on Spaceship Earth, and as a member of the biotic community. This relates back to the man-nature relationship in that it puts man directly in a relationship to nature where the homo-centric and bio-centric assumptions determine the position of man in the relationship.

The fourth component of members' stock of knowledge is a commitment to nature and to themselves to live with the imperatives of the natural environment, that is, to live inside the restraints of nature by not degrading but maintaining the quality of life. Caroline expressed this fourth component in this manner:

A Commitment to the Environment:

It is a commitment. We live different lifestyles, we're different politically, and, um, except for the fact that we're more highly educated, we are all activist oriented in some sense ... now that I think about it,

¹⁶Aldo Leopold, A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There (New York: Oxford University Press - American Museum of Natural History Edition, 1968), pp. 201-206.

I'm not sure they would be involved in other things, their commitment to the environment is the strong thing, not being active. Their commitment forces them to be active.

All of the components of members' shared stock of knowledge fall into what members refer to as the ecological conscious. When a person has an ecological conscious he shares those components of this specific stock of knowledge with other members of the Sierra Club. The crucial element of this consciousness involves the totality of the expressed attitudes, opinions, sensations, and sensitivities members share about the interrelatedness of the Earth. This consciousness made up of their stock of knowledge functions as the basis for their interpretive scheme alluded to by Aurelia:

Sensitivity to the Problems Lays the Whole Thing Out:

... but today I sit with a group of people and somebody will say something, there doesn't have to be much conservation yet there is such a sensitivity to it that the old computer up here clicks, you know, and immediately I've got the whole thing laid out, what it is, what's going to happen, who's to blame, what the ramifications will be, and how you could possibly think of stopping it, or altering it. You know all that happens, and that of course happens now because of what I've learned in the last four years, I'm homed, I'm refined.

The point Aurelia made about interpreting situations according to her previous experiences and knowledge alludes to but does not state an underlying system of rules for understanding everyday events and their relevances to the ecological conscious. The essential component of members' methods of typifying events lies in what John expressed as the unstated purpose of the club is: "save the Earth."

That man needs to save the Earth was eloquently stated by another member, Nancy Newhall:

Life and Death on This Planet Now Lie in Man's Hands:

Thus when man sprays death from the skies, leaches from the soil its minerals, kills bacteria, poisons worm or rodent, then death becomes unnatural, a famine, an evil working slowly upward. And where man has killed the last wolf and mountain lion, the deer increase until they eat the forest bare and begin to die of hunger and disease. Thus too with Man, his ancient scourges gone, looming devourer, disproportionate to earth, threatening with his multitudes all life and with feebleness his kind.

Life and death on this planet now lie in Man's hands. At depth after depth we penetrate these phenomena which encompass us. Still beyond our grasp shimmer the ultimate truths. Unless we master these, how shall we learn - not to die - but to live? What wisdom guides life's everchanging balances? What subtle factors work in flesh and spirit to cause one kind to rise to dominance and brilliance while its near kin declines into extinction?

After overuse by Man, the Earth remains barren. Yet after vast natural disasters - earthquakes and tidal waves, fires, volcanos, glaciers, hurricanes - life builds back up, if undisturbed by Man, stage upon stage, to richness.¹⁷

One can now grasp the features of the natural view, that members as a matter of course use to express belonging beyond those constitutive rules set forth in the club's charter and discussed in Chapter III. Going beyond the natural view of Saving the Earth, and based in members' practical interest in the world is a commitment by members to act.

CHAPTER V

THE COMMITMENT TO ACT

The way members view the world and the way they interpret things and events is based on their mutually shared natural view. This view necessarily gives them a practical interest in the world in that it relates to their sense of that world by defining its boundaries and causing a sensitivity to its contents. This interest is not constrained by any canons of scientific inquiry but instead is based on the information the member has been exposed to and in the way he interprets it within the bounds of his typification scheme. This system of typification enables the member to assign relevance, deciding on a course of action and justifying taking action. In other words, the members' shared natural view and interpretive scheme provide the basis for developing a set of conditions for understanding and assigning meanings that relate both broadly and specifically to man's relationship to nature. Members are related by common knowledge, common view, a common understanding through the concept of Saving the Earth and through that by "doing the saving," in other words the commitment to save the Earth through their actions.

Members' commitment to save the Earth is both expressed through and is necessarily a part of their action. The fact that a member has constitutively acquired membership status assumes a commitment to save even if the only thing that a member did was to pay his dues or make a financial contribution. There are also those affiliated with and

recognized as members for all practical purposes who do not pay dues, but instead, donate their time and energy to plan and carry out projects.

The essential feature of a member's commitment is expressed in the very fact that it is voluntary in nature. Members volunteer to pay dues, make financial contributions, and donate their personal time, creativity, professional expertise and energy. The degree of commitment, either of financial or personal time, depends greatly on the limitations imposed by members' resources and motivations which relate back to the immediacy and importance applied through the sense of Earth.

The commitment to act involves both the motives and the action on the part of the member where the motives involve the complex of meanings in which an action or event is interpreted.¹

Getting Involved

This commitment assumes that members become active in some way which takes the form of "getting involved." Getting involved

¹Alfred Schutz describes two essential aspects of members' motives in actions. In discussing motives he states:

But this term is equivocal and covers two different categories which have to be well distinguished: the in-order-to motive and the because motive. The former refers to the future and is identical with the object or purpose for the realization of which the action itself is a means: it is a "terminus ad quem"]to[. The latter refers to the past and may be called its reason or cause: it is a "terminus a quo"]from[.

In reference to this study the in-order-to motive applies to those members who view saving the Earth in terms of offensive action as opposed to those sharing the because motive who engage in more reactive defensive action. Both fall within each assumption of man's relation to nature and within all member types. See Alfred Schutz II, pp. 9-19.

implies that the members share both the natural view and the commitment to act, however, the way members become active is dependent on how they define situations² according to their stock of knowledge and is limited by those factors which they expressed as "opportunities to get involved," "seeing a need for involvement," "having the time," and "having the motivation." How deeply the natural view is integrated into the members' world view influences the extent and degree to which the natural view affects their everyday routines, which also returns to their involvement. The degree to which members understand the concept of interrelatedness, especially between their everyday activity and its effect on nature, seems to correspond to their degree of activity. Aurelia pointed this out when she was discussing the depth of different membership categories in members' understanding of ecological principles:

For One Damn Reason:

I've seen all levels of understanding of the issues and I've seen all levels of conservationists, I've seen activists, the extreme radicals, the far left if you will, and the far right. I've seen conservationists who are so damn conservative that I can't stand to be in the same room to talk with them. They're conservationists for one damn reason: they like an area, they use it and and they want to see it preserved. They're issue oriented and they're not motivated or don't have the time when it comes to other issues.

She develops this by discussing the importance that these people are at least interested in these areas and have a practical interest in the land:

²This is the W.I. Thomas dictum which states that: "if the individual defines the situation as real, it is real in its consequences." From W.I. Thomas and Florian Znanieki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group, 5 vols. (Boston: Gorham Press, 1918-1920).

They Want to do Something:

I would guess that there's probably a lot of people who are where I was four years ago, ah, they want to do something, they're worried about what's going on and they want to help, you know, so they've joined because they know there are people who are actively helping the cause. I would guess that their understanding is very shallow. Now I'm not using shallow in the negative sense. They are concerned about saving this or saving that and they're concerned about outings, but they're not ecologists, they don't really understand that interrelatedness yet.

roline brought out the benefits of this incompleteness of members'

derstanding of the natural view in terms of their potential:

Getting People Interested Enough:

I know that for a lot of people who belong, the conservation part is not the most important, but I think it is the most important, from the club's point of view and from my point of view. The other part of the club, the outings and the programs I suspect are also very important in getting people to become more concerned and more oriented toward the conservation part, because, for instance, our slide show. We gave our show at one of the local meetings and a girl came up afterwards and said is there anything I can do to help. That poor girl became part of the core and probably showed that show two hundred times, and became very involved, and so I think that's probably all part of the conservation thing, to get people interested enough and concerned enough and liking the outdoors enough to want to fight for it.

ford was brought into the club through a similar procedure:

This is Something I Should Get Involved With:

I was always interested in the environment anyway, but a friend of mine was an officer in the Sierra Club and he kept saying that because I was interested in doing something for the environment I should become more active. So at first I just paid my dues, and I'd never participate any more than I had to. Well, I'd write a letter once and a while and I'd pay my dues. Then I went to a couple of meetings and became more interested, well just an intensification of interest, and I could see that these people were working toward a goal, and I could see where they had achieved something, like Hell's Canyon became a Wilderness area and the Scapegoat became Wilderness. And Metcalf introduced these

Wilderness Study Bills and I said, well, this is something I should be getting involved with, and so I did.

The urging of Gifford's friend to become involved in the Sierra Club gave him a way to become involved, that is a way to channel his concerns into some form of action. His action at first consisted merely of paying dues, but through an intensification of his practical interests he became actively involved by participating in club projects. He expressed the development of his interests in this fashion:

I Saw Things I Thought Were Wrong:

I think I saw that there wasn't enough opposition being put forth to these different projects like the exploiting of wilderness or the Coalstrip development. I'd see things going on that I thought were wrong, and I'd want to do something about it, he joins an organization of like-minded people. It was no one thing, just a conglomeration of the exploitation going on.

He went on further:

Maybe I Appreciate the Outdoors:

I've always been outdoor oriented, hunting, fishing, camping, hiking, all the outdoors activities, so maybe I appreciate the outdoors more than the person who wouldn't. I was never much interested in the spectator sports where you go sit and watch people do things, but always more toward outdoors activities.

Talking about that final "spark" that got him involved:

Not Seeing the Place Destroyed:

... not seeing one place destroyed but seeing the whole, it's hard to go back and analyze my actions five years ago. I do know we have members like that where there is one spot they really live, and they see it threatened so they join the Sierra Club in an effort to save it, and we may have a project in the area ... they have the interest now it's our job to expand it to the whole.

Virginia talked about moving around the country and the

gradual change that took place in her sensitivities:

I Was Struck by the Clash:

The change that came about in me anyway, occurred over a period of um, oh lord, I'd say eight or nine years, and um, although there is something to that because I used to walk up on Mt. Sentinel and I was struck by the clash between the natural surroundings and something man made, ah, garbage thrown out into the air. So that really struck me, but was really sometime after I began to be open to and enjoy the natural environment.

She went on and brought out what she considered to be her overriding motive for joining:

One Then Donates what one Can:

... in a sense, at least a person does what he can in that regard, it's not just volunteering but it's also something that one is doing because one believes in it, not because one will get a medal or receive some sort of an acclaim for it. Anyway, the case of the person who feels that's, well, that they've placated their feelings of responsibility by paying their dues, um, you know, I think that's okay because who knows what they might be doing with their time and if that's more valuable. One then donates what one can.

Aurelia talked generally about how she became involved:

I Had no Idea what had been Going On:

Between January and June of '70 I was pregnant and I read the Population Bomb, Paul Ehrlich's book. So I began with reading about population and the demands that numbers make on natural resources and six months later we moved to Montana and my daughter was born and I got another Paul Ehrlich book called Population, Resources and Environment and that tied it all in. That says, and then I started reading about what it was that I was requiring of the natural environment by being alive and, by being a consumer, it never occurred to me, I didn't know anything about forces. I didn't know anything about where we get our power, I was from Los Angeles, all we did was flip on a switch, I didn't know they were blackening the skies on the Navajo Reservation. Then in mid 1971, when Kim was less than a year old, I said there has got to be more, than changing her diapers and being a good little housewife, um, and I thought, gee,

there must be a Sierra Club in Montana. I had heard of the Sierra Club just as kind of a very nebulous sort of thing floating around. I did know that it was a conservation organization and nothing at all - well I guess I had read about it in Paul Ehrlich's book. So I thought I'd like to see if there is a Sierra Club and maybe I could volunteer some time. And I started out from mid 1971 to that Christmas folding newsletters and then I started reading what it was I was folding and I got very excited. I thought, my God, I've been wearing blinders all my life and I've no idea about what's been going on.

Holly talked about the ways in which people become involved as a way of categorizing members:

A Lot of People can be Counted on when Asked:

Well, most members just get the Bulletin and read parts of it, send their dues and nothing else. Another proportion, twenty maybe thirty percent in the area regularly come to meetings, listen to what's going on and go home edified. I would of those, of a mixture of people, I would say that up to half, at one time or another occasionally get active, in one thing or another, write a letter, make a phone call, that's about the extent of it. I'd say about ten percent are especially active in that they have issues they are particularly concerned about and spend a fair amount of their free time working on it in some kind of advocacy role - around here that's mostly wilderness preservation and forestry. And maybe one percent of the membership are extremely active in that they devote most of their time. You might say it's an obsession, I'd probably put myself in that category, that role. A lot of people can be counted on to do something upon request.

Leland talked about getting involved a little differently:

Doing Something With the Natural View:

I like to think of Sierra Clubbers as problem oriented. It doesn't do any good to know Leopold or Thoreau if you're not going to do any good with it ... I'd prefer to get out there and affect things.

He went on to bring out the importance of the natural view in getting involved:

Learn, Know, and Argue For:

Well, I think the only thing a club member can do is

to stay knowledgeable about certain issues, you have to be knowledgeable about them in certain ways, you have to know something about the ecological characteristics of the problem, and you have to know, too, something about the political system and how to affect it. I think that one thing a club member has to do is to be knowledgeable, to go back to the education thing, you have to stay educated ... They also have to do things, they can't just store up all this knowledge, they have to, kinda, apply it back out. It might be even just sending a postcard to a congressman, it might even be a letter or organizing an ad hoc committee on a particular issue ... But it seems to me that these are the two things a member does to get involved ... they shape their views and values and then spew these things out in shaping arguments concerning issues.

Leland has illustrated the necessity of the natural view as the foundation for getting involved. Within his discussion, he also pointed out that sharing in the basic stock of knowledge is not enough to become really involved but that this general knowledge serves only to direct the members' practical interest to those issues in which the club is involved. This acts as one of the ways members get involved with the club but does not account for an involvement of any more than what Aurelia has referred to as "shallow." Members at this stage may have prime interests in the club's outing or social programs. A more specific understanding of the issues is needed by the member to become more involved. The more a member learns, the deeper his practical interest develops in saving the Earth, and barring any constraints, the more involved he will become.

The members, as previously illustrated, have pointed out that the sense of Earth necessarily involves more than those assumptions described in Chapter IV, which all members know as a matter of routine. Members with a highly developed sense of an issue will have a similar practical interest in problems involved with saving the Earth. For example, those

members who, as a matter of routine, have a broad base of knowledge about wilderness tend to share an interest in wilderness as a topic due to a shared common ground on which systems of typifying events and objects and interpreting them in terms of how they fit into that scheme of typification. Members who hold a sense of the problem can develop into subgroups on the basis of their common interest. It must be pointed out, however, that this basis for subgroups is not necessarily seen by members as a scheme for categorizing themselves. The important aspect here is the connection between the natural view and members' involvement.

Being Involved

Developing a description of members' commitment to action suggests beginning with the biases they hold toward taking action in a way similar to the concept of the Natural View. Active necessarily refers to the properties used to achieve membership as a practical accomplishment, as the doing of membership means, to those that belong, it is the doing of those things with the intent of saving the Earth. Inferred by the definition of active are the concepts of contribution and participation which if a member has achieved belonging through those rules set out in the club's bylaws he has necessarily committed himself through the payment of the admission fee and dues. Any further action by the member is based on both the development of his understanding of the problems and his bias toward the type of action he feels most effective and most comfortable in doing.

