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**THE ORIGINS AND EMERGENCE OF QUEBEC'S ENVIRONMENTAL
MOVEMENT: 1970 - 1985**

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May, 1995

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts, 1995 ©, Jane E. Barr 1995.



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Et cette révolution écologiste, tout le monde peut y participer à sa manière. L'action de ceux qui vivent discrètement en économie douce, en pratiquant l'écosociété, est aussi essentielle que l'action de ceux qui militent et paraissent être au cœur de la lutte. Il faut bien qu'il y ait des gens qui 'vivent' la révolution écologiste pour que d'autres puissent en parler!

Michel Jurdant, *Le défi écologiste* 1984b, 418.

The way things change is because lots of people are working all the time ... wherever they happen to be, and they're building up the basis for popular movements which are going to make changes. That's the way everything has happened in history. You know, whether it was the end of slavery or whether it was the democratic revolutions or anything you want, you name it, that's the way it worked.

Noam Chomsky, from the film *Manufacturing Consent* (Achbar & Wintonick 1992).

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ABSTRACT

This qualitatively-oriented thesis explores, describes, and interprets the emergence of Quebec's environmental movement, placing it in its proper historical and socio-political setting. Analysis is undertaken in light of the many variables suggested by resource mobilization theory, new social movement theory, and Inglehart's approach; description is aided by exploring links with conservation and urban sanitation movements of the past, by some comparisons with environmental movements elsewhere, and through comprehension of the different ideological strands that characterize contemporary environmental thought. The environmental movement was one of the myriad of new social movements that arose in the 1960s and '70s in western nations. Although it transcended national boundaries, development of environmental movements in Europe and North America differed, just as they did at more regional levels, depending on cultural distinctions, the structures of opportunity, and the amount of available resources, among other things. With its Quiet Revolution, Quebec society gained a new pluralism, secularism, and liberalism that gave the rising middle class and the large proportion of educated youth a greater say in decisions and fostered the development of public interest groups, such as environmental groups. These were aided by government grants that became available after the October Crisis in 1970. Between 1970 and 1980, environmentalism in Quebec became a legitimate societal concern as various associations and individuals began working separately and together on urban air and water pollution problems, recycling projects, and transportation and energy issues, among others. The impetus to act on behalf of the province's environment was due in part to the severity and distribution of pollution problems and to the moral and ideological convictions of group leaders and core members of environmental groups. Informal social and communication networks, such as the counterculture, the antinuclear movement, and health-food coops provided the burgeoning environmental movement with ideologies, members, and solidarity. Unlike its parallel in the United States, Quebec's movement had few historical or ideological links with efforts to preserve wilderness and it developed social-rather than nature-protection principles.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse est une recherche qualitative qui décrit et interprète la naissance du mouvement écologiste québécois, le replaçant dans son cadre historique et socio-politique. L'analyse se fait à la lumière de plusieurs variables suggérées par la théorie de la mobilisation des ressources, la théorie des nouveaux mouvements sociaux et l'approche d'Inglehart. La description est facilitée par l'exploration des liens avec les anciens mouvements de conservation de la nature et d'hygiène urbaine, par des comparaisons avec les autres mouvements écologistes et par la compréhension des diverses tendances idéologiques qui caractérisent la pensée écologiste contemporaine. Le mouvement écologiste fut l'un des très nombreux mouvements sociaux qui se sont développés dans les pays occidentaux pendant les années 60 et 70. Même s'ils débordaient les frontières nationales, les mouvements écologistes européen et nord-américain distinguaient, tout comme aux niveaux plus régionaux, à cause des différences culturelles et sociales et des quantités de ressources disponibles, entre autres choses. Avec la révolution tranquille, il s'est développé au Québec un nouveau pluralisme, un mouvement laïque et un libéralisme qui a permis à la classe moyenne émergente et à la majorité de la jeunesse fortement scolarisée de prendre une plus grande part aux décisions, favorisant ainsi le développement des groupes d'intérêt public, comme les groupes écologistes. Après la crise d'octobre 1970, des subventions gouvernementales vinrent appuyer ces groupes. Entre 1970 et 1985, l'écologisme au Québec est devenu une préoccupation sociale légitime à mesure que différentes associations et individus ont commencé à s'attaquer aux problèmes de pollution de l'eau et de l'air, de transport et d'énergie, et de recyclage. L'urgence d'agir pour protéger l'environnement de la province était dictée d'une part par la sévérité, l'étendue et la diversité des problèmes de pollution, et d'autre part par les convictions morales et idéologiques des leaders et membres influents des groupes écologistes. Les réseaux de communication informels, comme la contre-culture, le mouvement antinucléaire, et les coopératives d'aliments naturels, ont fourni au mouvement écologiste naissant ses idéologies, ses membres et sa solidarité. Contrairement au mouvement environnemental aux États-Unis, le mouvement québécois n'a eu que peu de liens historiques et idéologiques avec les efforts pour conserver la nature et il a développé une démarche vers un nouveau projet de société.

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PREFACE

Public concern for environmental quality grew with unprecedented speed and urgency in almost every industrialized country during the 1960s and '70s. From awareness to apprehension, this concern for the deteriorating state of the natural world quickly evolved into a social movement in which organized groups of people lobbied public officials to make amends, pressured major offenders to cease polluting, and educated the larger population regarding the human-environment relationship.

I first became interested in the environmental movement as a social phenomenon when I returned to Montreal after a ten-year experience living in the country. Like many other baby-boomers reaching young adulthood in the late 1960s, I had chosen to 'drop out' and go 'back to the land' to grow organic vegetables and to tune into nature. On my return to the city in 1980, I joined Ecosense, a local environmental organization that was lobbying the municipal government to start recycling in our neighbourhood. Ecosense was not alone. There appeared to be a plethora of groups of concerned citizens working throughout the city to improve the quality not only of their own surroundings, but of the larger global environment. I began to hear about ozone depletion, global warming, and deforestation and linked these problems to the slogan I was noticing at group meetings: think globally, act locally. I also began to read about the history of the environmental movement in North America, noting that there was a dearth of studies about environmentalism as a social movement in Canada and Quebec.

Given the opportunity to write a master's thesis, coupled with my involvement and interest in environmentalism, I chose to document the emergence of collective action towards protecting nature and natural resources in this province. This thesis, then, attempts to tell the story of Quebec's environmental movement. The focus is on placing it in its proper historical and sociopolitical setting, describing and analyzing its emergence between 1970 and 1985, and noting those characteristics that distinguished it from other similar action.

Scholars of environmentalism use different terms to label the contemporary popular movement to protect the planet: green, ecology, or environmental movement. In Quebec, it is called *le mouvement écologiste* rather than *le mouvement environnemental*. The latter has a stricter interpretation, referring to a pragmatic and reformist strand of environmentalism. The term 'environmental movement' is the most popular one in the English language, however, and was chosen for this work as a convenient way of referring to all the different strands of this nebulous movement.

The thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 reviews social movement theories and describes the methodology. Chapter 2 provides the broad historical and global context within which to set the emergence of Quebec's environmental movement. It describes the origins, evolution, and characteristics of environmentalism and the environmental movements in several western nations. Chapter 3 follows with a description of the Quebec example, focusing on the years between 1970 and 1985, and chapter 4 presents the data. At the macro level, the latter documents the social context within which environmentalism arose in Quebec. Presentation of six case studies provides the meso-level data. At the micro level, the values, motivation, and socioeconomic background of some of Quebec's environmental activists are presented. In chapter 5, the analysis links the results to the theoretical constructs outlined in chapter 1 and highlights the distinctiveness of Quebec's environmental movement. A short Epilogue brings the situation up to date and speculates about the future of environmentalism in this province.

Many people helped me with my research. I am especially grateful to the activists and informed observers of Quebec's environmental movement who, despite their busy schedules, generously submitted to extended interviews, let me peruse the files of their organizations, and provided me with useful contacts. Although their comments are cited in the thesis, for the most part they remain anonymous. A list of their names, however, can be found in appendix 1. I am also indebted to Professor Maurice Pinard, whose insights on social movement theories were extremely helpful; to Professor Gail Chmura for her

good counsel; and to Professor George Wenzel, for his constructive comments and encouragement. Finally, without the financial assistance of a scholarship from the Fonds pour la formation de chercheurs et l'aide à la recherche (FCAR), I would not have been able to undertake this project; I am grateful for their help.

1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The specific objectives of this thesis are the following:

1. to describe the origins and emergence of Quebec's environmental movement;
2. to discover why and how a popular movement concerned with protecting the environment emerged in Quebec; and
3. to discern the distinctive characteristics of this burgeoning phenomenon.

The thesis, therefore, seeks both to describe and to analyze the emergence of Quebec's environmental movement. It is a qualitative and interpretative research, the aim of which is to understand and to explain the nature of a specific social reality and its context. Lowe and Rüdig (1986, 537) justified this type of research: "[i]n the past, surveys have grossly neglected the situational context of environmental attitudes and action. To redress this requires the revival of more qualitatively orientated research methodologies". Qualitative research does not try to test precise hypotheses but rather to discover important processes and relationships and to describe the phenomenon in a holistic fashion (Marshall & Rossman 1989). The following assumptions guided the research and were used as a framework for generating questions and searching for patterns:

1. the contemporary environmental movement in Quebec is the result of a combination of factors that are elucidated through social movement theories; and
2. Quebec's environmental movement exhibits a distinctive pattern of growth and development related to social features particular to Quebec history and culture.

In the 1960s and '70s there was an upsurge of social protest throughout the industrialized world that manifested itself in a myriad of social movements such as those for peace and women's rights and those against war and the destruction of the environment. There is a wealth of literature, most of it in sociology, that describes and analyzes collective social action and, more specifically, the new social movements of the

post-World War II era. As a review of this literature shows, the research focus set forth here is strongly linked to larger theoretical constructs and concerns.

In the first part of this chapter, I define social movements, provide a brief overview of the evolution of social movement theories, and critically examine those that attempt to explain the rise of new social movements in the postindustrial world. In the second section I describe the methodology and its rationale, showing how the data were collected, managed, and analyzed.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Definition

Wood and Jackson (1982, 2) defined social movements as "unconventional group attempts to produce or prevent change". Such movements often challenge "social norms, values, or existing patterns of behavior" (ibid). Because social movement goals are not routinely recognized by society, participants usually engage in non-routine action to advance their objectives. When a movement's interests become institutionalized - that is, when society recognizes and enforces the movement's goals as rights - then it no longer needs to press for change outside the established order (Hannigan 1985; Fitzsimmons-LeCavalier & LeCavalier 1986): "[s]uccess is thus quite compatible with, and indeed overlaps, the disappearance of the movement as a movement" (Scott 1990, 10-11).

Some theorists argue that social movements do not seek state power. Touraine (1981) equates integration into the mainstream with social movement failure, arguing that social movement activity takes place outside politics. Fuentes and Frank (1993, 144) point out that in this perspective "not seeking - let alone wielding - state power is a *sine qua non* of a social movement". They conclude, however, that there are many kinds of social movements, most of which seek autonomy from the state rather than state power. More pertinent, however, is the fact that some groups within a movement may find expression in political parties but the movement usually has broader goals than its constituent associations

and is always vigilant concerning the dangers of integration (Wilde 1990). Thus social movements fill a void "where the state and other social and cultural institutions are unable or unwilling to act in the interests of their members" (Fuentes & Frank 1993, 147).

Classification

Social movements can be described by classifying them according to various criteria: for example, their orientation, political stance, size, and the constituency they represent. Thus social movements may be value-oriented or norm-oriented (Smelser 1963); they may be self-interested or focusing on the good of the community; they may be left wing, non-political, conservative, or right wing; and they may be movements primarily of gender, race, ethnicity, age, or class. They also vary in size and in the amount and type of resources at their disposal. Further, social movements exhibit varying degrees of structure and organization. They may be spontaneous, informal and loosely organized, or formal and highly structured. They also range from radical to reformist in their demands. Radical movements seek fundamental changes in the social system, while reformist ones pursue limited changes within the established order (Wood & Jackson 1982; Fitzsimmons-LeCavalier & LeCavalier 1986).

Social movements are represented by social movement organizations (SMOs) such as interest or pressure groups.¹ An SMO is the "complex, or formal organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement ... and attempts to implement these goals" (McCarthy & Zald 1977, 1218). An interest group is "an organized group which attempts to influence government decisions without seeking itself to exercise the formal powers of government" (Moodie & Studdert-Kennedy 1970, 60). Like social movements, interest groups can also be studied by classifying them into types.² Those representing businesses, industry, or occupations are often oriented towards defending

¹ British authors use the term 'pressure' group for such organizations.

² Van Loon and Whittington (1987) constructed a typology of interest groups by organizing them into four more-or-less independent continua based on their orientation, structure, origin, and degree of mobilization.

their own economic interests and are usually well structured. They may be, however, either autonomous or government-sponsored and either categoric (meaning they mobilize if the right issue presents itself) or active. Public interest groups or voluntary associations, on the other hand, usually represent wide, mainly non-economic concerns, and are often loosely structured, autonomous, and categoric. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are the latter 'type' of interest group. This term covers non-profit organizations that operate at local, national, or international levels and that are often involved, for example, in research or advocacy, in lobbying governments, and in offering services that governments are unable or unwilling to provide (Starke 1990).

Classification systems such as these help to describe social movements, but they do not answer the fundamental questions of why and how social movements arise and why they operate as they do. To solve this problem, I turn to what is known as social movement theories. There is a large body of social science and, especially, sociological literature addressing social movement theory. A brief examination and a critical discussion of these theories will explain the appropriateness of the present approach to such an apparently historically-derived phenomenon.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

Classical Theories

Classical or traditional theories of collective behaviour were initiated by the ideas of LeBon, a nineteenth-century French analyst whose notions were based on the behaviour of the crowd in the French Revolution. He saw the crowd as an entity composed of alienated and marginal individuals that possessed a collective unconscious and irrational mind (LeBon 1952 [1896]; 1970). Influenced by LeBon, Blumer (1957) thought that feelings of restlessness in a crowd setting become contagious, causing a circular reaction of increasing tension. In his 'natural history' approach to collective action, he identified four stages or cycles: social unrest, popular excitement, formalization, and institutionalization. Blumer

(ibid, 22) defined elementary collective behaviour as "incipient and primitive forms of human interaction". LeBon's and Blumer's assumptions stereotyped crowds as homogeneous masses of insecure, alienated, and unstable people of low social status and little education who thought and felt alike and were amorphous and highly suggestible (Turner & Killian 1972). The individual was seen as an "irrational puppet manipulated by crowd conditions and demagogues and carried along by the forces of history" (Hannigan 1985, 440).