At this point it becomes necessary to describe the way members go about contributing to and participating in the Sierra Club. Gifford

develops the two types of members:

Those who Donate Money and Those who Give Their Time:

I'd tell them, first of all if they were a student, I'd tell them they wouldn't have to join the club to participate. I mean we consider people not whether they are formal or informal members but just by being there, like at votes, we don't tell people that if they're not paid members their vote won't count. If they're interested in participating we're interested in listening to their opinion. People who are interested in joining are usually environmentally aware anyhow, so I don't have to sell them on that. We get most of our requests at meetings so I just have to explain the mechanics of joining, which if you are a student you don't have to join to participate, but if you want to join there is a student fee ... then I tell them if they do join they'll get the Sierra Club Bulletin and chapter and local newsletters plus occasional mailings on action alerts and so forth ... then if they really want to join I'll call our membership chairperson over and she'll hand them the forms ... And we find that we seem to have more people at times actively involved in projects who are not members than we do who are members. The members seem to set aside their conscience by paying their dues every year, and that's, well, that's what they do for the environment. The others are saying I'll do something active to help. That seems to be the difference between the formal members and the informal members.

Gifford has identified two ways that members become involved in the club by paying their dues or making financial contributions, and others by contributing their time and energy. The need for both of these kinds of members is evident in that they are mutually dependent. Gifford has described the parameters of involvement by those who do one without the other, however it is fairly obvious that there are also several shades and mixtures of these two fundamental ways of being active. For instance, there are those members who pay dues and hold offices in the club or volunteer as workers on different projects. There are also those who do not formally become members but also participate as members in club activities and even hold official titles. Aurelia's

example of how she became active includes significant insights into what being involved meant to her:

Volunteering:

I had heard of the Sierra Club as a kind of a very nebulous thing floating around. I did know that it was a conservation organization and nothing at all - well, I guess I'd read about it in Paul Ehrlich's book. So I'd thought I'd like to see if there was a Sierra Club here and maybe I could volunteer some time. And I started out from mid 1971 to that Christmas folding newsletters and then I started reading what it was I was folding and I got very excited. I thought, my God, I've been wearing blinders all my life and I've had no idea about what's been going on. And that Christmas the local group, realizing that they had gotten their hands on an active, vulnerable, willing volunteer, and in the process of losing their chairman asked me if I would be willing to be their chairman, and I said sure I can do that, I can arrange meetings, I can arrange to have newsletters published, I could do all that. I didn't know what in the hell I was getting into, of course. So I said okay. But I didn't just arrange meetings and get out newsletters. I ended up speaking in public and debating. It was a real learning process for me. If you're going to go talk on a forest issue you have to really do your homework before you get up and make a statement. What happened to me is what happens to a lot of people over a much greater time period.

Being involved means doing things, it includes how a member becomes involved, the activities he gets involved with, and the kinds of action he takes as related to the natural view. Being involved is the action that is taken to accomplish saving the Earth and through which membership is routinely achieved. Caroline exemplified this when discussing her involvement with a project:

Putting on the Slide Show:

The other parts of the club, the outings and programs I suspect are also very important on getting more people concerned and more oriented toward the conservation part, because, for instance, our slide show. We gave our slide show at one of the local meetings and a girl came up afterwards and said is there anything I can do to help.

That poor girl became a part of the core and probably showed that show two hundred times, and became very involved.

Caroline's statement illustrates some of the aspects of her being involved: informing people about an issue she was concerned with, and the channeling of a volunteer's effort. She also referred back to her involvement in California:

Taking on an Issue:

Like before we knew all the Board members, and we went to the meetings and we saw all the controversies ... It makes a difference, like, since we've moved here and my husband's gotten more involved in his work, and we just don't have the free time to be involved like we used to be. When you'd go to the Board meetings, the big issues were discussed, that might get you all fired up ... or we used to go to the Biennial Wilderness Conferences ... every other year and they would be very inspiring. I think you need that contact with inspirational individuals or programs to get you fired up enough to make a commitment to ignore your family, ignore your job, and take on an issue.

Although the emphasis of her discussion was on her less frequent involvement, she did point out some other aspects of being involved such as going to meetings, going to conferences, taking on projects, but most importantly making the commitment. The commitment assumes that members give of themselves what they sense necessary to accomplish the goal of their project. The goals eventually return to the theme of saving the Earth, and usually take the form of maintaining the integrity of ecological process by saving a piece of it. For example: saving the Redwoods by enlarging the forest reserves and National Parks to include them, or boycotting Japanese and Russian goods for the purpose of putting economic pressure on those governments to save the whales from extinction, or the designation of Wilderness Areas to preserve roadless areas from mining or clearcutting.

The questions now are what underlies members' commitment to act and how does that direct the way they choose to act?

The commitment members share seems to include what they feel the emphasis of their action should be. Some favor what is termed here as collective action, which Gifford illustrated when he was talking about how he became involved:

Joining an Organization:

I'd see things going on that I'd think were wrong and want to do something about it. When an individual wants to do something about, he joins an organization ... like the Sierra Club.

On the other hand the person who views his commitment in the individual sense would orient himself to doing those things on his own either with or without an organization. Strictly speaking, this person usually wouldn't become involved in a group but may make a financial contribution. This accounts for those many members who are categorized by their peers as inactive members. This was expressed by Richard who considers himself as inactive member because he is not involved with the local group:

I Like the Things They're Doing so I put in a Contribution:

You have to be aware that the club is in existence, so that takes, ah, the Sierra Club must make public input, they must make their meetings open to the public, they must put up announcements - that was my case, I saw a piece of paper talking about a meeting, and although I didn't go to the meeting I was aware of the Sierra Club's existence and I saw Sierra Club Bulletins and read a few of them. From those Sierra Club inputs into the public, then, I became interested in what the Sierra Club was doing. I read articles on things they were doing, oil spill clean ups and things of that nature. And I said hey look, I like the things they are doing. I think it's consistent with my philosophy, so I'll put a little in for a contribution.

Aileen further emphasized the individual approach:

I feel more Effective if I do It Myself:

Ah, I can see the need for both organization and individual action, but I think I personally feel more effective if I do it myself, if I express my own opinions rather than be identified with an organization. To me, I think, when, ah, Federal Agencies get public input, they may get one letter from an organization, and ten letters from ten individuals, but I think those ten letters from individuals are more important than the one letter from the organization...

Aileen's description of the individual commitment to action when contrasted with Gifford's description of the collective commitment delineates the parameters of the commitment to act. The member coming from an orientation of individual action also determines the way he can be most affective before becoming involved, on the contrary, the collective individual joins first and tries to fit in with the existing structure Leland, who is not a member in the constitutive sense, is an example of such a situation. He became heavily involved in a wilderness issue in northwestern Montana several years ago:

The Club was here and We were Interested in the Same Thing:

Why the Sierra Club? I don't know but I think it's because they were the most noticeable, the most active people in this area at the time, they and the Montana Wilderness Association which is the only one I've paid my dues to ... I'm not a formal member although my girl friend is and she's inactive ... I became involved with the club over a specific issue about seven years ago and I've just developed toward a more general orientation although wilderness is still very important.

He went on further:

So much Energy Going to the Structure ... I'd Rather get out and Affect Things:

Essentially you have to build up grassroots support. So I went over to this thing in Seattle and Jesus, ya know I could believe it, they had presidents, first vice-presidents, second vice-presidents, and down to sixth I think, and all the way down to the local people, and they had Robert's Rules

of Order. Admittedly it was a larger organization than we've got, but there was so much energy going to support the organization per se, and I would prefer to get out there and affect things a little bit more ...

Leland has pointed out the distinction between the different ways members' energy can be directed. This is consistent with an observable distinction between the members' commitment to act in which the emphasis is placed on either a collective or individual concentration. This then distinguishes members by a second component based on the members' scheme of typification. The first component was the member's sense of Earth which included his stock of shared knowledge and interpretive scheme.

A Paradigm of Membership

The sense of Earth when combined with the sense of action or commitment to act functions as a method for describing members by their commonly shared method of typifying not only the world, but their relationship to that world. The combination of these components form a paradigm of typification that members of the Sierra Club use to understand and manage the routine features of their experiences. This paradigm is shown below.

Sense of Earth	Sense of Action	
	Collective	Individual
Bio-centric	1	2
Homo-centric	3	4

Figure 1. Typification of Members in the Sierra Club According to Their Sense of Earth and Sense of Action

The paradigm above contains the parameters inside of which all members of the Sierra Club can be described. Different variations within these parameters are the result of members sharing differing variations of the sense of Earth and the sense of action which are described in cells one through four. It is necessary to point out that due to the ongoing nature of accomplishing belonging a categorization of members into the various cells is not static but in fact fluid with individual members moving back and forth within the cells and within the system. The system appears to be in a constant state of transition as is shown in figure 2.

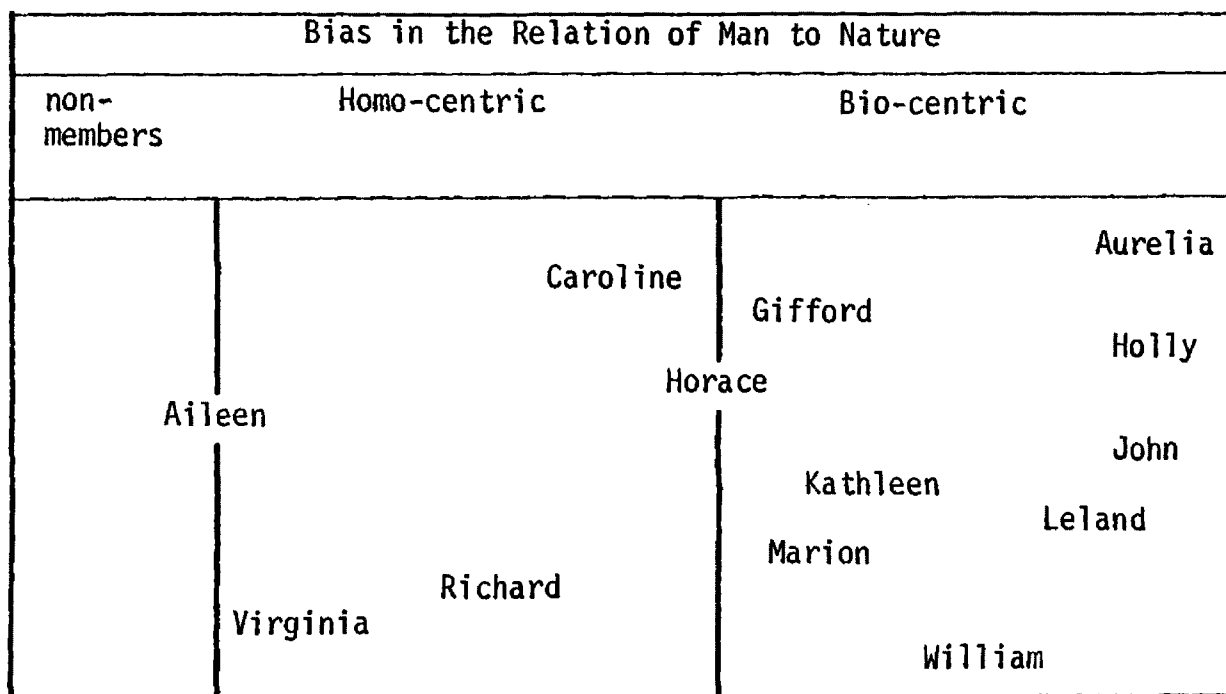


Figure 2. Relative Positions and Probable Directions of Movement of Members' Sense of Earth

The above diagram shows the spatial arrangement of members according to the relative position they place themselves in concerning their view of the relationship between man and nature. This diagram is only for

the purpose of giving the reader an idea of the position of variations within the natural view. The extremes are illustrated by Auriela, Holly, and John on the one hand and Aileen on the other. Aileen's position represents a transition between member and non-member which is illustrated by her statement:

On the Other Hand:

I don't think that man is a part of nature in the sense that he is meant to live completely natural off the land, the way primitive people do. There is a reason for our intelligence, and the development for technology, and I think we should be using technology in a way that we can best use the Earth, on the other hand, I'm not really sure, sometimes I think intelligence is a curse and nature is the only thing that maintains itself, as much as we think we destroy it, it maintains itself in alternate forms, but it is far more powerful than we could ever imagine.

This quote from Aileen represents a switching between the two cells which in this case include the member and non-member categories. The one view puts man apart from the natural system and in control of it, while the other shows an evolution towards man as part of nature that develops in the direction of cell four which is expressed by the idea of the interrelatedness of all things. That is to say, the homo-centric view puts man back into the natural system and the bio-centric view places man in his biological position within the system. Horrace and Leland also represent transitional views in that they have expressed a position which appears to be moving from the homo-centric toward the bio-centric view. It needs to be pointed out that all these views expressed by members do not appear static but rather are being molded and shaped by an expansion of members' knowledge and experiences. Their direction of movement is suggested by the arrows.

Moving back to the other component, a similar diagram can be used to illustrate members' relative positions vis-a'-vis their commitment to act.

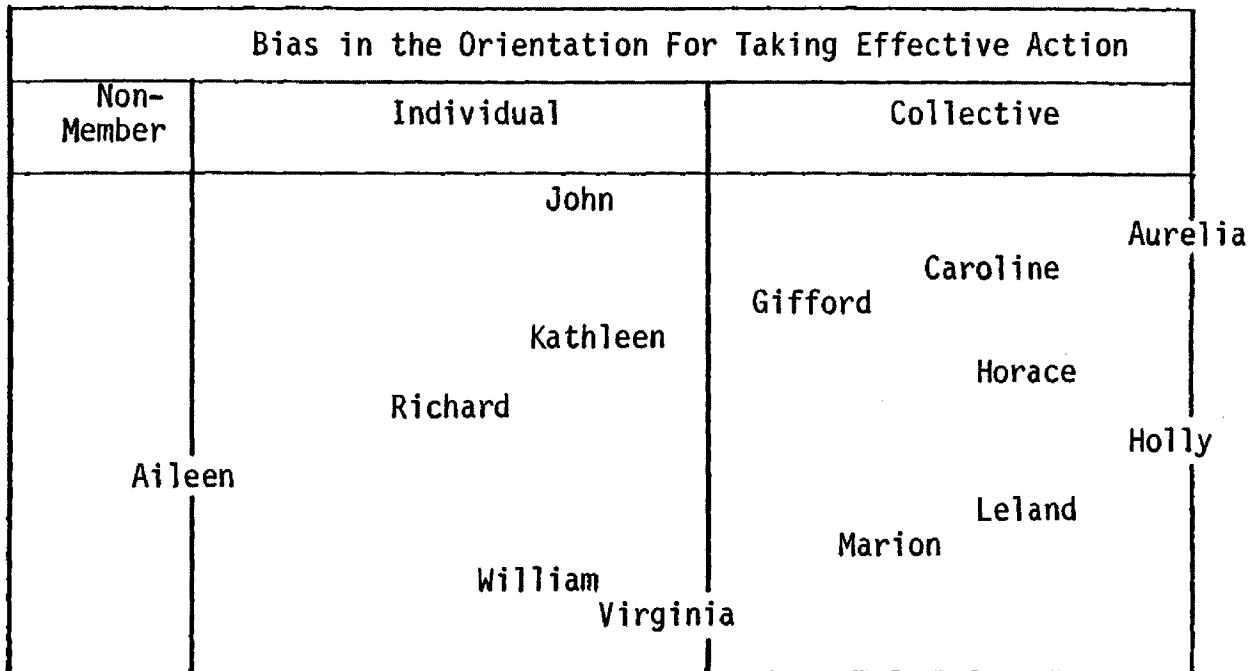


Figure 3. Relative Position and Direction of Movement by Members' in Relation to one Another According to Their Sense of Action.

The chart above is basically the same as the previous diagram, however the purpose of this one is to show the arrangement of members according to their commitment to action. Again Aileen represents the position bordering on membership status which is expressed as:

I Personally Feel More Effective:

Ah, I can see the need for both organization and individual action, but I think I personally feel more effective if I do it myself, if I express my own opinions rather than be identified with an organization.

And she stated about active participation in the local group's programs:

Having the Time:

Yeah, I'd probably pay dues to the local group ...
but I don't know if I'd have the time to spend for it.