There are theoretical limitations, however, to understanding collective behaviour as described by LeBon and Blumer. Most importantly, no distinction was made between irrational group outbursts and social movements. Some traits attributed to crowds are limited to describing mass hysteria or elementary collective action rather than organized social movements. Furthermore, traits do not explain what motivates collective action (Couch 1970). Several theories emerged in the 1960s and '70s that attempted to account for motivation.

Some theorists posited that personality complexes are the basis of collective behaviour. They focused on how individual characteristics help to determine the degree and nature of a person's participation in social action (for examples, see Keniston 1968; Feuer 1969; and Yinger 1982). Another approach, emergent norm theory, emphasized how social pressure against non-conformity motivates collective social behaviour: actors do not necessarily share motives or feelings but react to the existence of a new norm that is diffused through a collectivity by symbolic communication rather than by contagion (Turner & Killian 1972).

Yet another explanation focused on relative deprivation. Absolute deprivation refers to obvious material disadvantages while relative deprivation has to do with the inconsistency between the ideal and the actual practices in society (see Davies 1962; also Gurr 1970). Traditional theories, then, stressed the irrationality of social protest, the importance of grievances and deprivation, and the motivation derived from the actors' feelings or state of mind.

In the early 1960s, Smelser (1963) developed a more complex framework for the analysis of collective action. One of his major contributions is that he recognized that social movements do not follow a linear sequence of stages but are determined by the interaction of many variables (in a 'value-added' process), such as strain, the conduciveness of the societal structure, beliefs, mobilization, and social controls.

As social movement theory developed, it became evident that social movements are not *irrational* attempts to change society, nor are they comprised of marginal and alienated individuals, as posited by LeBon (Kornhauser 1959; Oberschall 1973; Klandermans 1984). The 1960s and '70s saw the rise of a new type of social movement for which classical theories of collective action could not adequately account: participants in these movements, for example, were not aggrieved groups from economically-deprived sectors of society. Distinct theories arose in the United States and in Europe to explain the emergence of rational social protest concerned with non-economic goals, such as women's rights, nuclear disarmament, peace, and the protection of the environment. In the United States, resource mobilization theory,

shifted attention from deprivation to the availability of resources to explain the rise of new social movements ... [while] ... in Europe the 'new social movement approach' focused attention on the growth of new protest potentials resulting from the developing postindustrial society. (Klandermans 1986, 14)

The following section summarizes the tenets of these two approaches to the study of social movements.

Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource mobilization theory (RMT) emerged in the 1970s and is regarded by sociologists as "the dominant theoretical framework for analyzing social movements" (Buechler 1993). It shifts the unit of analysis from the individual to the movement organization and emphasizes the importance of the availability of resources and existing organizations and networks as well as the ability of the movement's adherents to organize, pool their

resources, and wield them effectively (Wood & Jackson 1982; Jenkins 1983; Ferree & Miller 1985; Klandermans 1986).

Resource mobilization theory rejects the notion that grievances are an important determinant of social movement activity. Because discontent is regarded as a constant and because of the fact that many people share longstanding grievances but have never engaged in social movement activity to alleviate them, this theory downplays the role of discontent and deprivation (Hannigan 1985; Buechler 1993). RMT also considers social movement activity to be entirely rational.

The 'utilitarian logic' or rational, cost-benefit analysis of collective behaviour, as initiated by Olson (1965) and Oberschall (1973), became a central element of RMT. McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Tilly (1978) first extended Olson's logic to the realm of social movements (Pichardo 1988). Cost-benefit analysis assumes that individuals supporting social movements do so for personal and collective advantages and that they are attracted by tangible incentives.

Tilly (1978, 84) summarized his perception of collective action as,

joint action in pursuit of common ends ... a group's collective action is a function of (1) the extent of its shared interests (advantages and disadvantages likely to result from interactions with other groups), (2) the intensity of its *organization* (the extent of common identity and unifying structure among its members) and (3) its *mobilization* (the amount of resources under its collective control).

Tilly's approach is also a 'political-interactive' model of RMT because it recognizes the effect of the surrounding structure of opportunities or hindrances in the presence of political entities that may affect the challenging social movement. According to Tilly, "the emergence of social movements depends on the relative openness of the political system to incorporate the interests of new groups" (Canel 1992, 41), which seek not entry in the polity, but access to decision-making.

Another variant of RMT, the 'organizational-entrepreneurial' model proposed by McCarthy and Zald (1977, 1987), emphasizes the role of existing networks and of the various new kinds of resources, both human and material, that became available to social

movements in the affluent era after World War II. This version of RMT maintains that two of the conditions that were conducive to the emergence of new social movements were the rise of an affluent middle class who were able to help finance social movements, and the considerable funding power of foundations, churches, industry, and government bodies, which contributed to areas of critical social problems. In other words "RM theorists argue that state agencies facilitate mobilization by providing resources - money, labour, facilities - to grassroots/organizations through community development programs" (Canel 1992, 39). Furthermore, RMT maintains that many potential leaders now found time to devote to causes through the discretionary juggling of their flexible schedules and that some professional full or part-time leaders and organizers made careers in leading social movements because institutions paid them to do so. Indeed, RMT stresses the importance of leadership in the rise of social movements: "[l]eaders identify and define grievances, develop a sense of groupness, devise strategies, and aid mobilization by reducing its costs and taking advantages of opportunities for collective action" (ibid, 40). Resource mobilization theory also notes the significant role of the mass media, which had acquired improved technologies and were able to manipulate images better in order to involve outsiders and to influence decision-makers (McCarthy & Zald 1987). As well, RMT stresses the continuity of organizational forms and action from previous social movements and their organizations. Not only are 'old' movements seen as similar in the form and content of their actions, but new causes often emulate the strategies and tactics of their predecessors.

Resource mobilization theory emphasizes that the modern social movements depend on centralized, formally-structured social movement organizations (SMOs), rather than informal and decentralized ones, in order to mobilize resources and to mount sustained challenges (Jenkins 1983). Sometimes an SMO integrates another association into its body through *en bloc* recruitment. Social movement organizations are led by professional entrepreneurs who are able to define grievances in new terms. In short, RMT characterizes

contemporary social movements as professional organizations "with outside leadership, full time paid staff, small or nonexistent membership, resources from conscience constituencies, and actions that 'speak for' rather than involve an aggrieved group" (Jenkins 1983, 533).

New Social Movement Theory

New social movement theory (NSM), like RMT, also emerged in the 1970s to explain the rise of a myriad of new forms of social protest. Developed independently on the other side of the Atlantic to account for the European peace, anti-racist, immigrant, lesbian, and gay rights movements, the Green Party, and student rebellions, among others (Kemp *et al.* 1992), it maintains that new social movements replaced social-democratic parties and trade-unions as the "bulwark of opposition to conservative parties and politics" (Buttel & Taylor 1992, 214).

New social movement theorists place new social movements into a broad historical context (Eyerman & Jamison 1991). The long-term structural, political, and cultural transformations that accompanied the developments of postindustrial society are thought to have created new sources of conflict and enhanced the potential for the emergence of collective identities (D'Anieri *et al.* 1990; Scott 1990; Buttel & Taylor 1992; Canel 1992). Unlike industrial society that is based on machine technology, postindustrial society is shaped by intellectual technology (Bell 1976, xiii). The latter is characterized by a change from a goods-producing to a service economy, by a preeminence of the professional and technical occupations, and by the production of 'intellectual technology' (*ibid*; Touraine 1969). Struggles between the proletariat and those who own the means of production are no longer characteristic of society. Rather, conflict between bureaucratic authority in all sectors - political, economic, and social - and those who have no decision-making power

and who press for "distributive shares and social justice" (Bell 1976, 119) is an essential feature of postindustrialism.³

NSM theory suggests that new grievances resulting from postindustrial change play a major role in the rise of new social movements. Discontent over the unwelcome spread of intrusive state control into private life and the lack of 'postmaterial' needs - those intangible 'quality of life' requirements for personal and collective freedom and responsibility - are the major underlying causes of new collective social protest (Melucci 1980; Touraine 1985; Offe 1987). Thus, discontent expanded from the realm of work to other social roles such as those of the citizen, consumer, or client (Canel 1992).

The marxist school of NSM theory posits that the invasion of capitalism into private life is the cause of grievances, whereas the non-marxist view is that postmaterial needs are not being met among the better-educated and those whose jobs are not tied to market mechanisms. New social movement adherents reject the values and ideology of advanced industrial society that equate growth with progress and technical-bureaucratic modernization (Klandermans 1986). Touraine (1985, 782) said that they oppose a 'programmed' (rather than postindustrial) society that is characterized by the "technological production of symbolic goods which shape or transform our representation of human nature and of the external world". New social movements attempt to gain control of the processes of symbolic production and to redefine social roles.

According to NSM theory, new social movements differ from the old, post-World War II paradigm of "post totalitarian welfare capitalism" (Offe 1987, 68) in that their issues, values, modes of action, and actors are characteristic of what Offe (ibid) called a new, 'way of life' paradigm. The following is a composite of the characteristics associated with new social movements as posited by NSM theorists.

³ Bell (1976, 118) described and analyzed postindustrial society. He declared that "major social change brings a major reaction" and that the student revolts of the late 1960s were, in part, a reaction to the "organizational harnesses" of postindustrial society.

Issues: the environment, civil or human rights, peace, student concerns, women's issues, anti-nuclear protest. Many of the new movements' concerns focus on the centrality of the body and some contain a "regressive utopia with a strong religious component" (Melucci 1980, 222).

Values: participants in these movements seek personal autonomy and identity; they call for individual and collective freedom and responsibility; and their goals are oriented to the provision of collective, universal, non-partisan, and intangible goods that will benefit all members of society (Klandermans 1986; D'Anieri *et al.* 1990).

Modes of action: Offe (1987) divided action into internal and external action. The former describes the groups' organization. New social movement associations are usually informal, spontaneous, decentralized, small-scale, non-institutionalized, democratic, non-hierarchical, and they involve self help and direct participation (Melucci 1980; Klandermans 1986; D'Anieri *et al.* 1990; Wilde 1990). External action refers to the the movement's or group's tactics: "protest politics based on demands formulated in predominantly negative terms" (Offe 1987, 73) and non-conventional actions such as mass rallies, sit-ins, demonstrations, and other novel tactics.

Actors: the constituency of new social movements is class aware, but not class specific. It is cross cultural and cuts across class and traditional left-right cleavages. According to Offe (*ibid*), it is made up of socioeconomic groups acting on behalf of "ascriptive collectivities". More specifically, NSMs are constituted of the new middle class - those who are well educated, economically secure and often employed in service sectors - as well as the old middle class (those whose concerns coincide with or are easily penetrated by those of the NSMs), and what Offe (*ibid*) called the peripherally involved. The latter are powerless groups that are sensitive to the negative results of industrialization and modernization, whose time is often flexible, and who may share institutional space with the middle class (Klandermans 1986; Offe 1987).

As Melucci (1994) noted, by definition NSM theory is a provisional idea devised to stress the differences between class-rooted movements and the new class 'unconscious' ones. The 'old' social movements protested on behalf of a particular class for the right to specific goods (higher wages, safer working conditions, voting rights) while NSMs are not class oriented and seek the provision of collective or intangible goods (D'Anieri *et al.* 1990). Thus, the new movements are concerned with more symbolic issues, questions of identity, and qualitative values: "[t]hey advocate the values of equality and participation, autonomy of the individual, democracy, plurality, and difference, and the rejection of manipulation, regulation, and bureaucratization" (Canel 1992, 32).

As well, D'Anieri *et al.* (1990, 446) showed that goals are new in that previous social movements "fought to secure political and economic rights from the state and other institutional actors" whereas new social movements "target their activities away from the state". No longer within the political sphere, social conflict shifted to the cultural realm and to civil society (Canel 1992). The postindustrial movements are also different in that they inherited organizational and leadership skills from the old labour movements, political parties, and other organizations (Fuentes & Frank 1993).

There is a debate, however, regarding the 'newness' of the contemporary social movements. Fuentes and Frank (1993, 131) argued that "[t]he 'new' social movements are not new, even if they have some new features". The movements of social protest that emerged in the post-World War II west, they suggested, are just new forms of social movements that have existed throughout history: "peasant, localist community, ethnic/nationalist, religious, and even feminist/women's movements have existed for centuries and even millennia in many parts of the world" (*ibid.*, 132). Fuentes and Frank suggested that of the so-called 'new' social movements, only the environmental and peace movements can be called 'new' because they are the result of recent technological developments. Furthermore, these observers declared that it is the 'classical' movements that are relatively new and are perhaps temporary in that the working-class movements date

from the last century only and that they seem to be a "phenomenon related to the development of industrial capitalism" (ibid).

Melucci (1994) pointed out that the debate about the 'newness' of NSMs is meaningless because one can always find something the same in the past. Both 'old' and 'new' movements, no matter how they are labeled, share "individual mobilization through a sense of morality and (in)justice, and social power through social mobilization against deprivation and for survival and identity" (Fuentes & Frank 1993, 131). This last quote sums up NSM theory, which emphasizes the importance of grievances, deprivation, and ideology as determinants of social movement action and links them to structural changes in advanced postindustrial society.

Inglehart's Theory: A Third Approach

Another attempt to account for the rise of social movements in the 1960s and '70s is made by Inglehart (1977, 1987, 1990), who gathered twenty years of data on emergent social movements in various western countries. Inglehart's main contribution is that he showed that there has been a shift towards postmaterialist values amongst the youth and intelligentsia that is part of a recent trend of intergenerational culture change since the end of World War II and that these values correlate with new social movement activity.

In his studies, Inglehart explored Maslow's (1943) theory of need hierarchy according to which an individual seeks the gratification of successively 'higher' needs on a scale from physiological and safety needs, through love, belongingness and esteem needs, to those for self-actualization. Inglehart hypothesized that materialist values are associated with the physiological needs on the lower end of the hierarchy and postmaterialist ones with social and self-actualization needs at the upper end.

Inglehart's hypothesis is that the unprecedented prosperity from the late 1940s to the early '70s in western society led to a substantial growth in the proportion of postmaterialists in the population. Inglehart assumed that children born into financially-

secure families of the rising middle class tended to value self-actualization and 'quality of life' goals over economic and safety ones. He maintained that a fundamental value change takes place gradually as a younger generation replaces an older one in the adult population: there is thus a time lag before an age cohort born in prosperous times becomes influential in society.

Inglehart (1990) conducted a eighteen-year cohort analysis to distinguish between aging effects, cohort effects, and period effects. Aging implies that the young are inherently less materialistic than the old but as they age they become more so; the cohort effect implies that postmaterialists will gradually permeate older strata neutralizing the relationship between values and age; and period effects are external factors such as patterns of declining confidence in economic outlook, followed by recovery. Inglehart's results show no indication of age effects but an underlying process of intergenerational change that continued to function throughout the period despite economic crises (the oil crisis in 1973, for example) and that reflects an evident net shift toward postmaterialist values. Furthermore, Inglehart (*ibid*) argued that values are the most important predictors of behavioral intentions and actual behaviour. He tested the latter hypothesis in an empirical study of participants in the ecology and antiwar movements and concluded that postmaterialist values underlie most new social movements. Several other researchers have used Inglehart's methodology to test the explanatory power of value change in the rise of environmentalism.⁴ Inglehart's approach "has yielded surprisingly consistent results over more than two decades of use and across several countries" (Bakvis & Nevitte 1992, 149) and it has confirmed the link between the rise in concern for the environment and the rise in postmaterial values.

Although values are an important determinant, Inglehart (1990) concluded that participation in these new movements is the result of the existence and interaction of the

⁴ See the research conducted by Watts and Wandersforde-Smith (1981); Cotgrove (1982); Milbrath (1984); and Bakvis and Nevitte (1992).

following factors: objective problems; social networks or political organizations that coordinate the actions of members; values and ideologies that motivate participants; and certain skills among the actors. His analysis, then, emphasized values but incorporated some of the variables from both resource mobilization theory and new social movement theory.

A Synthesis

Some scholars have called for an overarching model that would provide a more satisfactory explanation for the emergence of the social movements in Europe and North America over the past twenty years (see Pinard 1983; Klandermans 1986; Canel 1992; and Buechler 1993). Indeed, "the complementary strengths and weaknesses of the RM and NSM theories make a certain amount of synthesis both possible and desirable" (Carroll 1992, 8). There are several reasons for the synthesis of the two theories. One of the main aims of such an effort is to reconcile the question of why social movements arise with how they do so - NSM theory appears to focus on the former and RMT on the latter.

Klandermans (1986) and Melucci (1989) pointed out that by concentrating on showing *how* action occurs, RMT lacks an understanding of *why* social movements arise. Mobilization, Klandermans emphasized, is the dependent variable; it takes place before action and it has to be explained. On the other hand, the NSM perspective (as does Inglehart's approach) asks why people are moved to participate but ignores how action is initiated. Both Klandermans (1986) and Pinard (1983) concluded that the role played by internal motives - deprivations, aspirations⁵, and moral obligation - should be integrated into a new approach in addition to the (external) motivational factors suggested by RMT.

Another aim of the synthesis of approaches is to recognize the possible coexistence of continuity, emphasized by RMT, and discontinuity, which NSM theory tends to favour (Canel 1992). New social movement theory highlights discontinuity by focusing on the

⁵ Pinard (1983) defined deprivations as those goods an actor feels are denied him or her, and aspirations as those not denied, but not possessed.

differences between contemporary and traditional collective action whereas RMT focuses on the continuity between organizations in the past and the present. A third reason for integrating these two models is to study the historical and structural contexts in which the movement arose as well as the social movement organizations themselves.

The obvious conclusion is that any analysis of the emergence of new social movements must consider the complex interrelationship of a great number of factors among which are grievances and deprivation, ideology, psychological factors, formal and informal networks and organization, cultural setting, societal structure, political opportunities and hindrances, human and material resources, continuity and discontinuity, and the broad historical context. "The relative weight of each of these factors ... varies across movements and across countries and can only be determined through careful empirical research" (Canel 1992, 49).

STUDY METHODOLOGY

This research did not attempt to test any (or all) of the perspectives outlined in the social movement literature, nor did it seek a new model for the study of new social movements, both of which are beyond the scope of this work. Rather, the social movement theories were used to guide the research: they suggested the variables I needed to investigate in order to answer how and why the environmental movement emerged in Quebec. For example, to describe the movement I needed to ask the 'how' question as does RMT, and to analyze its emergence, I needed to ask the question 'why' as does NSM theory. I also chose to examine the historical origins and the structural context of the phenomenon in order to describe and explain it in a holistic fashion.

To study the social movement in a systematic manner, I organized the research into three levels of analysis that incorporate the many variables:

1. The macro level (structural context): the broad historical, political, social, cultural, and environmental context in which the movement emerged.

2. The meso level (mobilization and organization): the human and material resources and organizational structure of some of the first environmental groups to emerge in Quebec.
3. The micro level (motivational factors): the ideology, values, attitudes, and grievances of some of the environmental activists who participated in the birth of the movement as well as their socioeconomic backgrounds and experience.

To meet my objectives I relied on the largely subjective techniques used by certain social scientists and historians. Because the study was so wide-ranging, it was not appropriate to undertake a "traditional social science research that tests the relationships among variables without regard for the complexities of sociocultural context" (Marshall & Rossman 1989, 29). Rather, I chose a qualitative approach that is exploratory, interpretative, and descriptive in nature and whose purpose is to document, explain, and analyze the phenomenon and processes in question. To come to grips with the the complexity of the social reality I am interested in, I adopted a 'multiple research strategy' (Eyles 1988) that involved both primary and secondary sources. Data was obtained from documents and in-depth interviewing.

Documents

Several types of written material provided the data necessary to answer my questions: scholarly literature, archives of environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS), informal documents printed by some of these groups ('fugitive' literature), and newspaper reports. I also studied three master's theses that describe some aspects of Quebec's environmental movement.⁶

The wider context was examined by a perusal of historical literature that informed me about Quebec society in the 1960s and 70s. This data enabled me to establish the context in which the environmental movement emerged and it provided a background prior to interviewing participants. The literature on environmental history gave an overview of the

⁶ These works either cover limited periods of time or address aspects of the movement that complement but are distinctly different from those examined in this thesis.

history of environmentalism and of the evolution of the North American and European environmental movements (chapter 2).

I had hoped to obtain archival material from some of the first ENGOs to form in Quebec in which I could find data pertaining to funding sources, membership numbers, budgets, minutes of meetings, lists of activities etc., but in most instances the newly-forming associations were lax in recording such information or material had been destroyed. Despite the lack of detailed information, I was able to find enough data from six groups to sketch a picture of how these organizations functioned as they began to work on their cause. They do not, of course, form a representative sample of Quebec's environmental groups. The purpose of collecting this kind of data was to explore the meso-level of analysis and to describe some of the characteristics of the emerging movement. Vignettes of the following ENGOs appear in chapter 4: the Society to Overcome Pollution (STOP), la Société pour vaincre la pollution (SVP), les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT), Ecosense, l'Association québécoise pour la lutte contre les pluies acides (AQLPA), and Le monde à bicyclette (MàB). The data came from their archives, from brochures and newsletters, from newspaper clippings that they had compiled over the years, from other research and, as shown below, verbally, from intensive interviews with founding or 'core' members.

The weakness with group surveys, such as those I conducted on the six ENGOs, is that there is a tendency to focus on well-established associations while ignoring the more informal, ephemeral, and temporary ones (Lowe & Rüdig 1986). This was overcome, in part, by the fact that one of the vignettes describes a group (Ecosense) that is no longer active and may be representative of the more ephemeral ENGOs.

In-Depth Interviews

Qualitative research "values participants' perspectives on their worlds ... and relies on people's words as the primary data" (Marshall & Rossman 1989, 11). The second component of the research, therefore, was in-depth interviewing of environmentalists who

were active in the first ENGOs to appear in Quebec. One of the aims was to prod their memories about the groups' founding and first years of operation in order to complement the archival investigations for the case studies. I also sought to record some of their values and attitudes, and to find out about their socio-demographic profiles, their membership in other organizations, and their motivation for social action - in short, to relate the individual cases to the broader theoretical perspectives.

I devised a questionnaire in both French and English and arranged it into four sections (appendix 2). In the first part I used Inglehart's (1990) battery of twelve materialist/postmaterialist questions. I modified it in one way: the fourth question of card A in Inglehart's original asks about the value of environmental quality and I preferred not to introduce this element into the questionnaire as this (postmaterial) concern was already apparent. I replaced it with a question relating to peace. The second part deals with grievances, membership in other organizations, the motivation for environmental activism, time and financial contributions to the movement, and objective knowledge about environmental problems. The third part of the questionnaire regards the demography and socioeconomic status of the individuals. The last section attempts to elicit some insights and opinions about the rise of Quebec's environmental movement from the interviewees.

The time schedule of the interviewing was as follows:

1. During the summer of 1993, I conducted two pilot interviews based on open-ended questions. The first was with an historian in Ottawa and the second was with one of the first members of Ecosense. Based on the results of these two interviews, I devised a semi-structured, in-depth questionnaire. In February 1994, I tested it in another pilot interview and revised it.
2. From March to May 1994, I conducted 21 interviews. Most of these were with individuals representing environmental groups in Montreal. Three of the interviewees were from Quebec City, one was from a group in St. Bruno, and another from an association based in the Beauce.

There was no attempt made to collect a representative sample of Quebec's first environmentalists; I was searching, rather, for three 'types' of individuals: 1) founding members of ENGOs; 2) members and participants in the environmental movement (adherents rather than leaders); and 3) observers or informants - persons with some analytical perspective on the rise of Quebec's movement. I relied on networking and the 'snowballing' effect of collecting names of individuals from each contact. The result was that I compiled a list of Quebec's elite environmental leaders - for the most part, persons who have been leaders of environmental groups in this province for the past ten to twenty years. Those who had simply adhered to the movement, therefore, were not part of the research as I was unable to find such participants. A list of the interviewees can be found in appendix 1.

As the elites are not only the most prominent and influential members of the environmental movement but the most well informed, I considered their contribution to be the most valuable. The weakness with relying on these informants is that bias may be introduced. On the other hand, it must be remembered that more objective material about the movement, written by sociologists and historians, was also consulted.

One of the shortcomings of the research methodology is that interviewees were asked to recall the past. There is no doubt that there is some question as to the reliability of people's memories (Jackson 1988). In an attempt to reduce the impact of this problem, I was particularly vigilant during the interviews in reminding the interviewees about the period of time that interested me, that is from 1970 to 1985.

Another problem is that the insights and opinions offered by interviewees relating to the nature and characteristics of Quebec's environmental movement (in the fourth section of the questionnaire) are strictly personal views. Due to the scope of this study, it would be ambitious to attempt to come to any conclusions regarding the distinctiveness of Quebec's environmental movement without some reinforcement from authoritative observers and

participants. As well, as noted above regarding bias, this shortcoming was off-set by the combination of interviews with other methodologies.

The following chapter traces the development of environmentalism and presents a short history of environmental movements in western nations. It provides the global context in which to set Quebec's story.

2: ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS: HISTORICAL ROOTS AND EMERGENCE

INTRODUCTION

Scholars interested in the history of environmentalism in North America agree that if there is a year in which the contemporary environmental movement was born, it was 1962, the year Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* was published (see Humphrey & Buttel 1982; Mitchell 1989; Kuzmiak 1991; Dunlap & Mertig 1992). Even though a concern for the environment appears only recently to have evolved within society, environmentalism is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, most environmental historians recognize links between the philosophies of modern environmentalism and ancient worldviews. Many also situate the origins of the contemporary environmental movement in conservation efforts of the early nineteenth century. By tracing some of its roots, this chapter provides the background and broad historical context for an analysis of the emergence of environmentalism as a social movement in Quebec.

Also included here is a brief description of when and how environmental protection became a social priority elsewhere in the industrialized world, focusing on the North American and European examples. Although this thesis is not concerned with comparing and contrasting environmental movements, awareness of the characteristics specific to the Quebec example supposes knowledge of the situation elsewhere.

Elucidation of the various historical and descriptive elements of this chapter requires a three-part approach. The first section defines 'environmental movement' and presents the different ideological strands it represents. The contemporary environmental movement's historical roots and precedents are the subjects of the second section, and the third part of the chapter describes the emergence of environmentalism as a new social movement in North America and in Europe.

DEFINING THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

It is generally taken for granted that environmentalism is a major social phenomenon and one of the most important trends of our time. (See Loye & Goyder 1983; and Buttel & Taylor 1992). Indeed, Touraine (1981) said that environmentalism is a notable component of the new social movements of postindustrial society. Gagnon (1993), however, in his analysis of environmental groups in Germany, France, the United States, and Canada, refrained from calling this phenomenon a social movement. He argued that there is too much controversy in the sociological literature regarding the criteria for defining social movements. He implied that action on behalf of the environment remains the work of individuals and uncoordinated groups. Similarly, Paehlke (1989, 4) suggested that in practice the environmental movement "has not usually been more than a loose coalition of interest groups", although he acknowledged its existence. Furthermore, Gagnon (1993) argued that environmental organizations, particularly in the United States, are too well organized and integrated into political structures to be defined as social movements.⁷ My review of literature, however, suggests that social movements need not be outside the mainstream and that their integration into politics may simply reflect a measure of success. Moreover, as evident in chapter 1, many sociologists do not question the application of the term 'social movement' to contemporary environmentalism. Indeed, it has been called a prototype or the epitome of a new social movement (Buttel & Taylor 1992).