Aileen's position in both diagrams represents a transition from member to non-member in that she considered her views to be moving away from the natural view which in turn decreased a commitment to act on her part. What is important here is the mutual relation between the sense of Earth and the sense of Action. To be able to accomplish membership through the saving of the Earth it is necessary to act, but it is also necessary to know how to act and what to act on, for without a commitment to act the knowledge is useless, conversly with the knowledge a member can not really act without a commitment. The diagram above represents the orientation members have toward taking action based on their commitment and the degree of knowledge they share. Leland and Virginia represent transitions between the collective and individual approach as to where they should concentrate their energies. Aurelia represents an almost special situation in that she is actively involved through two organizations, it almost appears that she has evolved further than the Sierra Club in both her natural view and commitment to a position similar to this one expressed by David Brower:

I'm Trying to do Anything I Can:

Man has taken enough for himself already ... I don't know. It beats the hell out of me. I'm trying to do anything I can to get man back into balance with the environment. He's way out of balance. The land won't last, we won't last ... All we can do is defer something. There's no such thing as a permanent victory. After we win a battle the wilderness is still there vulnerable, when we lose a battle, the wilderness is dead and gone forever.³

³McPhee, p. 62.

John also represents a peculiar position in that he is an inactive participant in the Sierra Club but extremely active through another group.

Energy is Well Utilized:

... that's the other side of the two sided attack, getting a sense of the way we live, and also I've found that any energy I have in this direction is, ah, well utilized by the Wilderness Institute, so that it's my main affiliation ... I like the people there, and I think they're doing very important work ... although I know what's effective is money to buy lawyers, to go to court, ah, the Sierra Club has been good that way ... but the Wilderness Institute is a good place, good people, good work, pioneering work ...

John's pointing out how his energy is best utilized brings up a natural division of activities by members according to their skills and interests, which for him is wilderness allocation. Aurelia contrasts his interest with natural resource issues and Horace with land-use issues. All issues fall within a conceptualized need to save. The natural view and the commitment to act always return to the Sierra Club's purpose described earlier by John as "to save the Earth."

When the two diagrams are placed together as in figure 1, a membership typification scheme is formed that includes both of the essential aspects that are needed to describe membership as a practical accomplishment. This can be illustrated as:

Sense of Earth	Sense of Action	
	Collective	Individual
Bio-centric	Aurelia Leland Marion Holly Gifford	William John
Homo-centric	Horace Caroline Kathleen	Virginia Richard Aileen

Figure 4. Showing the Relative Positions of Members in the Sense of Earth and Sense of Action typification scheme.

In the diagram above figures 2 and 3 are combined into figure 1 and members are placed in the appropriate cell according to their expressed characteristics of these two variables: the sense of Earth and the sense of Action. Arrows have been placed after member's names to indicate the directions their transitions appear to be taking. Leland, for instance, is moving away from the homo-centric: individual cell toward the collective: bio-centric cell, while Aileen is moving away from the homo-centric: individual cell to a non-member status. Members seem to be moving generally from cell four, homo-centric: individual, toward cell one, bio-centric: collective. This would seem to indicate that cell one represents the "ideal type" to which all categories are eventually evolving. If this is so, then the slight movement of Auerlia away from cell one would indicate that she is either outgrowing the club or that there is, as yet, an unidentified fifth cell toward which she is moving. Presumably this cell would include a very

specialized natural view and extreme commitment to act that might define the line between the volunteer and professional where professional is used in the sense of career and lifestyle rather than of salary. In this case all of the member's energies, in fact his whole life, would be concentrated around saving the Earth.

For the member to act he must first know what he is acting on, which presupposes a sensitivity to the issue and a way of interpreting events surrounding it. The natural view includes, through a set of shared assumptions, a practical interest in issues pertaining to the environment. From those assumptions, the member also shares a way of determining how events fit into a scheme of how the world should be, which in this case concerns man's relationship with nature. Violations of this scheme, the degree of commitment and the bias held toward what type of effective action should be taken by the member, determines their commitment to act. The point stressed here is similar to that of Muir's discussing the interrelatedness of all things. Both variables are mutually dependent on each other, and are very closely interrelated in the structuring of each other.

At this time it is necessary to examine the interrelatedness of members' sense of Earth and Sense of Action through their expressions of involvement in specific instances.

CHAPTER VI

EXPRESSIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

To complete a description of membership it is important to show how the individual's sense of belonging, the natural view and sense of commitment, is expressed through his everyday activities as he himself talks about them. Expressions of belonging were gathered from members' talk about the extent to which their natural view influenced how they approach, define, and act in situations that were ordinary routine occurrences for them. From these expressions of members' sense of belonging there appears to be a connection between the degree to which the individual has achieved membership and the degree to which his sense of belonging is integrated in his daily routine. In other words, there appears to be a continuum beginning with cell four and ending with cell one that distinguishes the degree to which a member's expressed sense of belonging is integrated into personal routines. The question is how personal does the sense of belonging become. Before this can be dealt with it is necessary to take the different ways in which belonging is expressed.

Members naturally divided their expressions of membership into: those things they do officially through the club in an organized way, and those things they do independently as a matter of their daily routines. But before instances of belonging will make any sense it is necessary to understand the two major factors that members

are up against when they try to achieve "saving the Earth." These include the stepped up pace of society and the highly mechanized way things are approached. John expressed this when he talked about the economy and some of its draw backs:

A Greedy, Buy and Sell Economy That Easily Catches One Up:

I think people who do hunt and fish who wander around a lot do begin to get that, hopefully, they don't become too greedy about trophies and so forth. Machines take us away from that so I'm afraid I have no faith at all that a person who rides a snowmobile or a trailbike doesn't have the foggiest notion of where he lives or the place he's in, but I can't really blame him for- for it's a buy and sell economy, it's a highly mechanized economy, um, advertising will grab him, so people just think it's the thing to do, it's kicks, it's thrills.

What was brought out here was that the economic system has so entrenched man in a consumer oriented buy and sell, highly technological society that man has been separated from nature. He went on to say:

We're Going Too Fast, We Need to Slow Down:

I read the other day that there were 1,400 people killed between 1825 and 1830 in steamboat explosions on the Mississippi, and ah, Daniel Bursten wrote that it was just a symptom of the rush. What they used to do was race, they'd fire them up, the passengers were saying get me where I'm going, whether it was to search for gold or homestead, everybody was rushing around, and, ah, it was a really dangerous thing to ride a steamboat, so today we still go too fast, cars are built to go fast, way too fast, off road vehicles ... People don't have the quiet, the reflective experiences they need to feel, to appreciate the land to learn to love the land.

John has illustrated what many members have expressed as the condition of our lifestyle that has gotten out of hand and needs to be brought

back in line with nature. This represents what many members feel must be changed in the present buy and sell economy. He did suggest that the fundamental change should direct the individual away from a rush to an appreciation and love for the land and all the ecological systems implied in it. Caroline gave an example:

To See That Hour Disappear:

How does that affect my day-to-day life? I'd like to say I walk when I can instead of driving, and I do walk more than I would otherwise, but that's, well I'm very accomplishment oriented and to see that hour that it would take to walk disappear is very hard on me. But anyway, I do often walk instead of drive. I happen to like to walk so I'm not so sure that there is any altruistic motive here, but I do know that helps conserve gasoline and that's important too.

Within this frame many people ride bicycles, because as they say "it puts less strain on natural resources and is a more efficient machine that brings us close to the sights and odors of our neighborhoods." It is a non-mechanized machine, in the sense that John used, which brings man closer to nature rather than acting as a barrier, such as an automobile. Leland brought out an example of the fast pace of our style of life:

The Tempo of Life:

Well, first of all, when I think of somebody in New York City, I think of somebody who lives in an apartment building, has a key to get into the building, perhaps a hi-fi set up, and nice library books and they get to go out maybe two or three nights a week to what ever they want, art museums, Broadway plays, and the New York Philharmonic. Now first of all that isn't the typical New Yorker, I mean there's a lot of people who don't have that, who do have to walk out to the john, that is if they're fortunate and there isn't people urinating in halls and rats all over, and they have a very very low

quality of life. But even if we talk about upper middle class, or somebody in New York, I don't know what they have to make to get along on and have the things I mentioned earlier. They do have cultural things that I miss and I've run into some of these people who've come out here. They break their ass to get out here, they schedule a real tight, my sister's this way . . . She comes out here, she has to organize a real tight hike, you know. I think of a hike as, first of all being able to get up late instead of early, and eating a leisurely breakfast and reading a paper and then driving out to someplace or another and hiking for two or three days, or maybe not, maybe coming back the same day . . . one of the big differences is not the material of even cultural aspects, but rather the tempo of life back there.

One of the major concerns of members is slowing down the style of life for the expressed purpose of, as Horace put it, "getting back in tune with the ecological realities of life." The changes members make, and try to influence others to make are concerned ultimately with saving the Earth, and the major approach on the personal level is to slow life down and bring it within the parameters of those assumptions from the natural view. All changes, from consumption of natural resources and energy to consumer behavior revolve around this expressed fundamental imperative. There is an assumed finiteness of resources which states that consumption must be slowed down as did Caroline's example of walking instead of driving point to the increased tempo of the everyday life.

Kinds of Things Members do to Save the Earth

Organizational Things

The things members do to change the fast tempoed, consumptive lifestyle that they assume most members of the society live takes two fundamental forms, organizational activities and individual changes.

Organizational activities take the form of club projects on the national, regional, and local level which are usually directed at stopping activities considered detrimental to the integrity of the natural systems by encouraging alternatives that would enhance those systems. Some examples of club activities include: causing the Army Corps of Engineers to abandon plans for "destructive" forty-four mile levee around the flood plain at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers; winning a court ordered stay of construction of a 650 megawatt coal-burning power plant in Western Nebraska that would not meet air pollution standards; successfully lobbying in the California legislature for one hundred million dollars for park-land acquisition and the setting aside of 105,000 acres of land for wilderness protection. Specific projects in the Northern Rockies area include the filing of administrative appeals to the U.S. Forest Service for stopping the implementation of timber sales that would destroy the wilderness qualities of roadless areas. Volunteers also work on doing inventory and boundary research on roadless areas to determine possible wilderness classification. An example of a project is the gathering of signatures of registered voters on an initiative petition to place a proposed law before the people in the November 1976 general election that would allow the construction and operation of nuclear power plants in Montana only if they can be proven to the satisfaction of the state legislature by a quorum vote to be safe.

An important lawsuit was won by the Sierra Club in West Virginia recently that banned clearcutting on National Forest land. The purpose of this action was to force the U.S. Congress to update the 1897 Organic Act of the Forest Service, as Leland put it "to enact up-to-date, responsible forest management legislation."

Below are two examples from the local group's newsletter on the type of things local members get involved with:

Special Workshop -- Coping With an EIS

Jean Warren has spent the last three years reading, analyzing, and responding to Environmental Impact Statements. She would like to share her knowledge of EIS's with the rest of us and has agreed to conduct a workshop on this important skill needed by all conservationists. The workshop is for ...

Write, Your Action is Needed

The Deerlodge National Forest has issued a brochure describing four management alternatives for the Upper Rock Creek unit. At stake is the east side of the Sapphires roadless area which local conservationists have been trying to safeguard for years. Alternative I would require a wilderness study for this important headwaters area. Alternative III and IV include no wilderness study, and would permit a utility corridor to cross the heart of the Sapphires roadless area.

ACTION NEEDED NOW: Write to the Forest Supervisor, Deerlodge National Forest, Butte, Mt. 59701 and ask that their management plan to include a comprehensive wilderness study for the eastside of the Sapphires. **DEADLINE:** December 5 or as soon after as possible.

The excerpts above are examples of both a learning program where members share their knowledge of such things as analyzing Environmental Impact Statements, and the opportunity to channel action on the part of members for responding to a Forest Service

management plan. Club action against federal and local agencies has a deep historical tradition with the Sierra Club as was brought out in Chapter II. The effect has been that the Sierra Club functions almost as an agency watch-dog for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of "the people's land."

Another example is from an Action Allert which is a one page sheet alerting members to an urgent issue and urging them to take some for of action:

Your National Forests Need You Now. Their Future Can Be Decided in the Next Few Weeks

... At this moment timber interest lobbyists are furiously pressing your Senators and Congressmen for passage of legislation to remove all safeguards that help the Forest Service resist timber industry pressure to ruinously cut the trees in your National Forests. Firm safeguards must be written into law to protect the irreplaceable soil, water, wildlife, fishers, and recreational values contained within your publicly owned lands. THERE IS STILL TIME TO SAVE YOUR NATIONAL FORESTS IF YOU WILL ACT QUICKLY...

The alert goes on to describe the situation and the features of the issue and ends with a section on what you can do:

What You Can Do

... Write a letter, send a wire, or make a telephone call immediately to your Congressman (House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515) and both of your Senators (Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510). Urge them to co-sponsor and support the Randolph/Brown National Timber Management Reform Act (S.2926 and H.R. 11894). Urge them to oppose the Humphrey/Johnson legislation (S. 3091 and H.R. 12503).

The examples above illustrate some of the things members do on all three levels of participation in the club. They vary from group to group since regional and local problems vary, but as in the

last example members can also be involved in national projects, and in fact, form a very necessary portion of the club's influence, by applying citizen pressure on the political system. In line with the importance of this kind of action independent of the club, the club itself applies pressure by lobbying, in the courts, by filing administrative appeals to government agencies, and through educational and research programs.

Private Things

The second form of activity that is engaged in is the individual, which is more intimately concerned with the personal day-to-day routines of members. The point here is how members talk about the things they do to achieve belonging. This involves the ongoing occasioning of an individual's lifestyle around the natural view and commitment to act, which necessarily involves the way the individual takes things into account and orders his life. An example of this would be the member who sees a connection between his consumption of Japanese goods and economic pressure which can be put on the Japanese government to stop the killing of whales and dolphins. With this in mind the individual would not buy Japanese goods such as cars, stereos, cameras, tape recorders, or bicycles. To do this the member must be aware of the interconnection between a particular activity and its environmental effects. This involves making a link between the general concept of the interrelation of all things and the member, as well as being aware of the resource being used and its source. The timely issue of the killing of the white baby arctic seals for fur offers a good example.

As the furs are used only for women's coats, the member, who realized where the fur came from and the incredible destruction of a species, would not be able to buy one. If that member, as Caroline mentioned in an earlier chapter, cared enough, he would take other forms of action which then could become organizational in nature. John illustrated this point by saying:

We Ought to Slow Down ... Tighten Our Belts ... and be More Careful With Our Resources:

... the economic system which creates a thing whereby loggers work according to the number of trees that they can cut down in a day, so men are always pushed and hurried, and when they do that they do sloppy work, so I'm an extremist in thinking that we ought really to slow down our activity, plan it more carefully, and ah, tighten our belts, because we know our resources are eventually to go and we need to be very careful with them ...

He went on to tie that into individual action:

How Important Our Lifestyle Is:

The new thing that I learned this year, in fact this fall quarter, and it was from Gary Snyder through conversations with students and that I had with him ... what I've become aware of more and more is how important our lifestyle is in this society in subtle places, in cities and so on, and if we continue at the level of energy consumption, massive waste ... so that one thing I did recently was ...

The distinction between the individual and organizational expression is found in the idea of the style of life, and how belonging is achieved through the style of life. Richard expressed such an example when discussing his truck:

It's Something I Think About Occassionally ... Although Obviously Not Enough:

Go outside and if it's a real nice warm day out, ah, I'll be in the mood for walking, if it's chilly out I'll dig in my pocket and get my keys out and putt along to school in my truck ... it's something I think about occassionally that needs more thought on my part.

As you asked me I live only four blocks from school which is a short distance away, many people walk, from four blocks away, many people walk from a mile away. I pointed out before that on a cold day I like to get in my vehicle, 'cause I'm a pussy and I like to stay warm. Second, then there's the view point of time, and I like to, ah, make the most out of my time ... by driving I save travel time to school and back which can amount to half an hour about, just to school alone, ah, now while driving to school I'm polluting the air, from my carbon monoxide coming out the exhaust pipe, and that bothers me to some degree, although obviously not enough or I'd stop driving.