Definition

The modern environmental movement can be defined as "an episode of collective behaviour, whose formal manifestations are the separate environmental groups" (Lowe & Goyder 1983, 9) and whose primary concern is over the changing state of the environment (Lowe & Worboys 1978). The meaning of the word 'environment' largely depends on the

⁷ The title of Gagnon's work, *Échec des écologistes* (1993), reflects the conclusion of his thesis.

perception of movement participants. For some individuals it refers only to nature⁸ while others include the human-built milieu. The movement also consists of the attentive public - individuals who share the same concern as environmental groups - and it is "an expression and indication of changing values in society" (ibid).

Like other social movements, the contemporary environmental movement expresses a discontent with the attitudes and values of the dominant social paradigm (Cotgrove & Duff 1981). More specifically, it finds fault with the prevailing vision of the human-environment relationship (Cotgrove 1976; Taylor 1992). The environmental movement opposes a western capitalist worldview that includes a moral imperative to foster 'all cost' growth and development and to harness the natural environment to that end. Concerned about today's environmental problems - pollution, thinning of the ozone layer, rain-forest destruction, the loss of biodiversity, global warming, depletion of fossil fuels, and overpopulation, among others - environmentalists express the need to move from "the immature, rapacious exuberance of earlier times to a more comprehending, sober, and conserving view of the future" (Caldwell 1990, 5).

Classification

The contemporary environmental movement, in fact, represents disparate ideologies, values, and goals. O'Riordan (1977) identified two dominant modes of thought that have endured within the movement: ecocentrism and technocentrism. The ecocentric view is of a nondualistic universe in which humans are part of an interrelated whole and nature is intrinsically valuable (Cotgrove & Duff 1980; O'Riordan 1981; Pepper 1984; Taylor 1992). It also assumes that process, not parts is primary, that the world is dynamic, and that the balance of nature can be upset by human intervention (Moos & Brownstein 1977; Cotgrove 1982; Merchant 1989).

⁸ 'Nature' and 'natural' are also slippery words. Scholars of the environment agree that there is no place on earth that remains 'natural' in the sense of being pristine and untouched by the impact of humans.

O'Riordan (1977) depicted two strands of ecocentrism. One is bioethics, in which natural ecosystems are seen to have an intrinsic right to existence. Bioethics has also been called 'radical ecology' (Cotgrove 1982), the 'vanguard' of environmentalism (Milbrath 1984); and 'ecologic' (Petulla 1980) or 'principal' (Loye & Goyder 1983) environmentalism (Marangudakis 1991). The other strand of ecocentrism, which is sometimes called communalism (Bowlby & Lowe 1992), proposes the establishment of small, self-reliant communities and participatory democracy.

Marangudakis (1991) suggested that, since the 1970s, the environmental movement has matured and the two lines of ecocentrism have evolved into 'deep' and 'social' ecology. The former includes notions akin to James Lovelock's (1979) Gaia hypothesis. Gaia is the Greek Goddess of the earth and the hypothesis is that the ecosphere operates as a single living organism that strives to maintain the optimal conditions for the survival of life. Deep ecology (also known as ecophilosophy, foundational ecology, or new natural philosophy) is radical in that it calls for the abandonment of civilization as we know it today and the making of a new one composed of small decentralized communities based on reverence and moral duty towards nature (Marangudakis 1991).⁹ Social ecology, propounded most explicitly by Murray Bookchin (1991), also calls for the establishment of small, self-sustained communities. These, however, are human- rather than nature-based. The purpose is to advance "a holistic, socially radical, and theoretically coherent alternative to the largely technocratic, reformist, and single-issue environmental movements ... " (ibid 1991, xiii). Ecocentrism (represented by deep and social ecology) is found on the radical pole of the spectrum of environmental ideals. Extreme radicals, like the organization Earth First!, advocate 'guerrilla' tactics to protect the earth from spoliation.¹⁰

On the other end of the spectrum are technocentrics (also known as cornucopians (Cotgrove 1982), expansionists (Taylor 1992), or shallow ecologists (Naess 1973)).

⁹ For the tenets of deep ecology, see Naess (1973); Devall (1980); Devall and Sessions (1985); Sessions (1987); and Devall (1992).

¹⁰ See the writings of Earth Firsters! Abbey (1971), Foreman (1985), and Roselle (1988).

Humans are viewed as being fundamentally different from other life forms and environmental problems are thought to be solvable given "the prudent application of knowledge and technology, administrative procedure, managerial ingenuity and above all, governmental competence" (O'Riordan 1984, 395). Technocentric environmentalists promote conservation, which implies utilitarianism: the environment is seen as a resource to be used and transformed by people to produce the greatest good for the greatest number of people (Oelschlaeger 1991). Technocentrics are reformists: they do not question the present structure of society but seek incremental reforms that will ensure the rational use of resources. Atkinson (1991, 25) pointed out, however, that extreme cornucopian technocentrics are not environmentalists at all "but rather expressions of the conventional view that economic growth is right and good".¹¹ He also noted that the lines distinguishing different strands of environmentalism are not easily drawn: many radical environmentalists, for instance, engage in reform initiatives when it is advantageous to accept some trade-offs in order to advance their cause (see also Wilson 1992). In short, there is a continuum of views within environmental thought that ranges from reformist to radical (see Schnaiberg 1977; McCloskey 1983; Caldwell 1990).¹² Most of the ideas outlined above are rooted philosophically in the past.

HISTORICAL ROOTS

Environmentalism, or "[t]he philosophies and practices which inform and flow from a concern with the environment" (Johnston 1986, 136), is an ancient concept. The Greeks and Romans, indeed people throughout recorded history, worried about environmental problems such as deforestation, the extermination of species, and soil erosion and

¹¹ Catton and Dunlap (1980) call the conventional approach the 'dominant western worldview'. In this worldview, humans are "*exempt* from ecological principles and from environmental influences and constraints" (ibid, 25) and thus adhere to the 'human exemptionalism paradigm'. The authors call for the adoption of a 'new ecological paradigm', which acknowledges that humans are not exempt from ecological constraints.

¹² Along this continuum, Schnaiberg (1977; 1980) classified environmentalists into four categories: cosmetologists, meliorists, reformists, and radicals. See also Porritt (1984), who suggested three varieties of environmentalists.

salinization (Girard 1992). The significance of humans as agents in altering their environment, however, often was not understood (Ekirch 1963). Indeed the first meaning of the word 'environmentalism' ignored the notion of human impact: environmentalism was synonymous with environmental determinism or the idea that humans are subordinate to nature and that causal laws determine all empirical phenomena (James 1973). With the evolution of culture, however, humans gained new powers over their natural surroundings as well as recognition of their impact; the philosophy of environmental determinism declined in influence (Lewthwaite 1966; Johnston 1986). Recently, the acknowledgment that human actions are often malignant rather than benign and that the planet's resources are finite has led to a reappraisal of environmental causation. The meaning of the term environmentalism has swung back towards the ancient notion that nature limits human ambitions and achievements (Moos & Brownstein 1977; Caldwell 1990). The following section shows that many more ideas that animate contemporary environmental action also have historical roots.

A Brief History Of Environmental Thought

As shown above, the tenets of contemporary environmental philosophy include the ideas that humans and nature are part of a whole and that the universe is a living organism. These are ancient and universal beliefs. The unity of nature, for example, was expressed by Plato (Glacken 1967), and by Eastern philosophies (Barbour 1980) as well as by aboriginal peoples (see Taylor 1992; Fertig 1970; Bryde 1971; Kidwell 1976; and Callicott 1982). Even as classical science was emerging in the seventeenth century, there was a parallel popular belief in natural history, which espoused holistic and vitalistic beliefs.¹³ The universe was seen as an active organism permeated with living physical, mystical, and spiritual forces that linked everything in nature, including humans (Merchant 1980; Pepper

¹³ Cosgrove (1990) referred to the coexistence of these two incompatible views of the workings of the universe (classical and natural science) as 'renaissance environmentalism'. The doctrine of vitalism asserts that "there is a vital principle to living things that cannot be reduced to physics and chemistry" (Pepper 1984, 114).

1984). The fundamental view of the oneness of the universe took a new form in the first half of the twentieth century, first as 'holism', a word coined by Smuts in 1926, and then as general systems theory, expounded by philosophers Bertrand Russell, Samuel Alexander, and Alfred North Whitehead (Oates 1989).

Holism came into prominence in Britain and Europe after the industrial revolution when romantic literature, music, painting, and drama became the expressions of a revolt against rationalism, the enlightenment, and industrial capitalism (Merchant 1980; Pepper 1984). This movement was paralleled by American transcendentalism in the early nineteenth century. Ralph Waldo Emerson, for example, transcendentalized nature by making it a symbol of universal consciousness (Opie 1971). Henry David Thoreau, a contemporary of Emerson, spent most of his life writing about the natural world around him and his transcendental ideals (Kuzmiak 1991). His journals later became valuable to naturalists and his book *Walden* (1906) became a bible for some youthful 'nature-lovers' in the 1960s and '70s. Ecocentrism has roots in prescientific worldviews, Eastern philosophies, romanticism, transcendentalism, and holism.

The roots of contemporary environmentalism can also be found in a more scientific approach to the human-environment relationship: the science of ecology. The word ecology comes from the Greek *oikos* meaning 'home' and the term first appeared in the German biologist Ernst Haeckel's studies of plant life in 1868. Since that time, the field of ecology broadened to include animals.¹⁴ Tansley introduced the concept of an ecosystem in 1935: he depicted nature as a multitude of interconnected physical systems (Oates 1989; Merchant 1993).

Ecology evolved into the "study of the interrelationships which exist between organisms and their environment" (Parker 1984). In their crusade to protect nature, many modern environmentalists propose to apply ecological concepts to their understanding of

¹⁴ The American chemist Ellen Swallow expanded the term to human ecology in a book on sanitary chemistry, published in 1910 (Merchant 1993).

the human-environment relationship, in part to lend scientific rigour to their argument (Lowenthal 1990). They recognize, for example, the finite nature of the earth's resources, they urge humans to respect nature's limits, and they advocate a path towards ecological stability.¹⁵ To many environmentalists, however, the meaning of the word ecology extends to a philosophy of nature through the incorporation of the ancient idea that the "cosmos is an organic entity, growing and developing from within, in an integrated unity of structure and function" (Merchant 1980, 100).¹⁶

But the history of attitudes towards the natural world is also one of human arrogance and superiority. Some of the precepts of cornucopian technocentrism have their historical roots in a 'postscientific' paradigm (Pepper 1984). The scientific worldview that arose in the seventeenth century was based on Francis Bacon's thesis that humans are meant to use nature's laws of cause and effect to their betterment and on René Descartes' conception of a separation between mind and matter and between nature and humans (O'Briant 1974; Hart 1980; Hargrove 1989; Oates 1989). The metaphor for the earth changed from an organism and a mother to a machine. These ideas pervaded the next centuries and justified human domination and exploitation of nature.

Some scholars maintain that religious ideals are at the root of the environmental crisis. White's (1967) hypothesis is that Judeo-Christian teachings were the driving force behind science and technology in the western world, the marriage of which triggered increased technological potential for environmental impact. Christianity, he maintained, set up the dogma of "man's transcendence of and rightful mastery over nature" (ibid, 1206). Several other scholars pointed to the Bible's edict to use the earth's resources for human benefit as the cause of environmental degradation (see Black 1970; O'Briant 1974; and Attfield 1991). Another interpretation of the Bible's message regarding the human relationship to the earth,

¹⁵ Demeritt (1994, 32), noting that environmentalists have relied "on the scientific authority of ecology" to provide a check on human action, pointed out that their foundational authority is being revised as "[r]evisionists in ecological science have repudiated the idea of stable, holistic ecosystems".

¹⁶ See Worster (1977) and Bramwell (1989) who wrote seminal works on the origins and development of the science and philosophy of ecology.

however, is that of stewardship (See Bonifazi 1970; Black 1970; and Passmore 1980). Many modern environmentalists adopt this stance in relationship to nature.

Toynbee (1972) did not confine the postscientific world view of domination over nature to the Christian tradition and the west, but pointed out that the stance is one adopted by monotheism in general, which also spread to non-monotheistic cultures. Furthermore, according to some authors (see Tuan 1968; Moncrief 1970; and Dasmann 1976) the limiting factors to human-induced degradation are not religious convictions but lack of human numbers, of central administration, and of new and more powerful technologies. They suggest that once a society has the means to enhance its power over the environment, it tends to do so regardless of its belief system.

Indeed, the increased impact on the environment in the western world was accompanied by several related phenomena: population increase, new technologies, the introduction of private ownership, European expansion into the New World, and surplus wealth, among others (Bennett 1976). As humans began to notice that their actions were threatening the viability of the natural world, so some people began to take measures to protect it from further damage. The next section briefly outlines the conservation movement and urban health and sanitation movements, both precursors to modern environmental protection.

Precursors to the Environmental Movement

Conservation

The study of natural history became popular among the middle classes of England, France, and Germany in the eighteenth century. In Britain it grew into an interest in the preservation of nature and of rare or important species. The countryside and the protection of rural environments also became fashionable during the romantic period as urban areas became polluted by industrial processes and more people sought to emulate the upper classes by buying country properties (Bowlby & Lowe 1992). Access to the countryside, for example, was the mandate of the Footpaths Preservation Society, formed in 1865.

Because of its population density, the long history of settlement, and the private ownership of most of the countryside, however, wilderness conservation did not become as relevant an ideology in Britain as it did in North America (Dubasak 1990).

In the United States, environmental degradation proceeded at a rapid pace after the Civil War when industry 'barons' began to exploit the country's natural riches for private profit (Humphrey & Buttel 1982). Concern over the effects of unmitigated exploitation mounted as Americans began to see the changes wrought by urbanization and industrialization and as they recognized the "loss of abundant resources on a frontier they were now told was gone" (Foster 1978, 36).

One of the earliest warnings about the dangers of human use of a finite earth came from George Perkins Marsh, who as early as 1864, foresaw the scope and gravity of indiscriminate exploitation of environmental resources (Marx 1972).¹⁷ Olwig (1980) called Marsh the father of American ecology because he saw the interrelationship of humans and their environment. President Theodore Roosevelt and his chief conservation officer, Gifford Pinchot, were influenced by Marsh's works (Cunningham & Saigo 1990).