Richard pointed out that he's starting to think about the effects of his truck, but that it's still at what Aurelia called the "shallow" stage. But it's the beginning point and now he needs to figure, or have pointed out that there are substitutes and alternatives, especially for four block trips. Something else Richard does concerns picking up litter:

I Like to Pick it up and Put it in the Trash Can:

I'm one of those, ah, who when they see an accumulation of litter get upset because it's destroying the natural beauty of the Earth, something that's very visible, ah, now relating that back to the truck, I think one of the reasons perhaps that I go on driving the truck is that I can't see that I'm polluting the air, it's more of a delayed thing it's not instantaneous. The problem of litter is right there, it's very obvious to the person and very obvious to me, I can see it right away, I like to pick it up and put it in a trash can ... And, ah, I got up to Highway 93 by Ravalli and noticed there was just a great accumulation of cans along the highway, and I spent an hour or so picking them up. I got several hundred cans and took them to the recycling center.

Richard has illustrated two important factors the first of which goes back to understanding the ramifications of an activity such as its high energy consumption and its source of pollution to the need for saving the Earth, and secondly the perceived immediacy of the problem. Litter was something he could see was ruining the

integrity of an area. He hadn't quite taken hold of the problem with his truck, although he was beginning to question it but still on that "shallow" level. The degree to which Richard integrates the natural view with his everyday routines illustrates a common level of integration by other members in the same cell described in the previous chapter.

Horace expressed how he accomplished belonging as:

Trying To Live His Ethic:

Well, I try to treat things and people with respect, because respect is really where it's at as far as the essence of the problem, and I try to cut my consumption of non-essential products and energy and I try to live within the accords of my ethics. I find this extremely difficult sometimes because we function in a technological society and as the old addage goes: 'that means bucking the system.' ... it's a matter of trying to reawaken people's consciousness by maintaining contact with nature. Let's see, oh, I try and teach as well as be an example and I work with the Wildreness Institute to try and save wildlands. More important, though, ah, is that I've bought a piece of land, an old farm and I'm trying to live my ethics ...

Some of the things he later talked about for living his ethics included more labor intensive work practices on his farm rather than energy intensive, using a small economy car and motorcycle for commuting to Missoula, and spending all of his recreational time in "non-motorized nature oriented activities" in "mostly roadless or wilderness areas."

Kathleen talked about examples that were similar to Horace in such things as recycling things like using plastic sacks from the grocery store over and over and by living a simpler life, consuming less, buying only necessary things, seeing what she could do without, and found, as she put "liking it more."

Marion gave accounts of belonging through such expressions as "cooking with natural foods" and making them "from scratch," "not using my car," "carrying a string bag to the store" instead of using paper sacks, and raising most of the fruit and vegetables in her garden and "not spraying them" with chemical herbicides and pesticides. She also told how she disliked litter and thought of it as a symptom of our throw-away lifestyle. Caroline also made this point and added:

I Try to be Careful and not Wasteful:

I'm super careful about littering, I just don't like to see anything littered. I, ah, feel guilty when I do a lot of things, but that doesn't help, so I try not to use aerosol sprays until we find out about them, and there's all kinds of little things that I'm trying to think of. I try not to waste things, but now if Aurelia were to look at me she'd think I was extremely wasteful, so ah, given my lifestyle, I try not to be wasteful. I don't have a lavish lifestyle, but neither is it sparse.

When Leland was asked about how he accomplished belonging in an individual sense he was a lot more general about it. This could be because he isn't an official member but one who works with and through the club. He began by saying: "I don't know, I'm not really conscious about it," and continued with some of his activities:

We Try:

... well, I cross-country ski instead of downhill ski, I, ah, try to eat fairly good foods, you know, like not super processed stuff. We try to buy a lot of our food in big bulk, like loose tea and loose coffee, and stuff like that. I turn off the lights, and we keep the heat fairly low.

and he went on:

How Can I Bitch ...

I quit smoking cigars about four years ago because I thought, how can I bitch about Hoerner-Waldorf, you know, if I smoke. Although I don't malign smokers for fighting Hoerner-Waldorf, it's just a personal choice. I've decided that as long as he stays away from me when he smokes, that it's his prerogative, and if he wants to fight Hoerner-Waldorf, I'll give him all the support he wants, and to a certain extent that's his choice. You know, this is the same question that arises in wilderness management. I know that you can't have 200 people camping around Big Salmon Lake in the Bob Marshall, yet I don't want to be told when I can camp there and when I can't ...

Then he brought out something very fundamental:

It Boils Down to a Question of Individual Freedom:

... ah to a certain extent it's a tragedy of the commons, and it also boils down to questions of individual freedom versus an aggregate good. It's something I don't think will ever be resolved ...

The idea of individual freedom is a very serious question that needs to be resolved between the rights of man, of individuals and of nature, and other living things. Encountered here are such questions as "should trees have standings" or where do the rights of the man end and the rights of creatures begin? Again this relates back to the natural view and the homo and bio-centric view. The position of the individual in that spectrum has a lot to do with activities the member becomes involved in essentially on account of these very questions. He concluded with this statement:

All of These Things Affect My Everyday Routines:

... And I guess that's why his smoke doesn't particularly bother me, but I can't smoke. And the whole thing about drugs—from aspirin to grass and alcohol. I've really started to watch my, well I quit smoking four years ago, and I've been really careful of aspirin and even alcohol, even though I drink a little every once in awhile. All of these kinds of things affect my everyday routines.

Some of the activities Leland discussed relate back to the concept expressed by John that: "machines take us away from ... nature." This is why Leland cross-country skis instead of downhill skis for instance. The other factor concerns, why bother trying to clean up the environment if you do the same type of things to yourself that, you're trying to have cleaned up. Again it's the full integration and relation of all things. Different levels of the integration of members' understanding depends on their knowledge of the situation, their interest in it, and their caring enough to act. The result is a commitment to save the Earth, and trying to accomplish that results in membership as a practical accomplishment. John illustrated this point when he said:

One Thing I did Recently was ... to Urge Them ... to Reconsider:

... so that one thing I did recently was to fill out the sheet that the Beaverhead National Forest solicite from people after a series of workshops about their land-use planning ... What I tried to do was suggest to them that they are a model of land-use themselves and just to the extent that they may be over-mechanized, over busy in constructing and developing ... they're teaching people that that is the way you act in the woods, and I really urged the, ah, the officials of the Beaverhead National Forest to reconsider their position as a model, as teachers and, ah, cut down their fossil fuel use, put more people in their green pickups and so forth, and less mechanized equipment, ah, high, ah, less energy intensive land-use, and ah, much more labor intensive, hire lots of people, that's a dream. Will society go that way? We may go that way if we're really forced to, and I think we are, we're going to be shortly- that is the other side of the two sided attack, getting a sense of the way we live- and also what I've found is that the, any energy I have in this direction is, ah, well utilized by the Wilderness Institute, so that's my main affiliation.

John's example shows the connection between both the organizational and the individual aspects of his involvement and how both those components are a necessary part of the whole in applying pressure

and in solving problems. His suggestions to the Forest Service illustrate this point above.

The development and integration of Aurelia's sense of Earth and commitment to act permeates nearly her entire style of life. She illustrates this in the following examples:

If You Say You're That Way And You're Not, You're a Bigot:

Okay, well why I do it is probably because I'm that kind of person ... I have this thing about truth and honesty, and if you're going to be that way, then you have to be that way, or else you're going to say you're that way and you're really a bigot. In other words everyone has their sell out point, um, for example the environmentalist who tries to save the forest and then eats at MacDonal'd hamburgers. I don't think they stay at that level very long ... but for me I'm not there. If I say I care about something, then that thread of caring goes through my whole life all my daily activities. I can't talk about waste and exploitation and sit there and use a brand new paper napkin which I consider a contributory form of waste.

She went on to bring out the point that: "It's the demands of people that cause exploitation...", that is if people won't support unnecessary industries and polluting industries they would soon come into line or go out of business. She said "that's very simplified, that's not the whole answer" but that gives the idea. The point she wanted to make was: "how somebody can work to save something, and preach to people about caring about things, and then not practice what you preach," that is do the very things that are the reason something is threatened in the first place. Aurelia went on:

And Reusing Them:

Yes, everything is connected to everything else, if I had gone over when that coffee was spilled, instead of grabbing the used napkins and reusing them or saying well here's something that is already used, it's going to be thrown away, maybe I can get some more use out of them

before they're thrown away again. If I had gotten up and gone over and gotten some new paper napkins to wipe it up, then I would have been forgetting that those paper napkins are connected to something else. Like those napkins are connected to a cardboard box that was manufactured to ship those paper napkins to the Copper Commons and the napkins and the box were made out of pulp at a pulp mill utilized wood that may or may not have been harvested in a good way, and the pulp mill was like Hoerner-Waldorf, air pollution, water pollution, the works.

How does a member get to this point, where things aren't taken for granted but viewed in a larger context that begins to take into account the total environmental costs of the thing? To this point, the idea of the member's knowledge has been taken into account, but how that understanding is personalized has not been discussed except through the concept of caring. Aurelia describes how it began for her:

I Don't Use Paper Napkins ... I Don't Like to Support
What They Are Doing:

... I used to be a neat and tidy housewife, so maybe I don't mind taking the few extra minutes to do something, um, it could be that ... I don't know why it is that way, it's just when I- in 1972 when I first started working with Cecil Garland, who was one of those old time activists, he was my John Muir because I never read John Muir, ah, we were sitting in a lunch counter one day and we were having lunch and he whips out this bright red handkerchief you know, and he's speaking with his drawl and he said 'I never use these paper napkins' and in that twang of his, he said 'I don't like to support what they're doing' and he said 'I just don't use them.' ... and I went home you know, and the next time I had the chance I grabbed a handkerchief out of my drawer- one that my grandmother had given me a few years back that I'd never thrown away because I didn't want to be unkind to grandma- and I stuck it in my purse and I've never used a paper napkin at a restaurant again. And Stan I don't think it's become my calling card, I don't wave a flag about it, it's just one little thing, and I find each day, each day, I try- I don't know if I really try, I guess I take advantage of the situation- I take advantage of every situation I'm in to weed out what is a necessity for me or what is a luxury and a demand.

She also related that it wasn't something that hit her all of a sudden with a burst of realization, but it was something that took hold and slowly expanded. The encounter with Cecil Garland somehow formed a link between her own routine activities and her natural view. She talked about how this has affected her style of life and gave this example:

We Don't Need That, If Everybody Stopped Using Straws:

... it might be that, for instance when we were at the Copper Commons just before you came in, Kim got a hamburger an ah, that glass of apple juice, and we started to walk from the apple juice place over to pay for the stuff, and she went over to the place with the plastic straws, oh let's get a plastic straw, and I just said very quickly, not to make her feel bad, we don't need a straw, and then I thought very fast, ah, you've got a glass already, you can drink it from the glass, why do they put a straw in it. Then I thought if we use that straw, if everybody stopped using straws, pretty soon the Copper Commons would stop buying plastic straws. So I guess what you're seeing and what I'm involved with is the ultimate in a weeding out of what is essential and what is luxury.

She carried this further:

You Just Weed Out as Much as You Can and Ask as Little of the Resources as You Can:

Everybodies got something they won't give up, right? Toilet paper, I will never give up toilet paper, although there have been other times in my life when I've said never. Now I won't use a paper napkin, I'll forego a plastic straw. I asked Kim what she wanted on her hamburger- Catsup and mayonnaise. The catsup was in a dispenser, so I put that on, but when I asked for mayonnaise she handed me one of these little tiny plastic things- packets, and I handed it back and said no I won't use that, and we went off. I won't use that, um, you know I won't use A through Z but I'll still use toilet paper, which is produced at the same pulp mill, however I think this goes hand in hand with the thought that in order to be more responsive to our place in this whole cycle, we don't have to necessarily return to the caves as our adversaries say, or as the other extremists say, they want us to live in caves. You don't have to do that, you just kinda weed out as much as you can, so

ah, that in your own way, you're asking as little as you have to of the resources, and that's what I do.

Aurelia's last statement illustrates the fundamental way that other members have also expressed for achieving membership as a routine part of their everyday lives- that is by trying to orient their activities to come into line with their view of nature which necessarily means "asking as little as you have to of the resources."

She talked about what happens when this is done:

I Think of My Toilet Paper as a Luxury:

... so I've given up twelve things and kept one, and the thing that I've kept has become very precious to me- my toilet paper. And now I think about that toilet paper as a luxury, not as a necessity.

The concept has been developed by Aurelia from a subtle suggestion she picked up on from someone's statement, into a statement of her own concerning the impact of man on the environment which when related through her natural view and into a commitment to act results in her expressions of membership through her everyday routine activities.

The Correlation Between Instances of Membership and the Sense of Belonging:

There appears to be a very important correlation between the cells that typify members according to their sense of belonging and the degree to which members have integrated that sense into their own daily routines. Remember the extent to which Aurelia's sense of belonging has been incorporated into her day by day decisions concerning such things as accepting or not accepting products in plastic containers, or giving up things that don't fit in a positive way in her sense of Earth. This was contrasted on the other extreme by Aileen who was not cited earlier because she could think of no examples. Below Aurelia would be Leland who has integrated his sense

of the Earth to extend to his eating and smoking habits. Just above Aileen would be Richard with the example of his truck and littering, and just above him would be Caroline as her degree of expression was quite similar. She also appears to be moving upward as does Richard. Then grouped together, but a bit higher than Caroline and Richard are Horace and Kathleen. They are grouped at this level because they are beginning to weed out non-essential things as Aurelia has done extensively. Further up the ladder are spaced a group consisting of Leland, Marion, John, and Holly. Actually Leland would be closer towards Aurelia due to the extent that his activities are influenced by his sense of belonging. For instance John is a member of a local group fighting Hoerner-Waldorf's air pollution problem, but still smokes while Leland does not. John, Marion and Holly pretty much share the same level. Marion and Leland have similar habits that concern such activities as eating and reusing things over and over and over. John and Holly are similar because of their involvement and dedication to organizational type activities such as the Wilderness Institute with John, and Holly's work for wilderness. An example of Holly is that he recently purchased a small used car but was careful that it was one that had a high ratio of miles to gallons of gasoline as well as having the engine tuned so as it would function more efficiently.

The correlation lies in the fact that the groupings of members according to the degree to which being a member permeates their daily lives is also by their typification according to the sense of Earth and sense of action. The figure below illustrates this relationship.

<p style="text-align: center;">More Personal Expressions</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Aurelia</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Leland</p>	cell 1
<p style="text-align: center;">Marion Holly John</p>	cell 2
<p style="text-align: center;">Horace Kathleen</p>	cell 3
<p style="text-align: center;">Caroline Richard</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Aileen</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Less Personal Expressions</p>	cell 4

Figure 1. Relative Position and Direction of Movement of Members According to their Expressions of Belonging as Compared to their Positions in the Sense of Belonging.

It is important to point out that the above figure as similar to the previous figures, does not represent static categories but are in fact in constant development according to the individual's new experiences. Also similar to the members' positions in the cells, there appears to be a movement toward and even beyond cell one. This is shown, as in previous figures, with directional arrows next to the member's name, which represent the degree to which their expressions are becoming incorporated into their everyday routines. The exception again is Aileen who is becoming a non-member.

One can now see that that which is essential to membership in the Sierra Club is not just those features stated in their charter but that membership is the practical accomplishment of members based on their sense of belonging and the natural view. Michael McCloskey, executive director of the Sierra Club, stated it in this manner:

Yet We Have Clearly Done...

And we believe that as the result of what we and other conservation forces have accomplished, the environment of the U.S. today is a little better than it might otherwise be. Yet we have clearly done far too little. We have tried, and sometimes succeeded. But we have often been out numbered and shouted down.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

From the preceding description it is now possible to see that there is more to "being" a member of the Sierra Club than is described in their charter. In fact, membership is something that must be accomplished through an acquisition of knowledge and a set of skills for looking at, analyzing, and acting upon the world of the member. But membership is not achieved by just acquiring a specific stock-of-knowledge, interpretive scheme, or system of action, it includes the ongoing application of this natural view to the construction of the member's everyday world which results in the "doing" of membership. Membership is accomplished in a practical sense as the result of the doing of membership which is doing that that will result in the saving of the Earth.

The underlying concern common to all members is a practical interest in saving the Earth that is the result of those commonly shared assumptions of the natural view and members' preconstituted stock-of-knowledge concerning nature. Those assumptions include the idea of the interrelatedness of all things, the concept of spaceship Earth, the fact that man is destroying the environment through specific aspects of his style of life, and that members have a practical interest in environmental problems. These assumptions act as the basis on which membership is accomplished, that is saving the Earth.

The concept of saving is important not merely in the sense of the practical aspects of doing membership but also to the whole environmental

movement. This is illustrated by such words as "conservation" and "preservation" and is contrasted by such words as "utilize" and "consume." Not only is it the purpose of the Sierra Club to save the Earth but also it is the purpose of all environmental, conservation and preservation groups to do the same.

The methods members use to go about accomplishing membership are based not only on their natural view but also on what has been described in this study as their sense of belonging. This is composed of members' sense of Earth and sense of action.

The sense of Earth is composed of two distinct approaches members use to view the relationship between man and nature. That is, where does man fit into the scheme of the interrelatedness and interdependency of life. A distinction is apparent between those who view this relationship from the point of view of man as the most important component and that of nature as a whole system where man is only one part, having no greater nor less standing than any other parts. The latter view has been labeled bio-centric, meaning life-centered, while the first view has been called homo-centric or man-centered. These approaches function both as the bias from which action is taken and from which rationales and arguments are developed for doing membership. For example, the homo-centric assumption is in general concerned with saving the Earth because of its direct benefits to man. This view, for example, consists of people who are concerned with saving wilderness solely for its recreation value, or those who would clean up a polluted watershed because it is their drinking water; while to the contrary, those who share the bio-centric view are concerned with issues from the perspective of the overall quality of the natural systems. For example, the whales should be

saved because their continued existence adds to the diversity of life and they play an important role in the ocean ecosystems. In this respect members' concerns differ, although their purpose remains the same - to save the Earth.

The second constituent of the sense of belonging is the commitment to act. Again two distinct but not separate components are apparent in the form of an individual and collective orientation to accomplishing membership. While the sense of Earth concerns the manner in which members view the relationship between man and nature and deal with their motives for saving the Earth, the sense of action similarly influences the way the member approaches achieving membership. Those members sharing the collective bias are very committed to using the strength of organizations to achieve their goals and the club's goals and show this commitment through their participation in the club. On the other hand, members sharing the individual orientation usually have contributed dues or made a donation because they agreed with what the club was doing and figured they should support it. They do not actively participate in the club.

The commitment to act also takes up the way in which members become involved, and how they accomplish being involved. It is necessary to stress the importance of volunteering not only as a way of becoming involved but also due to the essential character of the Sierra Club as a voluntary organization.

The sense of belonging functions to describe those essential characteristics of membership as a practical accomplishment. Both the sense of Earth and the sense of action when combined describe the views members use to accomplish membership as a matter of everyday routine.

In combination these views delineate four ideal types of members, however, it must be pointed out that in reality a single member probably could not be classified into these little boxes labeled cell one through four. The importance here lies in the processual and developmental aspects of membership where members are in a more fluid state constantly developing and moving between the cells described in Chapter V. The cells do have importance in that they illustrate those standard essential characteristics of different types of membership identified by those who are members of the club. The paradigm also identifies the states that are basic to the methods members use to accomplish belonging as a practical achievement of their everyday lives. It must also be remembered that no one member represents a static cell type. Persons are in fact sharing varying characteristics of the cells, but can be identified by a certain cell through the domination of that ideal type's characteristics.

The two variables of the sense of belonging members share are used to identify and interpret events in the world for the purpose of defining situations and taking action on them. This is related to the dictum of W. I. Thomas described earlier and stated that if a person defines a situation as real, then it is real in its consequences for that person and he will order his views accordingly.

Members' descriptions of instances of their doing membership showed a correlation between the degree of the personalization of the sense of belonging to their everyday routines and the cells by which they were categorized. The degree of personalization is the result of the members' use of the natural view for defining their everyday actions in compatibility with the common goal of saving the Earth.

Their talk about instances of doing membership fell into two distinct categories that included organizational and personal activities. Organizational activities were those involvements expressed by members as group or individual actions taken under the banner of the Sierra Club. These types of activities included such things as attending and participating in public hearings, attending special workshops to gain skills or specific information and by participating in public involvement programs such as the local Rock Creek Advisory Committee of the United States Forest Service. The other aspect of involvement concerned how members integrated the natural view into their personal daily routines. This included such matters as not buying overly packaged items, looking for alternative modes of transportation so as not to waste fuel, substituting reusable cloth napkins for disposable paper ones and trying to be less consumptive and wasteful in their methods for getting through their typical days. This stresses stopping and thinking about specific activities and ascertaining if there might not be a better way to accomplish it that would be more in line with the natural view.

The degree to which members have expressed their personalizations of the natural view and sense of belonging through their everyday routine activities appears to show a correlation to their position in the different cells of the paradigm. Those expressing high degrees of personalization begin in the upper areas of cell one and degress correspondingly down through cell four. This movement also corresponds with members' development from the homo-centric view to the bio-centric view and from the individual orientation to the collective orientation. This suggests a movement from a non-member state into cell four up through cell one and beyond.

Once the member has outgrown the bio-centric: collective cell he would either leave the Sierra Club for another group in line with the development of his views or work to expand the club and pull it in his direction. The example of the member who is evolving out of cell one shows more of the first alternative in that she is favoring such a move while still active in the club and another group. A possible example of the second alternative was the historic split in the club with David Brower over the expansion of the organizations' scope of activities and interests. On the other hand, the member who is dropping out is moving in the direction from cell one to cell four and into non-member status. It should be pointed out that it does not appear that members necessarily must move through each cell, they can and do in fact say that they enter the Sierra Club at different points of development. The paradigm merely delineates the parameters of types of membership as a practical accomplishment that includes the development of the natural view and sense of belonging necessary to achieve saving the Earth. The application of a natural view and sense of belonging has interesting theoretical implications to the study of other environmental groups and other social and political movements.

As can be seen through the club's stated purpose and the members' natural view, the Sierra Club is an instrumental voluntary organization formed to change the relationship between man and nature. The methods by which this relationship should be changed are exemplified through the activities members engage in to do membership. When there is no longer a need to save the Earth and man's relationship to nature is brought in line with the natural view, then the purpose of the Sierra Club and the environmental movement as a social and political movement will be achieved.

In this respect, membership is not something that can be accomplished, that is, membership is an ongoing accomplishment that members achieve as a matter of course. A person is not a member simply in the constitutive sense, but must share in the natural view and sense of belonging in order to become a member. An individual becomes a member by acquiring the natural view and sense of belonging others share, however, because this is also an ongoing developmental process, that individual is really achieving belonging through becoming a member. Cell one describes the characteristics that members are moving toward. The open-endedness of cell one also indicates a possible development of the club through a similar series of characteristics to that of the individual members.

Membership in this respect is a practical accomplishment of those belonging to the Sierra Club as it is expressed by members' talk about the club and how they talk about doing membership. This brings up the possibility of the use of this paradigm for other groups in the environmental movement and possibly groups in other political movements. It also brings up several topics for future research such as exploring the relationship between members' talk about how they act and their actual behavior, or exploring possible linkages between members' organizational activities and personal activities.

The importance of this description is that membership is something that is accomplished by those who belong to the Sierra Club on the basis of a specific set of assumptions and sense of the relationship between society and the natural environment. The expressed natural view and sense of belonging provide an outlook and method of typification and interpretation that provides the necessary skills, rules and meanings

needed to achieve membership, or as they have pointed out over and over
... to save the earth.

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APPENDIX

TOPICAL QUESTIONS

1. What is the Sierra Club?
2. What are the requirements for being a member?
3. How is becoming a member accomplished?
4. What kind of members do you see in the club?
5. What typifies the average club member?
6. What does a club member do (activities, etc.)?
7. Who are the other members you interact with (names)?
8. Do you see any stigma for being identified as a club member?
9. Why did you join the Sierra Club?
10. How do you view the relationship between man and nature?
11. How does this view (#10) influence how you see things or do things in the everyday life?
12. How are your religious beliefs tied to that view of nature (#10)?

In telling about their career as a member have them start from the beginning, tell how they got there, why they got there - how is becoming a member an artful accomplishment - scene - time - career.

INTERVIEW BIOGRAPHIES

Gifford, chairman of the local group has been a formal member for three of his five years of association with the Sierra Club. Married, a postal employee and in his middle ages, Gifford has returned to school to earn an undergraduate degree in sociology after a career in the military. He expects to receive his degree in the spring of 1976. Originally from Massachusetts, Gifford considers himself a political moderate. Gifford also holds no memberships in other environmental organizations but is strongly committed to the preservation of existing environmental quality.

Marion, in her middle ages, is a housewife, mother, and graduate student with a bachelors degree in sociology. She is interested in all environmental issues especially those that are concerned with making individuals realize a need to change lifestyles in consistency with a "spaceship earth economy." Living in Missoula for the last twenty-two years, she has held several offices in the local group. She also holds memberships in the following environmental groups: MWA, NWF, EIC, EAG, NPRC, ZPG. Politically she considers herself a moderate liberal.

William, single and a junior in forestry, is in his early twenty's. he has been a member for only one year and plans to renew his membership. William is not active in the club but is active in wilderness research at the University of Montana. This work coincides with his interests in wilderness preservation and environmental systems. This is the major reason of his course of study and membership in the Sierra Club.

Richard, single, and a sophomore studying resource conservation and geology, is from California. While not active, Richard has been a member for three years with an intense interest in wilderness preservation. He also holds membership in the Ralph Nader Group: Public Citizen. Richard considers himself a political liberal.

Caroline, married and thirty-seven, holds a B.S. in business and is currently a computer programmer. Her husband holds an advanced degree in business and also is a member. She has lead a task force concerning specific issues and has acted as the local group's program chairman. Originally from Los Angeles she has been in Missoula three and a half years while being a member for approximately seventeen. Caroline fluctuates between a conservative and liberal political orientation depending on the issues.

Aurelia, thirty, divorced, holds a degree in biological illustration from UCLA. Aurelia has devoted a major part of her life to conservation. She has chaired several committees and also holds memberships in the MWA, Critical Mass, and FOE. She also holds positions in the regional organization of the club. Aurelia is interested in social issues as well as environmental ones and sees critical relationships between them.

She has lived across the country with the last five years in Montana. Aurelia considers herself to the far left and still moving that way.

John, was raised on the east coast and earned his PhD in California in English. Even though a member for four years he has never become active locally with the club. John has however become active locally in wilderness research and other local groups. He also has memberships in the Wilderness Society, the now inactive CCQE, and the NPRC. At forty-four he considers himself an extremist, on the left, and identifies with the Democratic Party.

Virginia, thirty-eight, earned her PhD in Foreign Languages and has done post doctoral work. Originally from New York City, her interests are concerned with issues on the national level, such as the SST, and methods of logging. She has held leadership positions in the local group and also has memberships in the MWA and the now non-operational GASP of Missoula. Virginia labels herself liberal and generally leans towards the Democratic party. Her concern developed from her interest in outdoor recreation.

Horace, thirty-eight, with a PhD is interested in the philosophy of language and of ecology. Horace, single, also holds memberships in FOE, the Wilderness Society, the MWA. He has held offices or committee memberships on the local, regional, and national level. Originally from the mid-west his major concern has been with wilderness allocation and preservation. He has lived in Missoula for eleven years and been a member for six.

Kathleen, thirty-three, holds a BA in sociology and geography and is currently a graduate student in resource conservation. She has lived in Missoula for three years coming here from the New England area. She has been a member for seven years and now considers herself inactive. Kathleen also holds memberships in the Wilderness Society, NRDC, MWA, Audubon Society, EDF, FOE, Appalachian Mountain Club, and the Society for the Preservation of New Hampshire's Forests. She too has held leadership positions and considers herself a moderate liberal with leanings toward the Democratic party.

Leland, single and thirty, holds a BS in education and math including a teaching degree in resource conservation. Leland has been active in the club for seven out of the ten years he has lived in Montana, although never becoming a formal member. Although he was raised in California, Washington, and New York states he has strong family ties in Montana and has spent many summers here. The only environmental group membership Leland holds is in the MWA.

Aileen, twenty-five and single, holds a BA in geography from UC Berkley. Presently working on her masters in geography, she is also a full time employee of a local land-use planning agency. Aileen, born in the west and raised all over the world, says her major interest is in outdoor recreation and then wilderness preservation. She joined in 1970, but

has not paid dues for the last two years because she has become disen-
chanted with the national organization.

"Holly", a male student in his mid-twenties has been a club member for approximately thirteen years. He holds an undergraduate degree in psychology and is currently working on a masters thesis with emphasis on forestry practices. He has held several leadership positions on the regional and local scale with his primary interest in wilderness both in preservation, allocation, and forestry practices. He also has memberships in MWA, Wilderness Society, EIC, and other regional groups. "Holly" is also an avid outdoorsman interested in such activities as mountaineering, cross-country skiing, bicycling, and just being in wildness. Politically he describes himself with these three words: change, fundamentals, roots.

MWA- Montana Wilderness Association
NWF- National Wildlife Federation
EIC- Environmental Information Center
NPRC- Northern Plains Resources Council
ZPG- Zero Population Growth
FOE- Friends of the Earth
CCQE- Concerned Citizens for a Quality Environment
GASP- Gals Against Smog and Pollution
NRDC- Natural Resource Defense Council
EDF- Environmental Defense Fund

Aileen

The Sierra Club is to me an elitist provocative organization made up mostly of relatively wealthy urbanites who are interested in preserving land and I don't think they necessarily think in terms of the good of society or in long term benefits of preserving and not preserving land. It seems to me to be a very single minded organization and, but it has a function, and it needs support. Somebody has to do the rabble rousing, somebody has to fight the court battles. But I don't identify with them and I can't quite get in there and fight and put in my own energy on that kind of scale.

Well I guess I'm not that kind of person, I just can't get up and argue from one single point of view like the Sierra Club can.

To me it's mainly conservation for conservation sake, and I don't think they've been very wise about dealing realistically with Federal Agencies or needs for energy resources without making trade-offs of some areas which are valuable in resources for other areas which may have similar wilderness qualities.

Yeah, I think the Sierra Club just wants to preserve everything as much as possible.

Well, it's such a large organization, and it's I feel, centered mainly in San Francisco. The direction from which you get information about all of these issues, environmental issues is from their point of view. I don't think they really take that much of an interest in the local issues, cause I don't think they really consider local facts in the issues.

It should be, but I don't think this local group is well enough organized, it has been at times, but generally it's not well organized enough to create its own direction. I really don't like getting a newsletter in the mail every other week telling me to write right away senator so and so on some issue.

I think the organization should be a little more decentralized. It is somewhat in the sense that they have different chapters of the Sierra Club in different areas, but from my experience I don't think those chapters have enough of their own strength, or identity, they're sort of shadowed by the National Sierra Club activity.

If they could get away from the identity of a, being a group of wealthy urbanites it would help alot, they would get more support.

But generally the club tends to be composed of people who are educated in conservation issues already or have the leisure time and money to get out to wilderness and appreciate it.

Yeah, I'm not really familiar with Friends of the Earth, FOE, but it does appeal to me more and the reason I haven't joined that or looked into it more is that is that I've been so turned off by the Sierra Club, that I don't really want to get into another organization, but I think generally they're more on my level. I think they're more regular people.

I've been to a number of Montana Wilderness Association meetings, but I've never officially joined. I'm interested in what they're doing.