Pinchot believed that forests should be used to their full capacity under scientific management and on a sustained-yield basis. He developed forestry practices that protected wilderness areas while they were being exploited for the needs of the growing nation. As chief of the Forest Service, he created policies on numerous federal waterways and conservation commissions (Opie 1971). He represented the conservationist interest in the Progressive Conservation Movement that flourished in the United States between 1890 and 1920. It was characterized by a struggle between the utilitarian conservation ethic that advocated the wise use and management of resources for long term human interest, and the ethic of altruistic preservation or 'righteous management', which maintains that nature has the right to exist for its own sake, whether or not it is of use to humans. Preservationists

¹⁷ See March's seminal work *Man and Nature* ([1864]1965), which became an American classic by the 1870s (Kuzmiak 1991). The historian Lewis Mumford called Marsh "the fountainhead of the conservation movement" (cited in Cunningham & Saigo 1990, 248).

were led by writer-naturalist John Muir who opposed Pinchot's influence and policies. His transcendentalist philosophy included the belief in the sanctity of nature as a place of refuge untouched by civilization (see Fox 1981; Taylor 1992). By the middle of the century, Muir was making wilderness preservation into a national crusade (Opie 1971). He founded the Sierra Club in 1892, "an organization that spearheaded the drive for more national parks and more wilderness reservations" (Foster 1978, 33); he was instrumental, for example, in establishing Yosemite, General Grant, and Sequoia parks.

Muir was also a major player in one of the greatest struggles between conservation and preservation ideals - the decade-long battle over the damming of Hetch Hetchy Valley to create a reservoir for San Francisco. Although preservationists lost the battle, the controversy led to debates that ended in the creation of the National Park Service in 1916 and the establishment of wilderness as a national value (McPhee 1971; Dubasak 1990; Gottlieb 1993). Major organizations and interests promoted conservation during the early 1900s. These included the American Forestry Association, the Sierra Club, the Audubon Society, and the Boone and Crockett Club, all of which were powerful organizations engaged in protecting wilderness spaces and wildlife (Humphrey & Buttell 1982).

President Roosevelt, a dedicated outdoorsman and naturalist, devised policies that attempted to accommodate both conservationists and preservationists and that provided greater governmental control over both the private and the public domain (Nicholson 1970; Opie 1971; Humphrey & Buttell 1982). Roosevelt's initiatives, which included the creation of fifty-one wildlife refuges in six years and the addition of five more national parks to the five that already existed when he was elected in 1901, encouraged others, such as Aldo Leopold, and "took conservationists out of the realm of the 'lunatic fringe' in the American way of life" (Kuzmiak 1991, 269).

Leopold became one of the great figures in the American conservation movement. He not only helped to pioneer the science of ecology and wildlife biology but he also wrote about ecology as a comprehensive system of values. His *Sand County Almanac* (1966),

published posthumously, became a conservation bible and his idea that land has intrinsic value over and above its use to humans became a key tenet of bioethics and deep ecology (Opie 1971; Kuzmiak 1991).

The history of conservation in Canada differs in several respects from that of the United States: conservation goals were established later in Canada, they were less oriented to preservation, and they were initiated largely because of civil servants rather than because of public pressure (Foster 1978; Dubasak 1990). The government of Canada and its conservation policies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were influenced by the American experience and example (Dubasak 1990) - "the loss of the frontier, the impact of civilization with its resulting decline in wildlife numbers, and the establishment and success of American national parks" (Foster 1978, 14). The first American parks were established well before Canadian ones: Yellowstone, created in 1872, was set aside about fourteen years before Banff, Canada's first national park (Paehlke 1981).

The Canadian government's goals in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were clearly exploitative.¹⁸ The Canadian national parks were created primarily for utilitarian motives; mining, hunting, cattle pasturing, hay fields, and timbering, for instance, were permitted or actively encouraged in many reserves. Furthermore, national parks became oriented to tourists, to the cementing of the Confederation, and as an incentive for building the railroads (Dubasak 1990, 24). Although industrial pursuits were eliminated from Canadian parks with the implementation of the National Parks Act of 1930, "recreational values were given precedence over preservation" (ibid, 33).

Canada's efforts at conservation were not prompted by public pressure as they were to a great degree in the United States. Canada had no powerful conservation organizations as did her neighbour. The growing number of field naturalists' clubs in the early twentieth century were devoted to the study of local natural history rather than to campaigning for

¹⁸ Foster (1978) explained this tendency by showing the influence of the following: myths about the infinite abundance of natural resources; the promise of an ever-new frontier; the National Policy of economic expansion; the division of powers under the British North America Act; and the lack of knowledge about Canada's wildlife and natural resources. See also Brown (1969) and Woodrow (1980).

conservation. Some efforts were made, however, to protect forests from over-exploitation: the Canadian Forestry Association was created in 1900 to reconcile protection and exploitation interests (Hébert 1991). The main source of conservation ideology and action, however, was government officials. Major strides for stricter wildlife preservation were taken by a small group of dedicated civil servants whose concerted efforts led to declared government policy. One of these people was James Harkin who, as Commissioner of Dominion Parks in the early 1900s, made changes to afford more protection for fauna (see Foster 1978 and Nicol 1969).

At about the same time, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier created the Conservation Commission. This body owed its origin to the North American Conservation Convention of 1909. Canada, the United States, and Mexico each agreed to form committees to study the environmental effects of rapid exploitation of the continent's natural resources. Canada, the only one to follow up on the recommendation, began innovative studies on solar and wind energy, on the effects of chemical fertilizers, and on the environmental impacts of deforestation and cod fishing in the Atlantic. The onset of the first World War, however, changed the country's priorities and the Conservation Commission folded in 1921 (Lemieux 1993).¹⁹

Conservation was also promoted early in Canada's history by several private citizens. Charles Fothergill, a philosopher, naturalist, artist, and newspaper publisher in Upper Canada in the first decades of the nineteenth century made an important contribution to the knowledge of the country's fauna through his essays (Theberge 1988). Naturalist Charles G.D. Roberts became known for his bestselling nature stories later in the century and into the next (Woodcock 1989). Also a writer of nature tales, Ernest Thompson Seton made important contributions to natural science through his works on animal behaviour and he actively promoted conservation measures in his Canadian lectures (see Wadland 1978 and Anderson 1986). Grey Owl, who was born in England but who adopted a native-

¹⁹ See Girard (1992) for a doctoral dissertation on the rise and fall of the Conservation Commission.

American persona, was also an ardent conservationist who fought for the preservation of wildlife and wildlands within Canada's national parks (see Polk 1972; Dickson 1975; and Smith 1990).²⁰

During the interwar years, Canadian national park administrators were influenced by scientific debates taking place in the United States. The Wildlife Division of the United States Park Service was conducting ecological field studies on predators and prey. Their research justified absolute protection of intact ecosystems and the cessation of predator elimination. Almost all Canadian wildlife scientists were educated in the U.S. and they began to incorporate an ecological approach into park policy. This change was "a precursor of a more general environmental consciousness ..." (Dunlap 1991, 140).

In the 1930s and '40s, several national conservation organizations based on public interest in natural history and in the conservation of game habitat emerged in Canada: established in 1938, Ducks Unlimited Canada focused on protecting wetlands; the Audubon Society of Canada was founded in 1948 to promote public education programs in conservation²¹; and in 1947 the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) was founded as a funding front for the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) (Barber 1991). Conservation efforts in Canada, however, did not evolve into a full-fledged movement as they did in the United States, neither were any strong preservationists ideals expressed.

Traditionally, interpretations of the environmentalism of the past have focused on wilderness conservation as the precursor to the contemporary environmental movement. Gottlieb (1993), however, offers a broader approach. He also considered the early urban

²⁰ Some of the other major figures who promoted conservation in Canada during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Clifford Sifton, Elihu Stewart, Judson Clark, Bernhard Fernow, Howard Douglas, Maxwell Graham, Gordon Hewitt, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Major William Wood, Percy Taverner, and Jack Miner (Foster 1978; Paehlke 1981; Macdonald 1991).

²¹ This organization has earlier roots in a children's magazine called *Canadian Nature*, which was purchased by the Audubon Society of Canada (ASC) at its founding. The society was an offshoot of the (American) National Audubon Society. In 1961, The ASC became the independent Canadian Audubon Society and in 1971 it was reborn as the Canadian Nature Federation, a national umbrella for regional naturalists' groups (Canadian Nature Federation n.d.).

movements that addressed the hazards of the city and of industrial life, linking them to the pollution and quality-of-life issues that became the focus of modern environmentalism. The urban movements "provide a different though essential lens through which a complex social movement with diverse roots and contending perspectives can best be understood" (ibid 1993, 46).

Urban Health and Sanitation

The growth of the industrial city was accompanied by health problems due to environmental pollution as well as by efforts to improve sanitation and to control air and water quality. But even as early as the late Middle Ages measures were taken to reduce London's air pollution and to restore the quality of the Thames River (Thomas 1983). Early efforts to reduce environmental threats to human health include the measures taken to provide some form of sewage disposal to cities after plagues such as the fourteenth-century Black Death (Macdonald 1991).

Modern health legislation in England in the late 1800s was due to growing population pressures, increased scientific knowledge, and the public's greater awareness of the causes of illness. The installation of sewage treatment systems in European cities led to lower death rates from typhoid and North American cities soon followed suit in providing elementary sewage facilities.

Industrialization and urbanization in North America during the first decades of the twentieth century were accompanied by the growth of problems related to water and air quality, the generation and disposal of solid and hazardous waste, and occupational and public health issues. Gottlieb (1993) pointed out that these problems generated professional and reform groups in cities that paralleled the conservationist and preservationist movements of the same period. Associations dedicated to causes such as certifying milk, eradicating hookworm and tuberculosis, providing child health care, instituting adequate garbage collection, and diminishing air and water pollution were established. The Chicago 'settlement', the 'garden city', the 'city beautiful', and the urban

planning movements are examples of popular and professional efforts during the early 1900s to make the environment of industrial cities in the United States safer, cleaner, and more pleasant. Gottlieb (*ibid*, 59) noted, however, that as the public pressed for better water quality, so professional sanitary and civil engineers narrowed the issue to one of pollution control, technical solutions, and efficiency: "[m]anaging and controlling the by-products of industry rather than changing its processes and outcomes" became standard practice during the 1950s.

The same was true of Canadian urban reforms. Sewer systems in cities discharged effluent into sources of drinking water until public debates were held over the expenditures required to treat the water. Subsequently, during the 1930s, treatment plants began operating in large municipalities and chlorination of drinking water was gradually introduced. When it was recognized that pollution has secondary, long term, and far reaching impacts, municipalities and provincial governments instituted reforms that laid the foundations for further and better pollution control regulations (Macdonald 1991). But, as Gottlieb (1993) noted regarding practices in the United States, pollution control too often was seen as a basic engineering problem that "can be solved without regard to any larger political, social, or economic questions" (*ibid*, 87). This tendency would be questioned only with the advent of the modern environmental movement.

EMERGENCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

North America

Confronted with an increase in air and water pollution problems associated with modern industrialization, conservation groups in the U.S. - whose main concern had been the protection of wildlife and habitat - as well as a plethora of new ENGOs that sprang up throughout North America, began to focus on a broader range of concerns.²² They fought

²² Faich and Gale's (1971) survey of the Puget Sound Group of the Sierra Club in the early 1970s showed how the club's priorities shifted from a concern for saving the nature the members themselves enjoyed to a concern with protecting the environment, whether they partook in it or not. The emphasis became general environmental quality.

for the quality of common-property resources as well as for their quantity, for the health of urban areas as well as for wilderness, and for the recognition of second-generation issues (those involving delayed or subtle consequences and difficult-to-prove causes) as well as for first-generation ones, those concerned with specific places or species, and involving direct, unambiguous causes (Mitchell *et al.* 1992). Environmentalism overtook and absorbed conservation (Dubasak 1990). Observing the changes in the U.S. movement during the 1960s, O'Riordan (1971, 161) called this new trend the 'third conservation movement', the theme of which was the "survival of man and the maintenance of the world ecosystem".²³

Links With Other Social Movements

Most historians link the modern environmental movement in the U.S. directly to the earlier conservation movement. One of the most significant contributions made by the latter to the modern environmental movement was the infrastructure and organizational capacity of some major national conservation associations. These organizations transformed themselves into environmental groups, attracted huge memberships, and side by side with newly-forming ENGOS, made enormous strides towards furthering the public's awareness of ecological issues (Humphrey & Buttel 1982; Mitchell 1989). Furthermore, the United States' Congressional committees and governmental agencies that had already been set up for conservation purposes provided a 'ready-made' legislative infrastructure for new environmental regulation (Bowman 1975). Because Canada's conservation organizations were small and not as powerful as those in the U.S., however, they did not have such a great influence on the emerging environmental movement in Canada.

The introduction of a scientific, ecological approach to the management of American and Canadian national parks in the 1930s laid the foundations for fundamental changes in

²³ According to O'Riordan (1971), there were three distinct conservation movements: the first emphasized development and took place between 1890 and 1920; the second, from 1933 to 1943, was characterized by the New Deal and Roosevelt's resource planning and policies; and the third is characterized by modern environmental thought.

the way wildlife and habitat were treated and provided a link between conservation and environmentalism in both countries. Park planning became more coherent and was based on representing natural ecosystems and respecting the biological parameters of the environment (Bourdages *et al* 1984). New, ecological concepts gave environmental problems scientific credibility and for some conservationists, the holistic spirit of ecocentrism imbued environmental thought with aesthetic and spiritual viewpoints.

The contemporary environmental movement also has ties with generational protest movements in North America after the second World War. The youth of the counterculture, for example, appreciated nature and were concerned about environmental degradation and pollution. The counterculture can be defined as an attempt "drastically to reorganize the normative bases of order" (Yinger 1982, 6) and the youthful uprising has been called the most significant event in the 1970s (Keniston 1971). It had connections with other such movements of the past: outbreaks of utopianism in American history; the romantic and transcendental movements; and the beat generation (Feigelson 1970; Jamison & Eyerman 1994). North America's countercultural revolution began in the 1960s and was made up of the "educated, privileged children of the American dream, who found the society they were to inherit failing and flawed" (Keniston 1971, vii). They sought freedom from what they felt as repressive rationality, and from bureaucratization, authoritarianism, corruption, 'technocracy' (the reliance on technology), and traditional values (Roszak 1969; Feigelson 1970; Yinger 1982).²⁴ Some of the more sophisticated and activist of this generation became protesters in the new social movements of the time: the anti-Vietnam war, feminist, student, antinuclear, and environmental movements.