Oh, I don't know, just laziness I guess. I had the application

form once and I was going to send it in. I don't really have the time to get in there and go to meetings and keep up on issues. My sympathy is certainly there, but if I thought the need were great enough I'd spend a little time but I have so many other things going on. I feel I can't really do it justice. I go to meetings once and a while, and ...

I really don't know what's done with dues, but I suspect that sending them in is another form of support, it's something I'd be willing to chip in for anyway]support club with dues where she couldn't in time[.

With the Sierra Club though, I have the feeling that they're so, such a huge organization, composed of wealthy people, they have a lot of money, but it's probably mismanaged. Which is evidenced by the fact that they keep sending me bulletins]Sierra Club Bulletins[and things, and I have'nt paid my dues for two years.

Nothing, just paying dues. I don't feel any sense of devotion. Maybe you're talking about why people would join? Not to me, anybody can join and say anything. I don't remember what the purposes say now. I'm not even sure if I'd agree with them one hundred percent now either.

I can't remember for sure, but I think you have to have an indorsement or a reference from another member. I filled out an application of some sort.

Well they were all people I knew at the University in Berkley and they were generally very enthusiastic about issues, and liked the outdoors a lot. At the time I think it was a status thing to join also]because of Earth Day, April 22, 1970 and things[.

Right now I see mainly students, and they are mostly in some kind of natural science field. There's another kind of person who is a little older in a profession, who enjoys the out-of-doors. Those are about the only kind of people I've seen. Yes, definitely, I'd say the group here is characterized by students.

Members go to meetings and can be involved in doing research and developing club, ah chapter, opinions are particular matters, participate in talks, go to movies, participate in recreation activities.

Well in order to do things, like I'm doing, being a representative on a committee, which works with the Forest Service on developing land-use plans. It's a case where you actually sit down at a table and actually discuss ideas, and what kind of things you want to see happening in the area. To work with Federal Agencies, it's not very effective to just keep butting heads with them all the time, to realize that they have to work within certain constraints and certain laws, and certain administrative precedures. And most people in the Forest Service are very conscientious about trying to do the best job they can. The agencies are caught in the middle.

No, I don't interact with any other club members socially anymore except Medora.

'Sierra Club is a dirty word']laughing[particularly when I was working for the Forest Service, I was label immediately as a radical environmentalist. Well the group was particularly sensitive to that because their plans were always being criticized by the Sierra Club,

which was principally Jean Warren, so they tended to identify the Sierra Club as negative, as criticism of what they had been doing. At school I noticed a negative criticism too. I don't really remember but it seems that sometimes students were very critical of Sierra Club because it was such a large national organization, and ah, they characterized it by the wealthy urbanite contingent.

I think the negative stigma did have somewhat of an effect on the changing of my views. I think, though, that I just lost contact with it. The group that's organized here has a much more local orientation, I think it's much better, it's more effective. Also there's a time factor, being involved with projects I haven't had time to spend going to meetings, and lectures, and working on issues.

Yeah, I'd probably pay dues to the local group if it weren't part of the National organization, but I don't know if I'd have the time to spend for it.

Yes, the Sierra Club has turned me off to organizations. It seems that if you go to a meeting you are immediately asked to get involved and participate, and you're actually made to feel guilty if you don't. I think they do it consciously, 'cause people will stand right up in front of the group and get derogatory about 'part time' members and people who don't participate. And that definitely turned me off because it's not realistic to expect people to throw away everything else for the sake of 'saving the whales'.

Ah, I can see the need for both organization and individual action, but I think I personally feel more effective if I do it myself]take action[if I express my own opinions rather than be identified with an organization. To me, I think, when, ah, Federal Agencies get public input, they may get one letter from an organization, and ten letters from ten individuals, but I think those ten letters from the individuals are more important than the one letter from the organization. It's sheer numbers, volumes of paper that impress people.

I don't think that man is part of nature in the sense that he is meant to live completely natural off the land, the way very primitive people do. There is a reason for our intelligence, and the development of technology, and I think we should be using that technology in a way that can, well in a way that we can best use the earth, on the other hand ... I'm not really sure sometimes I think intelligence is a curse and nature is the only thing that maintains itself]switching between definitions[as much as we think we destroy it, it maintains itself in alternate forms, but it is far more powerful than we could ever imagine.

Man will never be able to completely destroy nature, no way, I'd hate to see the day. It's much too complex and changing.

Thoreau, Emerson, John Muir, George Perkins Marsh, his philosophy was that man was a steward of nature, I don't think any of these men had more effect on me than any of the others. Thoreau affected me alot, but I'm not sure if it affected my attitude about nature. His essay on Civil Disobedience affected me alot. No, I read a lot of Emerson in high school, but I don't remember any of his works that specifically affected me, I just know it changed my thinking alot.

Yes it definitely did affect me going into geography, I have

a great respect and love for nature I guess, I appreciate it, and I have strong feelings about not wanting natural things to be destroyed. Some destruction is necessary if human beings want to live, if great numbers, populations have to exist then developments have to take place, um, I'm interested in natural landscapes, mainly from an aesthetic point of view ...]interview interrupted and finished at this point[.

Caroline

I think it means different things to different people who are in it, and I suppose to different people outside the club, but I won't get into that, but like in Los Angeles, there were many people who belonged to the Sierra Club because of the outings. The club had a very fine outings program and it was a great way to get on trips that you might not otherwise go on, um, but to me, I know that exists, but I don't think of the Sierra Club as that way. To me the Sierra Club is the biggest and the, perhaps the most effective action oriented conservation organization in the country. So the conservation, the conservation fighter I guess is what the Sierra Club is to me. In Los Angeles they also use to have programs something like this [refers to slide program put on by local group just previous to this interview] so a lot of people belonged because they liked the programs. Yea, Yea, like the Audubon Society's movie programs. I know that to a lot of people who belong to it, the conservation part is not the most important part, but I think it is the most important part from the club's point of view and from my point of view. The other part of the club, the outings and the programs, I suspect are also very important in getting people to become more concerned and more oriented towards the conservation action part because, for instance, our slide show. We gave our show at one of the local group meetings, and a girl came up afterwards and said is there anything I can do to help. That poor girl became part of the core and probably showed the show two hundred times, and became very involved, and so I think, that that's probably all part of the conservation thing to get people interested enough and concerned enough and liking the outdoors enough to want to fight for it.

I don't know if the outings build any social cohesions within the club because I've never been on one, maybe on one or two one day things. It probably develops friendships and I think the advantage of groups as opposed to acting independently is, that there are people to work with, who help you or can sympathize with you, that if you did perhaps get involved, they would also be involved and share the burden. I think associations with like minded people are very important in doing conservation work.

I'm sure, like the Mineral King, we'd have never done it on our own, our friend also wanted to, and then you have a commitment, and then when you're committed you have a commitment not only to the issue but to each other, but there are things, your work and so forth that call you, your commitment to your group, um, it keeps you going. So I don't know if you learn so much, well I'm sure you do. Martin Mitton, the one who got us started on the Mineral King thing, well, we learned from him what was going on, well I'm sure that's very important because in isolation you either don't know about it, or you don't get all riled up about it. And so I think you have to get together in groups just to get each other committed to doing something by yourself. You don't have to admit to yourself that it's a terrible thing but you're not going to do anything about it. You then come to an agreement and then make some kind of commitment. Well, a catalyst and also, a like a, well once you've made a commitment then there are other people who have also made that commitment with you, so that you'd let them down if

you got, ah, lazy.

Well, I don't think that there are any requirements for being a member, I don't think there should be any really. I think you have to be willing to financially support the club with your dues, so that's a considerable requirement right there of about \$20.00 per year but, I don't like to think of it as a requirement I think it's, either you are interested in the outings, I think we accept you on that in the hopes you will get a broader interest, or you're just interested in supporting the club with your time or money or both hopefully. I wouldn't like to think of it in terms of a requirement, we're glad to have you and hope that you'll become more active.

Well, I don't know, in Los Angeles where there are thousands of members, I think a lot of them didn't really know what the stand of the club was on lots of issues.

To protect the land for future generations, I think anyone who is a member would accept that, and should accept that. I don't think you have to be an activist to belong. You should have a subtle feeling for the outdoors, especially since the Sierra Club in the beginning started out as really an outings group with a conservation orientation, but now everybody in the world knows what the Sierra Club is so you wouldn't, I don't think, join it if you didn't agree with its basic image as it applies to the environment.

We've sort of gotten away from it, see here there's just a small group I have contact with and I really don't know what all the other people are thinking, so I'm not in touch so much. Like before we knew all the board members, and we went to the meetings and would see all the controversies and, but I'm out of that now. It makes a difference, like since we moved here my husband's gotten more involved in his work, and we just don't have the free time to be involved like we use to be. When you'd go to board meetings and big issues were being discussed, that might get you all fired up, well you don't go to board meetings here so that doesn't happen, or we used to go to their Wilderness Conferences, I believe it was every year, every other year, and they would be very inspiring. I think you need that contact with inspirational individuals or programs to get you fired up enough to make that commitment to ignore your family, ignore your job, and take on the issue. You don't have that contact here. Even in Los Angeles you're remote compared to the people in San Francisco. I think being around other people who are very committed is very helpful in making a commitment yourself. It's an inspiration for one thing, and it's also, I think, makes you feel some sense of obligation that they're doing that to save this place, you should take on your share of the load and try to save this place with us. It was more place oriented in the beginning, but we've gotten a lot broader into energy and that type of relationship, which is very interesting, so now I can't say place, but issues instead.

There was a big fight in the club and it was all about whether to expand or not. They were afraid we'd dilute our strength taking on the whole environment, or maybe they were thinking what I was, that we'd taken on so much that how could we ever do it all. That was the fight with David Brower. He wanted to go broader and other members of the board didn't and they weren't the bad guys really, it may just have been a more practical approach to what you could do, I don't know. Since he

left we've really expanded into all those areas he wanted us to. We certainly have broadened things and that's what he was talking about.

Oh gosh, I started in college, I've been a member maybe seventeen years. For a long time I didn't consider myself an active member, I joined originally to contribute my money to the organization. I believed in it. I don't know when I actually became active in terms of ... Well, I was ah, I was a student, and maybe UCLA is different than other schools, but I worked full time at being a student and I just couldn't really be that involved, and also I'm not sure that it even occurred to me, that was in the late 50's and people weren't that activist oriented. I was a member of the mountaineering section and went on a few outings, but didn't really have time for that. I had a real appreciation for the mountains, the mountains were my outdoors at the time, mountains and deserts. I really cared about them intensely but at that time there weren't that many issues that you had to be active on. We just weren't that issue oriented.

Through recreation we, that's how I came to know the outdoors. I didn't join the club for its outing activities. The most I've gone on is one or two outings over the years. I joined because I believed in what it stood for. It was probably the first group that became known when, at the beginning of the environmental movement. So I'd say that I wasn't active partly because I didn't have time and because people weren't active. I don't know how I came about joining, I have no idea, I remember I joined in school, but I don't remember anyone asking me to or having gone to ... I really have no idea.

The club covers a very broad spectrum of people, they are generally more educated people than non-educated people. They're, I think covers all age groups so you don't find really young people dominant. Some people are very intense, and very strongly motivated by the need to save the world. Others I think, just plain enjoy the outdoors and like to enjoy it with the company of others who do, generally a more quiet group as opposed to a more rowdy group, ah, many very, very serious-altruistic.

The average member is not active, and some of the active members I don't think they should because what they're saying is that if you can't be active don't join and I don't think that's what we mean. Because those people, when they join they're saying, I'm giving my money to support this group, and maybe I can't be active but at least I can give my money and that is very important. It's not the most important thing but without money we wouldn't have the magazine, we wouldn't have anything. I would say that the average member is not active, I think he's concerned but that he's too busy with other parts of his life, or he's not an activist or something has happened to trigger him to become active, and I think _____ and how he becomes active.

Okay, we have Gifford, myself, Aurelia, Holly, Marion, just take those five. What is in common about us, I don't know.

It's a commitment. We live different lifestyles, we're different politically, um, except for the fact that we're all more highly educated, we all are activist oriented in some sense and if we weren't active in the Sierra Club we'd probably be active in something else. At least

activism on anybody's part because either no one told you about the issue or no one encouraged you to take action.

Loren Easley, Aldo Leopold, _____ Olson, David Brower, these people are elegant. Population, Resources, and Environment is very important to me. The Sierra Club publications, like the Grand Canyon book has so many wonderful quotes, and so many are really inspiring. I can't give any one work or author credit, there's like Thoreau and a lot of the club directors themselves, they are very committed and can speak, that help your own thoughts formulize.

I could say what I think but then my life probably doesn't reflect that. We live pretty much a typical middle class American life, and, we have a big car which I feel very uncomfortable about, so when I say what I think and the way I live which is very traditional, if you analyzed them they would contradict.

Obviously it's the basic question to the whole thing but I've never really thought about it that way before. The natural world has ment a great deal of enjoyment and a great deal of inspiration. I feel myself as part of it, but I don't feel myself as just another creature, I don't think of myself quite that way, you know with the deer, and the bears, and people, not that way. Man's not on the same level, we are creatures apart, I feel, obviously, the world will not remain untouched with man in it, there are things in it we need to exist, but I think we have an obligation to be as gentle as possible, using what we have to use, and just being as careful as possible with the whole world, um, but when you get right down to it we have a nice big pick-up truck that eats lots of gasoline, when the gasoline is gone we have to look somewhere else for the energy, digging up somewhere else, putting in more pipelines, so I won't say I'm a hypocrite, I'm saying, well, that probably part of my activism, I feel to compensate for my consuming things that I have to do what I can to save what is left and to make others more aware of what we are doing and make others as aware as we can.

Right now in this group, I don't think there is any issue that I am particularly involved with. I'm not in it because I enjoy socializing with these people, which would be a good reason, but I do it because I feel an obligation, not, I feel that everyone has a moral duty to do something worthwhile, but it doesn't have to be to save the environment as long as they aren't detractors, but in some other area such as helping children, helping make life more enjoyable, but it happens that this is the area where I'm most active and so this is the area that I feel is my main area. I feel that I have a moral commitment, and that this is the area that I've picked to try to do some good, at least to compensate for the harm I've done. The moral commitment is just part of me, it didn't come from my religious training although it may have, I just don't know.

How does that affect my day-to-day life. I'd like to say I walk when I can instead of driving and I do walk more than I would otherwise, but that's, ... I'm very accomplishment oriented and to see that hour that it would take to walk disappear is very hard on me. But anyway I do often walk instead of drive. I happen to like to walk so I'm not sure there's anything alturistic there. I'm super careful about littering, I just don't like to see anything littered. I, ah,

active enough to go to programs to be informed about things. I guess that's what we have in common. Now that I think about it, I'm not so sure they would be involved in other things. Their commitment to the environment is the strong thing, not to being active. It's their commitment to the environment that makes them active. I can't picture Gifford on the city study commission. I think the commitment to the environment is the first thing, and then some how they've become active. They're really basically kind of recluses most of them. Their commitment forces them to become active. These people are active because of their commitment to the environment, not because they are naturally the leader type, also they're not socially oriented.

I'm active in my own way, and I have a very real commitment in my mind, but I think I'm more socially oriented than the typical active member, but then I look at Marion and I'm sure she has a very active life in many areas.

It begins with the kind of commitment people have, but for me, where I have a general attitude towards caring for the environment, when it comes to getting involved in a specific issue, um, in some ways I have to get tricked into it, you know someone has to ask me to join them or it has to have, to really hit me personally like Mineral King. I don't just go out looking for things to commit myself to. Somebody like Aurelia I think, of course she doesn't tackle everything, but, the whole environment, but particularly I think the roadless areas right now, and the energy things are her life, and, she has I guess a general commitment as opposed to getting somehow involved because of friends or because of knowing an area. Like Mineral King, we saw an area, we loved it, and we saw what they were going to do to it, and with a little help from Martin Mitton and a few other people we got riled up enough to make a commitment, and then once we did we were committed and we had to save it.