Because "[c]ounter-culture movements have claimed and claim ... a society that ... secures individual rights and material well-being ... within nature, not beyond it and in harmony with nature, not in spite of it" (Eder 1990, 39), it was natural that

²⁴ See Reich (1970) and Roszak (1969 and 1973) for in-depth presentations of the grievances of two sophisticated radical dissenters and Feigelson (1970), Keniston (1971), and Yinger (1982) for analyses of the underground or counterculture.

environmentalism become one of the concerns of the counterculture. Oates (1989, 25) claimed that "the environmental problem seemed to encapsulate all that was wrong with modern life: its urban artificiality; its industrialization; its dehumanizing focus on profits and power; the war abroad; racism at home" and Manes (1990, 50) called the emerging environmental movement "the boisterous theater of cultural discontent".

The environmental movement in the United States was also linked to earlier and parallel protestations. The civil rights movement was the first to involve substantial numbers of college students and its techniques of passive resistance were emulated by environmentalists (McCormick 1989). The antiwar, student, new left, and antinuclear movements, however, have even closer ties with the environmental movement. During the 1960s and early '70s, groups representing these concerns flourished on U.S. campuses and they played a pivotal role in shaping the contemporary environmental movement in that country (Humphrey & Buttel 1982). First, the various groups shared ideologies. They shared the "critique of daily life addressing both values and institutional changes, with environment (referring to both daily environment as well as the natural environment) an increasingly central focus" (Gottlieb 1993, 95). The antinuclear movement, for example, increasingly mobilized around environmental issues such as radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons testing (ibid). Second, these other movements provided the emerging environmental groups with a cadre of activists who were already trained in leadership and organization and who were familiar with new forms of action such as civil disobedience, demonstrations, sit-ins, hearings, and staging manifestations and 'events' (Roszak 1969; Fischler 1974; Schnaiberg 1977; Klandermans 1986; Freudenberg & Steinsapir 1992). Following the U.S. lead, the youth of the counterculture and university students provided the first Canadian environmental groups in the early 1970s with individuals who felt dissatisfied with the way society was moving and were motivated to bring about change (Mowat 1990).

Environmental Writings

The role of Rachel Carson's book, *Silent Spring* (1962), as a catalyst in the emergence of the environmental movement in the United States cannot be underestimated. Indeed, Gore (1994, xv) ventured to say that "without this book the environmental movement might have been long delayed or never have developed at all" and Gottlieb (1993, 81) pronounced it "an epochal event in the history of environmentalism". The influence of Carson's work is due to a number of factors. First, it appealed to many organized groups and interests - preservationists, farmers, hunters, fishermen, public health professionals, the chemical industry, and the environmentally-aware youth. Second, it was taken seriously because of its scientific rationale. Third, it was accessible to the ordinary person because the language, although cast in scientific terms, was comprehensible, and because it dealt with one issue rather than the whole gamut of environmental problems. Fourth, it proposed alternatives to chemical pesticides and advocated political action to stop pollution. Finally, the book was one of the first popular works to question the prevailing assumptions about the human-environment relationship (Schnaiberg 1977; Humphrey & Buttel 1982; Mitchell 1989; Paehlke 1989).

In the wake of Earth Day 1970, some other popular publications stirred up public concern for the state of the environment across North America. The Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* (Meadows *et al.* 1972a) predicted ecological collapse unless population growth and pollution abated. Adherents to the burgeoning environmental movement closely followed a debate that developed between Commoner (1971), who, in *The Closing Circle* maintained that faults in the use of productive technology were the greatest contributors to environmental problems, and Ehrlich, who blamed overpopulation. Ehrlich had presented his hypothesis in *The Population Bomb* in 1968, which became a best-seller; it was followed by *Eco-Catastrophe* in 1970. In 1974, Brown and Eckholm's publication *By Bread Alone* took a pessimistic view of the food-production capacity of the planet.

Although accused of fear-mongering by some journalists, the neo-malthusian slant of this literature forced readers to think about the limits the natural world sets for human actions.²⁵

Although they never became as widely popular as this later doomsday literature, the writings of several social theorists during the early 1960s had already attracted the attention of a small audience of intellectuals and activists (Roszak 1969; Gottlieb 1993). Herbert Marcuse, the German philosopher, social critics Paul Goodman and Norman Brown, and the anarchist-ecologist Murray Bookchin focused on what would become core issues for contemporary environmentalism - the critique of production, consumption, urbanization, and science and technology, as well as the need for social change and a new relationship with nature.²⁶

Environmental issues were also popularized in periodicals such as *Environmental Quality* and *Catalyst*, which vulgarized their material for a larger audience. Underground literature, like *Mother Earth News*, *Environmental Action Bulletin*, *Making Do*, the *Whole Earth Catalogue*, and *Harrowsmith*²⁷ fed the counterculture's hunger for knowledge of practices such as organic gardening and alternative technologies and "contributed significantly to popularizing ecology concepts within both the counterculture and the New Left" (Gottlieb 1993, 100).²⁸ As well, North American youths began to rediscover the writings of Thoreau, Whitman, and Leopold (de Nicolaÿ 1974).

Public Awareness and Concern

The U.S. public began to nurture a dramatic and even startling interest in environmentalism in the 1970s. Humphrey and Buttel (1982, 111) noted that "[f]rom 1965 to 1970, the issue of air and water pollution grew from a concern of only a small minority of the public to the

²⁵ Neo-malthusians took up the debate about the capacity of the finite earth to produce enough food and resources for a population growing exponentially, started by Thomas Malthus in 1798 (see Malthus 1964).

²⁶ See Herber - Herber was Bookchin's nom-de-plume (1962); Goodman and Goodman (1960); Marcuse (1966). Hill (1994) suggested that the environmental movement is not dated from Bookchin's book, which was published in the same year as Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, because unlike the latter, it did not address a single issue in an easy-to-read manner.

²⁷ The latter was a Canadian publication.

²⁸ Gottlieb (1993, 99) noted that publications such as the *Whole Earth Catalog* and *Mother Earth News* reached audiences of as many as one million readers.

second most important concern of Americans, next to crime reduction". Indeed, by 1970 conservation was being volunteered as one of the most important national problems facing the United States nation (Wood 1982). In Canada, on the other hand, the environment was third after unemployment and inflation as a cause of concern to Canadians in 1972 and it was not until 1987 that polls began to note that Canadians volunteered 'the environment' as an important problem (Dubasak 1990; Bakvis & Nevitte 1992).²⁹

ENGOS

By 1970 there were already about 3,000 ENGOS in the U.S. (de Nicolaÿ 1974). Six of the country's ten mainstream associations were founded before the 1960s, indicative of the significance of these early associations, which grew from small wilderness-protection clubs to large national ENGOS, their total membership increasing almost sevenfold by 1969. The Sierra Club, for example, which formed in 1892, had 15,000 members in 1960 and grew tenfold by 1974. The National Audubon Society was founded in 1905 and counted as many as 214,000 members by the mid-'70s. The Wilderness Society, founded in 1935, doubled its membership between 1965 and 1971 and The National Parks and Conservation Association (1919), the Izaak Walton League (1922), and the National Wildlife Federation (1936) also grew in numbers in the 1970s.

The 1960s and '70s also saw the founding of what would become large national associations such as the Environmental Defense Fund (1967), the Natural Resources Defense Council (1970), and the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund (1971). In 1969 Friends of the Earth (FoE) formed in the United States and had 25,000 members by 1974. Total membership in conservation associations was about 124,000 in 1960 but by 1983, eleven national ENGOS boasted a total of 1,994,000 members (Mitchell 1989; Dubasak 1990).

²⁹ Gregg and Posner (1990, 90-2) stated that "for the better part of the 1980s, Canadians were generally sanguine about the environment" but that by the end of the decade, "ecology had become the central preoccupation of Canadians". The authors divided the decade into three distinct phases characterized in order by awareness, concern, and action.

The country's mainstream ENGOs worked together during the 1980s and were aided by funders such as Robert Allen of The Kendall Foundation, Ford, the Rockefellers, the Stern and Mott Family Funds, and Marion Edey of the League of Conservation voters. These financiers helped to create professional ENGOs with expert staff and sophisticated lobbying abilities so that "by the end of the 1970s, mainstream environmental groups would become both a part of the environmental policy process and its watchdog" (Gottlieb 1993, 126).

In Canada, it was largely during the late 1960's and early '70s that ENGOs began forming in the major cities. One of Canada's first significant associations was Pollution Probe, a "mainstay of the Canadian environmental movement" (Macdonald 1991, 97), which was founded in Toronto in 1969. It began as an group of students with no hierarchy and no money, assisted by entomologist Dr Donald Chant.³⁰ A few years later there were 400 to 500 people working for the group during the summers and many of the founders had given up their studies to devote their time to solving the pressing problems of pollution. Pollution Probe was assisted by the Canadian Environmental Law Association, formed by a group of Toronto law students to provide legal advice to the group and to other ENGOs (Barber 1991; Macdonald 1991).

Canada was the birthplace of Greenpeace, one of the world's most renowned international environmental groups. It began in Vancouver with a small group of peace activists and environmentalists protesting the United States' underground testing of nuclear explosives on Amchitka Island in 1971. The group experimented with nonviolent resistance tactics pioneered in the civil rights movement. Greenpeace soon became renowned for its media-grabbing stunts and its renegade activities. It quickly spread to the U.S. and elsewhere. It also became involved in a broad range of issues including marine

³⁰ Chant (1970) edited the book *Pollution Probe*, which was the first comprehensive Canadian reader on pollution. Lawrence, a native of Britain, wrote *The Poison Makers* (1969), which also introduced readers to the problems of pollution and the need for conservation in Canada. Another early warning about pollution in Canada came from the Canadian Society of Zoologists (1969), which published *The Rape of the Environment: A Statement on Environmental Pollution and Destruction in Canada*.

ecology, toxic pollution, and papermaking, while remaining active in the areas of wildlife protection, hazardous waste disposal at sea, and atmospheric pollution (Barber 1991; Macdonald 1991; Shabecoff 1993).³¹

The Nature Conservancy of Canada is another national association that was founded early in the history of contemporary Canadian environmentalism. Incorporated in 1963 through the initiative of the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, which wanted an organization devoted to land acquisition, it attempted to protect natural areas by buying them and transferring them to local groups and conservation authorities (Mowat 1990; Barber 1991). The National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (NPPA) and the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC) were founded in 1963 and 1971, respectively (Pimlott 1973; Dubasak 1990). The foundation of Canada's environmental movement was also enhanced by the Yukon Conservation Society, established in 1968, the Conservation Council of New Brunswick (1969), and the Ecology Action Centre (1970) (CEN 1994). Table 2.1 provides a list of environmental organizations in Canada in 1973.

During the mid-1970s there was an increase in the number of new ENGOs forming in Canada. One of the reasons for this surge in organized action was the funding made available by several federal government departments. One of them, the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council (CEAC), financed several national meetings of environmentalists out of which emerged two coalitions: a National Steering Committee of ENGOs and Friends of the Earth Canada (FoE). The former evolved into the Canadian Environmental Network (CEN), incorporated in 1986. The latter, FoE Canada, was linked to the international entity and represented about thirteen groups at its inception in 1978.³² Some of the first issues receiving its attention were the use of pesticides, forest management, and alternative energy policies, concerns the coalition carried to federal-level politics. Under FoE's auspices *Soft Energy Paths for Canada*, a ground-breaking energy

³¹ See Hunter (1979) and Brown and May (1989) for the story of Greenpeace.

³² Although only one national FoE organization was allowed per nation, exceptions were made for Canada and Belgium where there was the possibility for separate French or Flemish groups.

analysis, was researched and written. This document was published in twelve volumes in 1983 by Energy, Mines and Resources and Environment Canada, which subsidized the work. It is still being used to develop strategies to combat climate change (CEN 1994). In the 1980s, FoE Canada was being funded by its national direct-mail campaigns and by contracts with the federal government (Brooks 1993).

Table 2.1

Environmental Organizations in Canada, 1973

Province/Territory	Number of Groups*	Number of 'Pollution' Groups**
Yukon	3	1
Northwest Territories	4	1
British Columbia	77	53
Alberta	44	7
Saskatchewan	15	3
Manitoba	10	2
Ontario	120	29
Quebec	31	5
New Brunswick	19	7
Nova Scotia	11	3
Prince Edward Island	2	-
Newfoundland	4	2

*This list includes naturalist, fish and game, alpine, youth hostel, conservation, wilderness preservation, and pollution organizations.

**This lists those groups that had a specific interest in pollution, as indicated by such words as 'environment', 'ecology', or 'pollution' in the title.

Source: after Macdonald 1991, 99.

Phases

April 22, 1970 - Earth Day - was a landmark event that signaled the arrival of the environmental movement as a major force in North American life. It was also the culmination of a process of rising environmental awareness and student social activism (Mitchell *et al.* 1992; Shabecoff 1993). It is claimed that "it united more people concerned about a single cause than any other global event in history" (Cahn & Cahn 1990, 17) and

that it was "one of the most remarkable public events in American political history" (Manes 1990, 54). Altogether about 20,000,000 people participated; 250,000 people gathered in Washington, D.C. alone to support decisive action on environmental issues (Manes 1990; Dunlap & Mertig 1992; Shabecoff 1993). The event was much less well-attended in Canada than it was in the U.S.