At certain times in your life certain things dominate and I'm not willing to make a bigger commitment even though I think I should and I feel guilty because I don't, but it's because I can't handle any more than I'm handling now. I say I won't do any more right now.

I think other people are very important in getting other people involved, like I said on the Mineral King thing, and in this case it was the area, with a little push from others. But then with our friend Kitty, she saw our show and asked if she could help and then became involved with us as well as with Mineral King, we were all committed to each other. The show sparked her, she hadn't done anything before, in fact she came to the show with a friend. I guess there are a million billion issues you could be involved in, and you can't, so maybe there's something in an issue that just captures and you have to become involved in it. Like the SST is something I became very concerned about, and population is a fundamental conservation issue. I think again it has to do with involvement with others, and going to these biennial conferences and someone well known, that would inspire you too. I saw Paul Ehrlich there, and somebody else, and I became completely convinced that overpopulation was the basis of all our problems. And so I became inactively committed to that issue. Many times some person gets you involved, and then you begin to see the rightness of the issue. I think if we were always by ourselves, that you would see much less

feel guilty when I do a lot of things that I do, but that doesn't help, so I try not to use aerosol sprays until we find out about them, and there's all kinds of tiny little things that I'm trying to think of. I try not to waste things, but now if Aurelia were to look at me she'd think that I was extremely wasteful, so ah, given my lifestyle I try not to be wasteful, I don't have a lavish lifestyle, neither is it sparse.

There are people who look and act like 'normal' people, and then there are those who at least think that they are living a more 'environmental' lifestyle and most of the really active people were very ordinary, but with good jobs, more traditional, but those people were just as committed but because of their 'unenvironmental' lifestyles they were doing things very dangerous things unconsciously just because of their lifestyle, but as far as doing things and working hard they were as committed.

You become more aware, and analyze the consequences of what you are doing, but it might not stop you, it just makes you feel guilty, when you feel guilty enough, you'll stop. You're aware of, but you still do the nonenvironmental thing, it's trade-offs, but they enter into the decision whether or not to do something. But I think the awareness is bound to have a net good effect. There will be times when you will do the environmental thing, um, when you feel you can.

Some people, and they maybe right, make you feel that living the traditional lifestyle, so to speak, is very wrong, but I like to have nice rugs in my living room, nice pieces of furniture, and I don't look for anything lavish, but I'd like to have those nice things and I don't feel that I'm wrong in doing that.

I think one affect a so called environmentalist can have with any real effort on their part is the affect on those that they associate with, um, if either by the way you live, or your activism, you have shown yourself to be an environmentalist, to some degree, I think that has an affect on your friends, and their being a little more careful about what they do, what they buy, or waste. So I think that's a good affect. I guess what I'm saying is, that the more of us there are even if we don't have time to organize campaigns, or write letters, if we, one way or another, show ourselves to have strong concerns, that either rubs off on others or it at least keeps others under check that you associate with.

Everything natural belongs here, it maybe that man has to destroy it, or use it, but should be able to justify it. If we could have the nicety without destroying nature.

I do have a religious view of nature, it's not traditional but more spiritual, more transcendental.

John

Well, I think I do have it, although it's not a particular area ... the Selway-Bitterroot as opposed to the Bob Marshall, it's a place, it's a sense of the Northern Rockies, if you take the geographical boundary between the United States and Canada as the extreme north ... I had lived five years in California before coming here, spent two years at sea on the Atlantic Ocean and in upper New York state and this is by far and away the most beautiful environment I've ever lived in, so I think, and also ongoing is exploitive extractive industrial work that you can see it happen right now which makes it very painful not like where the rip-off took place many years ago. I think where I came from was from the sportsman way of thinking, mainly because I was a fly fisherman for so long, and that was the way I used to get outdoors was to go fishing and ah with a passion so when I got here with good fishing ... ah ... what I found after a time that ah, that activity focused me in a concentrated way on one concern, I was missing a lot ... at the same time I got interested in, in ah, the several guide books; Peterson's Guide to Western Birds, Craigheads' wildflowers and I began to take more pleasure in simply walking around and getting to know the flora and fauna rather than fishing, so I don't fish much any more, I'd much rather hike. And I really think that's a great step to take ... one becomes more civilized or something ... ah ... when I was a kid I always dreamed of wild places, of green places on the map ... I used to draw pictures of guys who were dressed as I'm dressed now but with suspenders on, and ah with beards, and a sheath knife ... they were woodsmen ... and I really, really liked that stuff when I was a kid ... but the occasional visits outside suburbia when I went fishing with my father ... I've really been a nature lover for a long time but it's been restricted to the sportsman ... I think it's very important ... Leopold went that way ... by simply learning to be out in nature ... to love nature ... from killing things to gradually a concern for loveliness ... the education goes on, it's a very different view ... so I have it now, I'm an extremist ah, I don't think any new roads should be built, but rather for example the Forest Service should catch up on its reforestation and not build more roads, ah, I think that no machine should be used in the woods, or an absolute minimum of machines, catapilar tractors, chain saws are an insult to the ecosystem, ah, create insensitive working conditions that I think place man out of his environment and make him blind to it, it's as if one can hardly do a job without doing quite a bit of damage if he's highly mechanized and also the economic system which creates a thing where by loggers work according to the number of trees they can cut down in a day, so men are always pushed and hurried, and when they do that they do sloppy work ... so I'm an extremist in thinking that we ought really to slow down our activity, plan it more carefully and, ah, tighten our belts, because we know our resources are eventually to go and we need to be very careful of them ... leave some alone entirely. I like the Sierra Club because of its holding action ... I like its legal activity which tends to make exploiters stop and think under the law, I like the whole tendency which Sierra Club has contributed to obligating environmental impact statements and just making people who plan ... to make money off

nature ... to think over and over until they are clear about what they are doing ... so I suppose I'm one of the people that the commonsensical realists would consider a real extremist. I'm also a person who if he's done a thing, feels okay I did something, now I'll put it to rest for a while _____.

I'm not aware of the distinctions between the work of the two organizations, but I do know that they work together. The new thing that I learned this year, in fact this fall quarter, and it was from Gary Snyder through conversations with students and that I had with him, ah, was, is that it's a two sided problem, on the one side you get the avid hikers, backpackers, wilderness freaks who work mainly to protect the places they enjoy being in that are wild, ah, and that's land allocation, writing letters to Metcalf, and so forth, backing S392, lobbying, that's to preserve and to protect, but what I've become aware more and more is that how important our lifestyle is in this society in subtle places, in cities and so on, ah, and if we continue at the level of energy consumption, massive waste, we're bound, we're necessarily going to have to take wilderness to supply our greedy appetites, so that one thing I did recently was to fill out the sheet that the Beaverhead National Forest solicited to people after their series of workshops about their land-use planning ... What I tried to do was to suggest to them that they are a model of land-use themselves and just to the extent that they may be over mechanized, over busy in constructing and developing ... they're teaching people that that is the way you act in the woods and I really really urged, ah, the officials of the Beaverhead National Forest to reconsider their position as a model, as teachers and, ah, cut down their fossil fuel use, put more people in their green pickups and so forth, and less mechanized equipment, ah, high, ah, less energy intensive land-use, and ah, much more labor intensive, hire lots of people, that's a dream, will society go that way? We may go that way if we're really forced to, and I think we are, we're going to be shortly ... that is the other side of the two sided attack, getting a sense of the way we live ... and also what I've found is that any energy I have in this direction is, ah, well utilized by the Wilderness Institute so that it's my main affiliation.

Well, ah, that's the way it happened, I like the people there, and I think they're doing very important work and, ah, may even have at this time, ah, have at this time a development center _____ although I know what's effective is the money to buy lawyers, to go to court, ah, the Sierra Club has been good that way, I don't know what the financial situation is now, if they can keep that up.

But the Wilderness Institute is a place, good people, good work, pioneering work, ah, and also _____ and, ah, it seems to satisfy. Sierra Club publications are extremely good. I'm reading Backcountry Journal by _____ with early pictures in black and white, with some real interesting places. The Cascades, he wandered all over _____

Do you know what Lametre is? It must be a peak, it says taken on the K-2 trek, going to K-2. A meter, or a Mietre I guess it is, ah, is a bishop's hat, a head band, well anyway his stuff is pretty gray compared to what they're doing now _____ What other questions?

Ah, yea, I think personal experience is the really important thing for a lasting commitment and, ah, I think what a person must do

is travel in the mountains, preferably alone or with one friend, for long periods of time and really soak in the spirit that's out there, ah, the realization that I came to is that everything is alive, this is an important aspect of our energy theories, ah, in short, a kind of experience which isn't so much ah, imitating the ways of Native Americans but, ah, which does the same kind of thing they did, direct first hand contact, ah, the more purposeful the better at the same time, not just to go out to relax for a week, but to gather information for the Wilderness Institute, but it's that personal experience, that getting a sense of how mysterious, inexplicable the ecological process is, that everything's alive and then the sense that it's not there to hear us or serve us necessarily but it is there and we're there too, and where do we fit in? I think people, I think people who do hunt and fish who wander around a lot do begin to get that, hopefully they don't become greedy about trophies and so forth. Machines take us away from that so I'm afraid that I have no faith at all that a person who rides a snowmobile or a trailbike doesn't have the foggiest notion of where he lives or the place he's in _____ can't blame him for - for, it's a buy and sell economy, it's ah, a highly mechanized economy, um, advertising will grab him, so people just think it's the thing to do, it's kicks, thrills. I read the other day that there were 1400 people killed between 1825 and 1850 in steamboat explosions on the Mississippi and ah, Daniel Bursten wrote that it was just a symptom of the rush, what they use to do was race, they'd fire them up, the passengers were saying get me where I'm going, whether it was to search for gold, homestead, everybody was rushing and, ah, it was really dangerous to ride a steamboat so today we go too fast, cars are built to go too fast, way too fast, off-road vehicles around, and, ah, nothing _____ seems considerate, people don't have the quiet, the reflective experiences they need to feel to appreciate the land to learn to love the land.

It could very well be, what's your version of the sense of Earth again?

I really think so, biological science has helped us a lot, it's way back beginning in the years of evolution, where we came from, ah, again, I'm an extremist, I think that, ah, most of our activities are no different in kind than the activities of other species, we get shelter, we get food, we get clothing most mammals have fur, we also get fuel, but, you know we don't have any fur so we need those extras, okay, and ah, so we exploit, we use things, kill things, what other animal doesn't do that, other animals communicate, warning cries, cries of love, mating cries, cries of alarm, of calm, and so we do too. But the unbelievable edifice of meaning that we've built up seems to make us so different, I don't think we are qualitatively, quantitatively we have a bigger brain power than other species, I have a respect for all other living things.

I got hung up on Buddhism three and a half years ago, and ah, if you look at it, it's a biocentric religion, the only thing they have similar to a savior, like Jesus, who says love your neighbor, what Buddhism has is a basic sense that our neighbors are all living things, that's millions on millions of species _____ all are alive their figure, the Jesus figure, called the Holsanto goes around saving everything, ah, it's for this reason that I'm interested in the primitive cultures, I'm reading some native American history that gives a view of America

from the west-east, and, ah, I don't assume that people in the past were very different from us, but were lucky enough to have a low population level and they were pretechnological and there's a real beauty in that, issuing the way they live and how they relate to nature. Snyder's thinking in fact is one of the men of wisdom around to listen to, he's got some _____.

"Mother Earth: Her Whales," ah, he compares, ah, he says they are floating like breathing planets, and I think the whale therefore becomes a symbol for all of nature and earth itself and, ah, I think implied there is the suggestion their going signifies our going, as used symbolically by Melville in Moby Dick. That's I think what drives people to oppose wildland, is fear, electrical storms are scary, forest fires are scary, grizzly bears are scary. I think fear and the need to civilize and order.

I think so, I think so, a neoFreudian suggested that we not only repress our life instinct but our death instincts too. He accounts for much building, especially memorial building, like the pyramids, skyscrapers dedicated to someone as an attempt to be immortal to deny our death, that's a hoax that's been with us a long time, that we're going to go to heaven, that we're immortal, and I think it leads us to try to build a tangible evidence of our immortality all over the place, cities, buildings, status, and, ah, a direct experience with nature, just the system of predation, well life comes and life goes, it's a fascinating process, we seem to cheat ourselves to think that we are not a part of it, any piety what so ever, I do think that it is quite possible to get religious feeling from natural experiences, I think a lot of people are experiencing that now. I think without it... Thoreau warned us very early that if wilderness goes, we're going to go. It's time, it's civilization, we need wild areas to make us feel right, to feel together, ah, not just to derive our material resources from, the whole look at nature not as a resource but as a source and ah, as something which is more powerful than we are, and this is it, the whole process, is similar to religious feeling, a power greater than ours, and I don't think there are too many places any more where you can get that feeling _____.

Well, first of all it is that sense of powers greater than one, that one has to acknowledge, there is more than we can know and control out there, and in our current capacity to predict what will happen and control what happens we are getting ourselves into trouble, provincially what happens, _____ in the sense that, I don't know, it's beautiful for some reason, the aesthetic feeling one has in the woods, it's like how you feel when you get high, ... maybe it's a matter of elevation.

The experience also is very good in survival training as all the leadership schools realized and are practicing and making a business of ... it's really good to realized that you'll have to do something or else you'll stay wet and cold, you're probably into more of that in mountain climbing.

To me the Sierra Club is a national group organized to save the Earth ... with the weapons that they have obtained from the earth destroyers and I hope it works out, simply raising money and utilizing the legal system. Aurelia seems angry everytime I see her, and you're

into that if you're constantly opposing, it's a constant battle, I sometimes think there is a war against nature and the Sierra Club is on the right side, and I hope they win, you'll find that in Snyder's poetry too. Why do people fight wars, I think it's fear, like the propaganda with the Communist menace, that happened, will I think it's okay at this point they won, they got the country, okay how do people act in fear? They act blindly and they lash out, it's as if you don't particularize your enemy carefully enough and in a war, what we did was a tremendous amount of habitat destruction, the Viet Cong can't live there anymore, we destroyed their hiding places, and their food, that always happens in a war. The best example of that going on according to an unwritten declaration of war is the grizzly bear, ah, 'cause that's what gets it, if you take away its' habitat, and incidently the Glacier Park Wilderness Plan is excluding, well the park's 90% wilderness that they planned, the Cammis Creek Corridor, because there's a road in that area they want to connect to the North Fork Road, so they're going to go right through the Apgar Mountains which is a very important habitat because of the great amount of huckleberries, what you do if you put a road through is maximize bear-man conflicts, which if there are any bad ones means eliminating bears and then, further antagonizing a very sensitive animal that once lived down along the Missouri River and now shoved back in a National Park and now they want to put a road. They're going to put a bikeway on the northwest shore of MacDonald Lake which is currently wild, if you go from there about ten miles you go right up to Trout Lake, which has been closed at times because a girl was killed in '68, it's been closed off and on because there are so many bears in there, ah, that's war ... that's going on another animal's territory and antagonizing him, causing trouble and whiping them out, I don't trust them.

I suppose we'll get into that, as use increases, yeah the parks will put restrictions, limiting the number of parties and so forth, we need more roadless areas.

That's true, it's to protect the wilderness experience, too many people detract from the experience. I'd love to see a whole series of decisions that held in court that held up the rights of trees.

I think that, that it happens both ways and ah, I think you get from ah, coming from the general to the particular, like a person's just interested in wilderness preservation and doesn't have just an area that he loves, you get a great many people, I assume, like, as I've seen and heard, who are so frequently in Sierra Club, who are defenders of the land, urban, intellectual, ah, and they're affected by it, since educated, and since angry about it. That is fine I think that a true sense of land, that goes from a particular place to a general sense, a certain drainage, a certain mountain lake or even your backyard. And, I really got into my own backyard the other day, there's about twenty-three trees, I counted each one, ah, and watch the song birds, red squirrels and an occasional grouse ... then you begin to build a familiarity, that's really back to old Aldo Leopold, getting a good sense of nature and then how it can get a larger application ... I think it should be built into a kid's education, now, the best education would be the family, the small farmer or something near a mountain range, and really live there, grow things.

Americans don't like to be told what to do there are many land owners along the Missouri breaks who are dead set against the wild and scenic rivers designation, ... this is something they own, ah, however, ah, too often the old timers had ripped off their land, I guess it's from that time when they thought our resources were inexhaustible, so much of it ... so that yes, people could grow up in very beautiful places and still be very insensitive to nature, to the land.

I think it's mainly political, there are sidetracks that people relate to that are spiritual, ah, but the vanguard of the environmental movement, like Clancy Gordon, here, I see him working from anger, and ah, his aggression, he uses it very constructively, and ah, that's what the politics are about, there, there ah, ... although I'm not such a social animal, I really believe in the whole "rigamarole" the Forest Service has set up for public meetings, hearings, workshops, taking the whole agonizing public process, because ... what I think they are finding, is, they're getting more and more responses, this was true of the Beaverhead, more they're finding that the great majority of people are opting for wilderness, minimal development at this point, at least those responding. But the more they search out what the public really wants, the more I think they find, that many preservationists - environmentalists ... ah, they're not quite sure that we're a bunch of kooks. You know, education has helped, crisis ... I've been encouraged about that, about the democratic process.

I don't think, you've been working in that area ... ah, I think that there's a class of individuals, ah, among which I find myself, who are what I call extremists, or people who are for better or worse who are extremely, extremely sensitive to land abuse. I feel like vomiting sometimes because of the clear-cuts, ah, or Horner-Waldorf's operating in violation of state air pollution ... so that there's a groups of people who are pretty unhappy with the direction that society has taken in so far as it lowers the quality of life ... on the other side I'm also sensitive to maybe, because I'm a professor, the terminology that has grown up among land agencies, and I think it is a joke that they call trees "overmature," and "decadent," most of language is geared to our economic use ... we call a tree overmature not because it's only going to live two or three more years, it's overmature because it's not growing anymore board feet, ah, I think we need to ... Snyder said language is really a wild medium ... we go through so many meetings, etc., we're finally all talking the same jargon, finally, right. Ah, we need a new common language to talk with, it seems, that that code gets dictated by the bureaucracy, and economic system. They're talking about nature which is not an adequate description of it. It's kinda like ecological science, its terms are a little _____ sometimes - but what can you do?

You've got to cut through a lot of baloney that's grown up, language is often used as a defense, propaganda _____, it's a way to keep talking without letting any secrets out, ah, and such a disparity between what we know how we should act on an ideal level - well trained, after all these years in forestry - they know how to treat the land, and that language always, that always, often, appears as a description of what they're going to do, timber sales and stuff, and then what really happens is another matter, you've got to get millions of actions closer

together, ah, ... I'm sensitive to that too, and that's kinda fun ... it's laughable. We're all a little bit satarized, satire on the professor, the psychologist, and all words. So what occurs, I think people should get more and more sensitive, the more sensitive the more _____ isn't it.

Like you share the same goals but you're not a member? I think so, certainly, and ah...

I'm sure that's true, right!

And who knows maybe another organization coming up now _____ political activities, an organization grows on its momentum for a while then loses its effectiveness _____. Whether it's the Wilderness Society, the Audubon Club, or whatever, I don't know.

You bet they are!

That would be effective, a coalition, that would be very effective - pool the resources! It's very difficult too because friends always argue, fractionalism in other words, _____.

Richard

I feel that the Sierra Club is an organization that is involved in the preservation of the naturalness of the Earth, and it's about ... like ... getting together a bunch of members and collecting dues, having periodic meetings where people can get together and formulate their ideas into a plan of action and then proceed with the action to whatever ways they want to go to, whether it be wilderness preservation, saving the whales, um, cleaning up oil spills, or whatever it happens to be.

First off you have to have an understanding of nature, appreciation of the natural processes, um, a person who lives in the city, who grows up in filth and pollution all the time, who never gets a feeling of what it's like to be in the wilds, what with rushing streams and wildlife running around uh, they're going to have a hard time enjoying the naturalness, since they've never seen it, a person who's been out in the woods and seen all this is going to come back to the city with a greater understanding of the whole Earth around him, and then when, say ah, the Forest Service goes in and cuts vast acreages of forest, they will become more upset than the person in the city. And I feel that this person who has gone out and experienced the whole spectrum of his surroundings that will become a member.

Nature is all around you, it's not just in the Bob Marshall Wilderness hundreds of miles away from your home] it's just in a little better shape there[, there are many good city parks that you can get a good understanding of nature in. I think he can, the person on a motorbike can still develop, ah, appreciation for nature, he still can see the rushing streams, the mountain peaks, and wildlife running about, however he's going to get a different impression of it than the person walking slowly through the woods. The person walking through the woods, I feel , is going to have a better feeling, appreciation of the water, Earth, the soil than the person riding the motorcycle tearing it up. The person walking is also going to travel more lightly and make less disturbance on the land. I think that's true, it provides a barrier, but it's a permeable barrier. It would probably take a person longer, if he were on a motorcycle to develop on appreciation, and I think possibly this person on a motorcycle might eventually as he enjoys nature and appreciates it more and more might he just dump his motorcycle back in the city dumps.

Okay, there's a couple facets, like first off you have to a , see that it's (nature) there, you have to get, the person in the city has to get out into a park, out into a wilderness area and experience it, there's also, ah, an educational view point where, ah, you could be in a classroom, and ah, a professor in a biology class could introduce you to nature, through a slide show, through discussions.

Well, okay, looking back on my awareness of nature, a couple of the things that really brought it out in my were some of my original backpacking trips in the Sierra Nevadas, just south of Yosemite, and

at that time I was not aware of the processes of nature, I could see the land, the beautiful glacial lakes, and the high mountain lakes, and say wow, this is really beautiful but I didn't know how the glaciers carved out the cirques, but because I was so awe struck by the beauty, I don't think a person who is not educated is going to save the land because of natural processes, it's going to be for beauty.

Another point I wanted to bring out is, that the reason he might want to preserve it is because say, this area is a beautiful trout fishing area, and one of the first things I did was take my fishing pole and catch fresh trout, and if you've ever tasted a fresh trout, you know what I'm talking about.

Yeah, I've always been interested in physical exercise and friends of mine have invited me on trips, it's been a combination of those things. Being interested initially in the exercise, and getting outdoors, plus some friends who'd already been there saying, hey it's nice out there let's go.

Alright, I think that, ah, man is definitely influenced by nature as is nature influenced by man, I'd say that that relationship, um, as opposed to nature dominating man or man dominating nature, ah, nothing that man does, ah, making cars and driving those cars and polluting the air is going to, is not going to hurt nature, is not going to affect nature in some way, and ah, on the other hand, okay, nature, the natural process can say change the temperature of the earth and increase or decrease and man has the capacity to disregard these changes to a certain extent, he can put on warmer cloths, or shed off those cloths, but once it reaches a certain limit say, ice-caps start forming, it gets very cold, then man's going to have to kiss it good-bye, he's influenced by nature to that degree. So, ah, another thing is the energy aspect, um, man has put these to his own uses, and ah, now he's finding that he's running out of these resources, ah uh, I feel that man has the capacity to develop other resources, other energy resources, his brain will enable him to take advantage of materials that aren't known as energy sources right now, his technology will help him ober come, um, nature's limitations on man. But I don't think that ultimately technology can solve all of man's problems: water pollution, air pollution, I think those are constraining factors that nature has on man. When the air gets so filthy and so depleted that there is very little oxygen left, man's in bad shape, because he's not going to be able to change his internal structure. I don't think he's going to be able to develop lungs that are going to breath, ah, pollutants.

Man's, I think, like in the cities he's going to have to clean up the factories, put air pollution devices on smokestacks, and make every effort he can to minimize his pollution.

I think so, I've described my point of man interacting with nature and ah, described the two extreme spectrums.

My daily activities, let me run through a typical day and see how my views might effect it. Um, okay, let's see I get up in the morning, and ah, go in and take a shower, use up some water, take a fairly short shower so that I don't waste a lot of water and make excessive demands on the Missoula Water System, and drink some instant

breakfast and zip off to school. Go outside and if it's a real nice warm day out, ah, I'll be in the mood for walking, if it's chilly out I'll dig in my pocket and get my keys out and putt along to school in my truck. Alright, I get in there and sit in my classes- not really affecting nature a whole lot, sitting in my chair listening to lectures, come out at the end of the day, get in my automobile and putt back home, and uh, I like to take a break between my studies, so I'll go over to the gym- I live oh, approximately four blocks away- now, ah, to get some exercise I'll go over to the gym, play some basketball, lift some weights, just to keep in shape and to recreate, to ah, interact with other people. Okay, then, I'll get good and tired and sweaty and go and take a shower and go home, and ah, do a little studying and go to sleep. That's just a basic run down on it. That's a typical school day, then there's the weekend. I like to get out into nature as much as I can and, I'll go, there's some activities that I particularly like to do, one's photography, going down to the Bitterroot River on the floodplain looking for any interesting shots I might find, ah, I like to identify the types of trees, and just see what birds are, identify the birds and take pictures of the birds and listen to them sing. Getting a drink of hopefully fresh water out of the Bitterroot River, and other times I like to go up into places like Kootenai Canyon and do a little bouldering and maybe an occassion rock climb with yours truly, Stan, and ah, I like to go up there with the view of preserving the land as much as possible. When I go walking up the trail I like to stick on the trail, avoid excess of erosion, and ah, when I'm doing the actual climbing, leaving, ah, climbing free without the use of aids, in which you'd use pitons, scaring up the rock. That's a destruction of the rock that's going to last a thousand years perhaps- then why should we do it, 'cause that's destroying, uh, the beauty that any person maybe seeing someday- then that's something we shouldn't be doing because that's defacing the rock, and beauty leaves. I think that all future generations should have the same opportunity to view this beautiful Earth as I do at this present time. So it's my obligation to keep it intact.

Okay, now I'd like to get on the activity of driving my vehicle to school. It's something that I think about occasionally that needs more thought on my part. As you asked me, I live only four blocks from school which is a short distance away, many people walk, from four blocks away, many people walk from a mile away. I pointed out before that on a cold day I like to get in my vehicle, 'cause I'm a pussy and I like to stay warm. Second, then there's the view point of time, and I like to, ah, make the most out of my time, feel that I'm living limited time, the average person gets sixty-five years or so, and I like to make the most of my time, By driving I save my travel time to school and back which can amount to half an hour, about, just to school alone, ah, now while driving to school I'm polluting the air, from my carbon monoxide coming out the exhaust pipe, um, and that bothers me to some degree, although obviously not enough or I'd stop driving. To be consistant in my philosophy now I'm going to have to, ah, give up driving]laughing[.

Right, if we can get better smog devices we can, ah, improve our clean-up of the air, perhaps may, can develop a plant that can filter air, polluted air from the atmosphere, through a filter system, that's not a bad idea either. I was thinking of terms of a plant that would cover a few acres of ground- let's see my new industry, LION'S INDUSTRY and that's just one possible idea to filter out the pollution, although if we get right at the roots of the problem the person polluting, driving his automobile, there won't be a need for this. And perhaps that's a better place to start attacking the problem.

In Missoula it's very cold outside, I come from California where the temperatures are sixty to seventy much of the year. I like to have warm fingers so I can feel my handle bars ya know. If it was warm out I'd guarantee you I'd be riding my bike. So this springtime we've something to look forward to, and less pollution in Missoula.

Ah, I thought of another activity, about picking up litter, garbage, cans. I'm one of those who, ah, when they see an accumulation of litter I get upset because it's destroying natural beauty of the Earth, something that's very visible, ah, now relating back to that truck, I think one of the reasons perhaps that I go on driving it is that I can't see that I'm polluting the air, it's more of a delayed thing it's not instantaneous. The problem of litter is right there, it's very obvious to the person, and, ah, very obvious to me, I see it right away, I like to pick it up, put it in a trash can, where city disposal can bury it underground, get it out of the view of people. And, ah, I got up to Highway 93 by Ravalli and noticed there was just a great accumulation of cans along the highway, and I spent an hour or so picking them up. I got several hundred cans and took them down to the recycling center.

Oh, I wanted to bring up something about depositing litter out in natural areas, or wilderness areas, or roadside areas, um, while reading an article on this problem of litter, um I came across an interesting philosophy. This man decided that while he was along the highway drinking his Michelob, instead of bringing the cans, uh, into his city, he decided that he was going to throw the cans out the window along side the highway. Initially go what!, What the hell's he doing that for? You know that's destroying the beauty of the land there, but it also provides a great collection spot for all of this trash, and perhaps this will be a great project for future government service projects to ah, keep unemployed busy and occupied with something that's going to benefit Mankind]laugh[.

That's not the most beneficial use of resources, but it was an interesting philosophy, I thought. Because it would be a good message for those who are going to throw out their garbage, they could do it at a collecting side along the side of the highway, where people in the future could come by with their gunny sacks and pick it up. That would be better than dumping up the mountains away. If these people would dispose of their trash properly in the first place we wouldn't have this litter problem. I think again it's got to start with the individual.

You have to have an awareness and an appreciation of nature,

you have an appreciation in the mind of natural processes, plus you have a little bit of finances to support your membership your contribution.

There's a spectrum, where at the very bottom you have your person who's totally unaware of nature and then one day he goes out, he sees as opposed to big ugly buildings, pretty flowers, trees, and perhaps a small brook. and says, wow, this is really nice for a change. I think it's a recognition, of beauty, first off, no insight. And then further up the spectrum, then you have persons who are beginning to understand the natural processes that are going on that control soil formation, the growing of trees, of flowers, the growing of grass. I suppose that would be education. Then further up the spectrum you would have the person becoming active, expressing his feelings, expressing himself, that nature should be preserved, should be saved, these natural areas are worth protecting, so other people can enjoy them, preserved for future generations. I guess that would be called, I don't know, expressivism. And then you have, I think at that stage you'd become a member, alright, I think that would be the spectrum. And at that stage you'd have various ways of expressing yourself. That's where you'd get your leader who's out in front and one who's supporting spiritually, with money, but not actively, not super actively as the leader would. And then you'd have your intermediate who's going to the meetings, supporting with his contribution, plus writing letters to people hoping to save a wilderness area.

You have to be aware that the group is in existence, so that takes a, the Sierra Club must make public input, they must make their meetings open to the public, they must put up announcements- that was my case, I saw a piece of paper talking about a meeting, and although I did not go to the meeting I was aware of the club's existence and ah, I saw Sierra Club Bulletins and read a few of them. From those Sierra Club inputs into the public there, I became interested in what the Sierra Club was doing. I read articles on things they were doing, oil spill clean-ups and things of that nature. And I said hey look, I like the things they are doing, I think it's consistent with my philosophy so I put a little in for a contribution.

I don't think I can typify an average club member, you can simply, you can categorize people to a certain extent, but to say that there's an average club member you can't do that. I think I simplified as good as I could in the previous question.

That's going to be difficult for me because I've been to very few meetings where they've been organized and getting their action together. Because I'm more a member in spirit than activity. There's action activities and social activities. Active towards ah, preservation of the environment. Social activities would be maintaining the cohesion of the group. Perhaps it would be more just a party atmosphere where members are just getting to know each other.

You are the only other club member that I know of and recreate with.

Not on a one to one contact basis, I've seen a negative stigma come out in newspapers and magazines where industry is very much opposed to the Sierra Club. I haven't experienced, just for the reason

that I have had very little action in the club. I'm sure if you've talked to your local chapter's president that he's had it, especially if he's talked to industry. Talk to any person in industry and I'll bet they'll be against the Sierra Club. Because the person in industry is there to make their bucks, they obviously don't have much hard feelings against nature. The person who goes into tell them to clean up their ugly mess, they're going to go what it doesn't bother me, why should I spend my money there. So obviously they're going to be against them.

My religous view is not one of God, if you took religion to mean just a general philosophy ...