The recession in the early 1970s and the oil crisis in 1973 led to a decline in public interest in environmental issues in the United States. But the movement in the U.S. braved this dip in concern as ENGOs continued to work for public support and political changes.³³ Local ecological disasters such as Love Canal, Three Mile Island, numerous oil spills, and the various backyard ecological problems that forced ordinary citizens to become involved in community action contributed to the persisting popularity of environmentalism as a social issue. Environmental concern was roused during the mid-1980s by a new awareness of the global nature of problems such as deforestation, greenhouse warming, desertification, acid rain, ozone depletion, the failure of many Third World development schemes, and by a new focus on energy problems.³⁴

The main problems addressed by Canadian ENGOs changed over time as they did in the United States. Generally speaking, the 1960s saw preservationist ideals appear as groups like the NPPA and the Algonquian Wildlands Leagues formed and others fought for the protection of wilderness areas such as South Moresby Island and the Carmanagh Valley. In the 1970s, pollution and energy issues were the major concerns while acid rain became the important problem in the 1980s. During the 1970s, the Canadian environmental movement had been successful in several areas ranging "from the control of specific pollutants to quantum changes in the attitudes and perceptions of the society in

³³ The environmental movement's continued momentum contradicts Downs' 'issue-attention cycle', which posits that the American public's interest in social problems is short-lived. Lowe and Morrison (1984), for example, showed the stability of environmental attitudes. See Downs (1972) for a description of the model, which includes five stages in the cycle, and McCormick (1989) and Kuzmiak (1991) for critical discussions of its application to the environmental movement.

³⁴ Some observers have noted that there have been different periods in the environmental movement, each characterized by a focus on specific issues and problems. Sale (1993), for instance, suggested four coherent periods and Hays (1989) proposed three.

which we live" (Chant 1981, 3). Accomplishments included strides made in the introduction of recycling, the preservation of certain parklands, the establishment of provincial and federal environmental departments, the introduction of environmental studies in education, and the acceptance of ENGOs as a legitimate part of society (ibid).

Europe

The environmental movement evolved in a different way in the countries of Europe, with organized concern for the quality of urban and natural surroundings being "launched on the shoulders of massive social movements" (Hawkins 1993, 194) and finding expression in political green parties.

The Greens

In the 1970s, the European environmental movement embraced the causes of feminism, leftist-politics, libertarianism, antimilitarism, and antiindustrialism (Manes 1990). These forces were brought together in the mass protests against nuclear power. Although the antinuclear movement in France soon faded³⁵, opposition in the rest of Europe intensified and evolved into the green movement. Green parties became poles of attraction for, and gave coherent expression to a variety of struggles whose practices were oriented towards local grassroots and direct-action initiatives on single issues. Green parties adopted an ideology grounded in holism, pacifism, and feminism (Boggs 1986; Biehl 1993).

Founded in 1973, Britain's Ecology Party (which later became the Green Party) was Europe's first political party dedicated to environmental ideals. It remained a weak force, however, divided between the conventional environmentalists, and the decentralists and counterculturalists. The green parties that emerged later on the continent, on the other hand, grew and flourished in the 1980s. European environmentalists were able to win

³⁵ It was traumatized because of the violent police response to a manifestation of 60,000 people at Malville in July 1977 that left one demonstrator dead and hundreds of others injured (Manes 1990).

enough support to enter politics and eventually to send representatives to both several national parliaments and the joint European Parliament (Manes 1990).

The most dynamic green party in Europe was the West German Greens. In 1983, two years after its formation, it won enough votes (five percent of the national vote) to enter the West German Bundestag with twenty-seven seats. In 1985, *Die Grünen* won ten percent of the national vote (Boggs 1986; Cunningham & Saigo 1990; Manes 1990; Borelli 1993). The particular appeal of the German greens was due to,

a unique convergence of developments and issues: the absence of German national sovereignty, concentration of the arms race in Central Europe, intensive urbanization, the legacy of fascism, and the extreme closure of the West German party system. (Boggs 1986, 58)

The German Green Party also held a universal appeal because it fused disparate traditions - it has been characterized as "a gathering of movements" (ibid, 20). This fact, however, may have contributed to the internal division that grew over whether or not to work with the ruling centrist party. The 'realos' or realists (*realpolitik*) believed they could be more effective by becoming institutionalized, but the fundamentalists (*fundi*) wanted to avoid compromising their principles. The latter's goal was "an eco-socialist alternative - feminist, pacifist and anti-authoritarian" (Kemp *et al.* 1992, 4). In the early years, *fundis* were in the majority, but later in the 1980s the realos had gained dominance. Greens in Germany, as well as in many other west-European countries, became "largely professional politicians and their parties routine parliamentary parties with an environmentalist cast" (Biehl 1993, 159). The basic *realo-fundi* struggle was repeated in Italy, for example, where the green movement was rapidly transformed into a traditional political party (ibid). Part of the reason for the moderation of the green's message was the ebb in support for the other extraparliamentary movements (Hawkins 1993). The green movement in Western Europe, however, despite its contradictions, was the clearest political expression of the groundswell of new social movements in the 1970s and 80s (Boggs 1986; Cunningham & Saigo 1990; Kemp *et al.* 1992; Fuentes & Frank 1993).

ENGOS

Although green politics was the strongest arena for environmental activism, ENGOS in Europe also attracted significant followings in the early 1970s. In France, Friends of the Earth (FoE) was founded in 1970 and had some 5,000 members in 1977. Its strength lay not in its absolute numbers, but in the fact that the core group of members was extremely militant and efficient in their public campaigns and in their pressure politics (Vadrot 1977). In 1974 the agronomist René Dumont of Les Amis de la Terre de Paris and author of several successful books about social ecology³⁶, became a presidential candidate winning 1.32 percent of the vote (Pronier & le Seigneur 1992). Two of France's largest groups of the period were Pollution Non, founded in 1970, and la Fédération française des sociétés de protection de la nature, which formed a coalition of local nature groups in 1968, some of which had existed for decades (Vadrot 1977). Beginning in the 1970s, there was an explosion in the numbers of small ENGOS in France³⁷, many of them ephemeral grassroots associations devoted to a local issue, but some of which endured to become regional catalysts for the coalition of numerous small groups (ibid).

In Britain, the largest ENGO in the 1970s was the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, with 60,000 members. The Noise Abatement Society, the League Against Cruel Sports, and Transport 2000 were all founded in the early 1970s. Friends of the Earth (FoE) came to Britain from the United States in 1970 and had 20,000 members by 1974. It represented broad environmental concerns, taking a global philosophical approach based on opposition to technological 'fixes' and to economic growth at the expense of the environment (de Nicolay 1974).

Large international associations representing broad environmental interests became successfully established on the continent in the 1970s. FoE groups formed in France,

³⁶ Social ecology, as shown earlier in the chapter, "presupposes radical changes in our relationship with the natural world and in our mode of social and political life" (Roussopoulos 1994, 8).

³⁷ Vadrot (1977, 456) defended the use of the word 'explosion': "... l'explosion (le mot n'est pas trop fort) du nombre des petites associations de défense à partir de 1970".

Sweden, the Netherlands, and Italy, where the struggle against nuclear energy was the major campaign. Greenpeace had national branches in Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Switzerland by 1983. Another international organization operating out of Europe was the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), which was founded in 1961 by Max Nicholson and was concerned primarily with nature conservation (Pearce 1991; Van der Heijden *et al.* 1992). Many traditional associations as well as umbrella environmental groups belonged to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), founded in 1948 and representing 114 countries (*ibid.*).

As in North America, the evolution of organized action for the protection of the environment in Britain and in Europe followed a pattern characterized by a change from local conservation issues in rural areas to the broadening of environmental concerns to include global problems and urban pollution issues. Conservation was the dominant environmental ideology at the end of the 1960s in Europe and Britain, but as the movement burgeoned, conservation groups remained local and regional in character and interest, unlike the large national conservation organizations characteristic of the United States. Membership numbers, however, increased significantly and new ENGOs were formed by the hundreds (de Nicolay 1974; Vadrot 1977; Van der Heijden *et al.* 1992).

This chapter provided some tools to classify environmental ideology, reviewed the historical background of modern day concerns for the environment, and illustrated situations in the industrialized world with which to compare Quebec's case. With an understanding of the historical and global context within which Quebec's environmental movement arose, I now turn to a description of its emergence and evolution.

3: THE EMERGENCE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN QUEBEC

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes Quebec's environmental movement during the first years of its existence. It introduces the important events, individuals, and groups that signaled its birth and describes some of its characteristics. The main focus is the period between 1970, in which several of the most prominent environmental groups were founded, and 1985, by which time the movement had become a legitimate force in Quebec society.³⁸ It also briefly highlights the development of conservation, urban sanitation, and ecology in Quebec, precursors to modern environmentalism. The chapter begins by defining the movement and presenting its various strands.

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION

Between 1970 and 1985, environmentalism in Quebec became a legitimate social movement. In 1982, Vaillancourt (p. 126) defined it:

Le mouvement écologiste québécois est un ensemble disparate d'associations, de groupes et d'individus qui ont surtout été intéressés, depuis le début des années soixante-dix, par les problèmes de la pollution de l'air, de l'eau et des sols, par la question du gaspillage et de la pénurie des ressources naturelles (surtout énergétiques), par le danger de la contamination radioactive, et, plus récemment, par les problèmes des déchets toxiques et des pluies acides, en somme, par les questions fondamentales de la qualité de la vie et, de plus en plus, de la simple survie de l'humanité.

Its members were organized into various representative groups that were non-institutionalized and that engaged in unconventional activities oriented towards producing change. These associations represented the concerns of a large number of adherents as well as a significant proportion of the public. The ENGOs challenged the norms, values,

³⁸ This chapter draws extensively from Jean-Guy Vaillancourt's articles and books about Quebec's environmental movement (see Vaillancourt 1979, 1981, 1982, 1985a, 1987a and b, 1992).

and existing behaviour in society and sought to affect decisions without themselves seeking state power.

Chapter 2 depicted the various ideological strands within the environmental movement in general. The Quebec example was no less diverse. Indeed, it has been called a "nebuleuse écologique" to stress the diversity and variety of approaches that existed within the movement during the period of this study (Vaillancourt 1985a, 39; Corriveau & Foucault 1990, 19).³⁹ Several observers analyzed its diverse tendencies and attempted to classify them (see Rogel 1981; Vaillancourt 1981, 1985a; Jurdant 1984b; Harnois 1986; and Corriveau & Foucault 1990). Generally speaking, environmentalists in Quebec in the 1970s and early '80s represented the range from reform to radical and fell into the following categories: counterculturalists, political or social ecologists, conservationists, and reform environmentalists. Vaillancourt's (1981; 1985a) scheme is more detailed: he divided the movement's adherents into two categories depending on whether they advocated cultural or socio-political solutions. Each category comprises conservative, moderate, and radical constituents. Environmentalists who advocate cultural changes are those who call into question the values of a consumer and wasteful society and who propose alternative lifestyles. Those advocating sociopolitical changes range from reformists focusing on improving the physical protection of the environment to more radical environmentalists who criticize the basic structure of society. Vaillancourt (1992) cautioned that these are ideal types and that individuals and ENGOS often take action on both sociopolitical and cultural levels at the same time.

Ecocentrics in Quebec are *écologistes*.⁴⁰ They are social rather than deep ecologists who believe that the environment will only be saved by global social and political changes. They envision a convivial society based on, among other things, decentralized political

³⁹ It appears that this term was first used by the French journalist Michel Bosquet to describe Quebec's environmental movement (see Rogel 1981, 126). Vaillancourt (1992, 797) called the ENGOS that make it up "une faune très diversifiée".

⁴⁰ French terms, such as *écologiste*, *écologisme*, *projet de société* etc. are explained in the Glossary.

power, participatory democracy, and soft technologies characterized by their conviviality⁴¹: they are small in size, cost, and energy use, and simple, accessible, and respectful of ecological principles. *Écologistes* practice *écologisme*, which was described by Jurdant (1984b, 68-9) as,

un mouvement, un comportement, une façon de vivre, une philosophie, une éthique, une théorie politique, un projet de société ou tout cela à la fois, qui propose et expérimente de nouveaux modes de vie, sur les plans individuel, économique, culturel et politique, qui garantissent l'épanouissement et la souveraineté à la fois de tous les écosystèmes et de tous les êtres humains de la Terre.

Écologistes promote a *projet de société*, which refers to a restructured society that is socially and environmentally sound. The word *environmentaliste* is usually reserved for technocentric environmentalists.

PRECURSORS TO THE CONTEMPORARY ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

Conservation and Ecology

Natural history and scientific associations were actively involved in promoting conservation in Quebec in the nineteenth century and many of them still exist today. In 1827 a natural history society formed in Montreal and its journal, the *Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*, encouraged readers to protect wildlife populations. One of the most influential early associations was la Société protectrice des animaux, founded in 1870. It promoted the humanitarian treatment of wild and domestic animals and helped to improve the public's awareness and appreciation of nature. Founded in 1877 by Pierre-Étienne Fortin and Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, the Société de géographie de Québec's major preoccupation was the study and protection of natural resources. Another early conservation group was l'Association forestière québécoise, founded in 1882 (Hébert 1991).

⁴¹ "In other words, human beings will be able to approach, understand, and culturally possess the tools of their trade (the means of production)" (Ami(e)s de la terre de Québec 1986, 151). The term 'conviviality' in reference to tools was first used by Illich (1973a, 11) who wrote that it designated, among other things, "the opposite of industrial productivity".

During the twentieth century, yet more conservation associations were established, among them La société Provancher (1923) and La société linnéenne du Québec (Linnean Society, 1929). The former was devoted to the study and protection of birds and to teaching nature education to children. It also took action to protect the Lazades Islands, a nesting site for migratory birds in the Saint Lawrence River. The Linnean Society conducted research and established scientific links with other Canadian and international naturalists and scientists. It is still an important conservation organization in Quebec (Hébert 1991). One of the oldest non-profit conservation groups that still exists in Canada is the Quebec Society for the Protection of Birds, established in 1917.

Efforts to protect wilderness areas in this province were also influenced by the American parks movement and by the subsequent development of national parks in Canada. At the end of the nineteenth century, the government of Quebec decided to set aside large tracts of land as natural parks. Between 1894 and 1937 two provincial parks were established, le parc du Mont-Tremblant and le parc des Laurentides, but these areas, like the national parks of the era, privileged commercial exploitation of forest and mineral resources and allowed hunting, fishing, and a number of other recreational activities. This spirit animated park policy in the province until the end of the 1970s (Bourdages *et al.* 1984).

About 1970, some civil servants began to see the necessity for parks that lived up to international criteria. The Ministry of Tourism, Hunting and Fishing began to prepare new laws, but it took until 1977 for them to come into force. The laws allowed for the creation of two types of parks, one for conservation purposes and the other for recreation, and made no provision for resource exploitation. The laws governing existing parks were also revised so they conformed to the new policy and they stipulated public consultation for any creation, abolition, or change in provincial parks. Unlike Canada's national park policy, which considered the forest vegetation as well, Quebec's was based solely on an understanding of landforms and geology (Bourdages *et al.* 1984).

Pierre Dansereau helped to introduce the science of ecology to Quebec in the 1940s. He was part of a group of people who were influenced by Frère Marie-Victorin and his work at the Botanical Gardens in Montreal and he became an internationally-renowned ecologist (Dumesnil 1981; Vaillancourt 1981). He also became a mentor and teacher to students of ecology in the 1960s and to a new wave of young environmentalists in this province in more recent years. The 1950s and early '60s produced yet other precursors to modern environmentalism in Quebec: groups of scientists and students who were opposed to nuclear explosions for environmental reasons and some tenants' groups that formed to protect their urban homes and surroundings (Vaillancourt 1981).

Urban Sanitation

As suggested in chapter 2, urban health and sanitation improvements, although not always prompted by organized pressure from citizens, are the predecessors of modern pollution control and prevention. Vaillancourt (1981) noted that the first law against air pollution in Canada was adopted in Montreal in 1872. In 1931 the city created a special department to inspect smoke elimination facilities and in 1950 a more general air pollution law came into effect. The 1960s saw the adoption of more severe pollution control legislation, which caused 1,800 of the city's private incinerators to close down. The provincial government also formed a water pollution committee, which was replaced by the Régie d'épuration des eaux in 1958 (Vaillancourt 1981). The president of the Régie in 1960 was Gustave Prévost, a biologist, who saw the dangers of water pollution, alerted the public through the press, and put pressure on politicians to recognize the government's responsibility. Prévost began an anti-pollution league and for some fifteen years worked to sensitize the public about environmental degradation and pollution (Côté 1991, 31). It was not until 1978, however, with the Programme d'assainissement des eaux du Québec (PAEQ) that the province systematically began to build water purification plants in the province (Dubois 1994).

THE BIRTH OF QUEBEC'S ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

The Beginning of Organized Action

Observers agree that 1970 marks the beginning of the organized movement dedicated to saving Quebec's environment from desecration (see Vaillancourt 1981; also Jurdant 1984b). The major reason is that two of the province's first ENGOS, both of which are still foremost in Quebec's environmental movement, were founded that year: la Société pour vaincre la pollution (SVP) and the Society to Overcome Pollution (STOP): "ils sont quasiment à l'origine du mouvement écologiste" (Mattei & Moreau 1983, 28) (Chapter 4 includes vignettes of both these organizations). The Conseil québécois de l'environnement (CQE) was also incorporated in 1970. It was the result of a Symposium for Conservation held in the fall of 1969, which was attended by several provincial ministers concerned with natural resources (CQE 1970). Most of its active members were trained in biological sciences and concerned with ecosystem preservation (Gignac 1982). Survival, an inter-professional movement largely made up of scientists, also came together in 1970 in Quebec. It addressed the problem of weapons of mass destruction as well as the global poisoning of ecosystems that threaten human survival. It became an international group that published a journal by the same name and had subscribers in thirteen countries. As well, a citizen's organization protesting the air pollution from Union Carbide in Beauharnois was formed in 1970 and the first (and only) issue of *Écologie-Québec* was published (Rogel 1981; Vaillancourt 1981). But 1970 was just the beginning: throughout the 1970s ENGOS were forming in cities, in small communities, and on university campuses throughout Quebec.

A study of 44 groups directly related to environmental protection that were formed between 1929 and 1985 found that almost half (twenty) of them were created between 1970 and 1979 (Harnois 1986). In a larger study of 437 ENGOS that emerged between 1917 and 1983, Harnois (ibid) noted that 82 percent were founded between 1972 and 1983.

Another count, done by Quebec's environment ministry, found that between the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the '80s, some 500 ENGOs had been created (ibid). Table 3.1 illustrates the rate of increase in ENGO formation during the 1970s and '80s. Many associations arose to respond to local problems and disappeared once the issue was settled. All these groups, however, were the manifestation of a rising concern about and action on behalf of the environment among Quebecers.

Table 3.1

The Founding of Environmental Groups in Quebec: 1963-1983*

Year	Number of Groups Founded
1963-65	9
1966-68	18
1969-71	26
1972-74	46
1975-77	75
1978-80	112
1981-83	100

*This table does not include those groups that ceased their activities before 1984.

Source: after Gagnon 1990, 89.

Another indication, and one that is stressed by observers of Quebec environmentalism, is the fact that some of the youth of the counterculture were turning to a more 'natural' life through organic gardening, recycling, health food, and self-sufficient living off the land.⁴² Throughout the 1970s and into the '80s, environmentalism in Quebec was developed to a great degree through the counterculture's promotion of new, sustainable life-styles and ecological alternatives (Mattei & Moreau 1983). Back-to-the-land movements, alternative

⁴² Although the literature on the environmental movement in the U.S. also points to its links with the ideologies of the counterculture, little has been written about whether the 'ecological' lifestyles experimented by some of the youth contributed to the development of environmentalism. Vaillancourt (1981), Mattei and Morreau (1983), and Jurdant (1984b), on the other hand, emphasize the importance of alternative life-styles to the growth of the environmental movement in Quebec.

ments, alternative communities and communes, community gardens, and housing and art cooperatives were all emerging (Jurdant 1984b). In 1970 a vast network of natural food cooperatives was set up: Le Réseau des coopératives d'alimentation saine. Several large suppliers furnished coops with bulk produce.⁴³ Indeed, organic agriculture in Quebec could not keep up with the demand for organically-grown food. It is estimated that about 10,000 people were involved in the coop movement (Mattei & Moreau 1983). Jurdant (1984b) noted that the stores, the three documentation centres, and the coop magazine, *Le Rézo*, served as a communication network for organic farmers, other coops, and militant environmentalists. *Le Rézo* is an example of the counterculture's underground literature that was a significant source of information about the environment at a time when radio, television, and newspapers were not yet reporting on this issue.

Environmental Writing

Quebec's counterculture was influenced by the underground or alternative literature that began to appear in the late 1960s and early '70s, much of it clearly influenced in turn by the 'fugitive' American press (Moore 1973; Duchatel 1981; Proulx 1982). Alternative magazines such as *La vie douce*, *Le temps fou*, *Biosphère*, *le Noyau* and *Mainmise* began publishing. The latter enjoyed enormous success between 1970 and 1978.⁴⁴ Apart from its encouragement of drug use and sexual liberation and its rejection of traditional values and mores, one of the main themes of this magazine was the notion that humans are part of nature and must return to the land to find their lost intuitive and creative faculties. It advocated a faith in alternative, soft technologies and self-sufficiency, encouraging its readers to reduce their energy use and consumption of goods because of the finite nature of the planet's resources. It also proposed severe legislation for polluting industries (Moore 1973; Duchatel 1981). Another popular underground publication was *le Répertoire*

⁴³ These were *LaBalance* in Montreal, *l'Engoulement* in Quebec City, and *Alentour* in Sherbrooke.

⁴⁴ After October 1971, it had a regular distribution of some 26,000 copies (Raboy 1984). See Moore (1973) and Duchatel (1981) for analyses of the ideology and influence of this magazine.

québécois des outils planétaires, modeled after the American *Whole Earth Catalogue*. Both advocated alternative technologies that are benign to the environment. Alternative radio began broadcasting about environmental themes in the late 1970s. In 1979, for example, the major environmental and antinuclear groups took turns producing an hour-long program each day on Radio Centre-Ville (Vaillancourt 1981).

Mainstream environmental literature also came over the border and many influential books, such as those by Carson, Commoner, Bookchin, Meadows *et al.*, and Illich were translated into French. These came a circuitous route via Paris where the French versions were published, however, making them available to the francophone audience several years later than they were to anglophones.⁴⁵ French books on the environment and the ills of modern society by authors such as René Dubos, Paul DuVigneaud, Brice Lalonde, Philippe Lebreton, Michel Bosquet (alias André Gorz), Jean-Marie Pelt, and René Dumont also reached educated Quebec audiences.

Literature by Quebecers also began to appear on bookshelves in the 1970s. Chaput and LeSauter's *Dossier pollution* was published in 1971 and became a best-seller and Quebec's equivalent to *Silent Spring*. Written in a language that was accessible to the lay person, it not only showed explicitly the dangers associated with local and global pollution but made suggestions for solutions and demonstrated to concerned readers the power of citizen action. The authors were cognizant of the pollution problems already faced by the United States and declared that "la pollution est la pire menace que l'humanité ait connue de son histoire" (ibid, 22). The book was proclaimed by the Quebec press, which urged its audience to read it (see Lefebvre 1971; Poupart 1971). Ten years later, Rogel's (1981) *Un paradis de la pollution* appeared, describing the lamentable state of Quebec's environment.

The province's scientific journals and magazines, such as *Québec-Science* and *De toute urgence*, also started devoting space to environmental issues in the 1970s. In January

⁴⁵ For the translated versions, see Carson (1963), Commoner (1969; 1972), Bookchin (1976), Meadows *et al.* (1972b); and Illich (1973b, 1973c).

1972, the journal *Critère* dedicated a special edition to the environment.⁴⁶ Many ENGOs started to publish their own newsletters so that by 1985 there were some 97 groups regularly publishing bulletins (Gagnon 1993). In the fall of 1983 the magazine *Idées et pratiques alternatives* was founded by a group promoting an alternative movement in Quebec.⁴⁷ Some ENGO publications eventually became respected environmental magazines. *Franc-Nord* (changed to *Franc-Vert* in 1991), for example, was started in 1984 by the Union québécoise pour la conservation de la nature (UQCN).

The mass media was slower in showing an interest in environmental matters in the 1970s. Some reporters, however, were attentive to the issue. In February 1972, for example, Desrochers published a series of four articles about pollution, recycling, transport, energy, phosphates, and pesticides in *La Presse*. Furthermore, several anglophone newspaper journalists in the 1970s expressed their personal opinions in support of environmental protection. *The Montreal Star* was particularly sensitive to stories about the environment and ENGOs in the 1970s. It was not until the beginning of the 1980s, however, that major French newspapers such as *Le Devoir*, *La Presse*, and *Le Soleil*, began publishing articles related to the environment on a daily basis. Television was also slow to air environmental messages. One of the first programs, a series of half-hour teaching films by Pierre Dansereau, was televised in 1982 (Vaillancourt 1982).

In the mid-1980s, several of Quebec's environmental activists professing different views of the ecological crisis and its remedies published books. In 1984, Jurdant's *Le défi écologiste* appeared posthumously. Called a monumental work by Vaillancourt (1985b), it outlined the ideology of a new society based on the principles of *écologisme* - diversity, self-discipline, moderation, and fairness. Jurdant called for a cultural and social revolution in which political power would be decentralized, the right to a decent income and useful

⁴⁶ It published the proceedings of a multidisciplinary conference held in November 1971 at the Collège Ahuncic called "Education et problèmes d'environnement". The first part of the edition is devoted to pollution - air pollution, heavy metals, noise pollution. A short text by Pierre Dansereau precedes the second part, which focuses on environmental philosophy and ethics.

⁴⁷ Some of these publications disappeared after a few years, usually due to lack of funds. *Alternatives* lasted until 1986.

work would be entrenched in the constitution, the economy would be locally-based, and technologies would be small, convivial, and accessible. Gagnon, much less radical and advocating political solutions, published *L'Écologie, le chaînon manquant de la politique* in 1985. He was running as the environmental candidate in the Parti Québécois leadership race and presented his view of a *société écologiste*. Thus, an awakening of interest in environmental matters is reflected in the amount of information that gradually became available to the public during the 1970s and '80s.

The Movement's Birth: 1970-1975

The emergence of environmental consciousness in Quebec society is also evident in the establishment of government bodies and regulations and in the continued appearance of new environmental groups throughout the period. The 1970s saw the introduction of several measures by the provincial government to protect its natural resources. Radical environmentalists criticized these efforts as being merely ways to clear the conscience of officials who were being pressured by ENGOs but whose main interest was in staying in power and in solving industry's problems, not those of the whole society (see Jurdant 1984b). In 1971 les Services de protection de l'environnement (SPE) was created for municipal affairs, with a budget of \$4,000,000. This was raised to \$12,000,000 in 1972 and \$17,000,000 in 1973 (Vaillancourt 1981). The national assembly also created the Conseil consultatif sur l'environnement in 1973, an initiative that was prompted by pressure from ENGOs (Rogel 1981; Vaillancourt 1981; Corriveau & Foucault 1990).

By 1973 the environment ministry employed about 300 people and the Minister, Dr Victor Goldbloom, had gained a reputation as being genuinely concerned about and active in improving environmental legislation (Desrochers 1972). It was not until 1978, however, that the province gave the public some capacity to participate in the decision-making process regarding environmental problems: it adopted *la Loi sur la qualité de l'environnement*. Two years later, *le Règlement général relatif à l'évaluation et à l'examen*

des impacts sur l'environnement and *les Règles de procédure relatives au déroulement des audiences publiques* were adopted (Cotnoir *et al.* 1991). These enabled the institution, in 1978, of le Bureau des audiences publiques sur l'environnement (BAPE), a consultation agency to which the public could present briefs and take claims that could influence the outcome of projects in both the public and private sectors. By 1984 Quebec's environment ministry counted some 1,200 employees (Jurdant 1984b).

Environmental groups had been requesting forums for public participation in governmental decisions regarding the environment since the early 1970s. Public protest over the James Bay hydroelectric development project manifested itself in the formation of the James Bay Committee in the autumn of 1971 in Montreal. Premier Robert Bourassa announced his intention to develop hydroelectric power from rivers flowing into eastern James Bay in April 1971, before the Cree living in the territory were notified or environmental impact assessments had been done. The James Bay Committee, composed of mostly anglophone activists, supporters, and ten to twenty ENGOs and aboriginal associations, asked the government to hold public hearings on the project, commissioned their own ecological study, produced and distributed a position paper on the potential consequences of the project, and published a 40-page booklet about the situation. They also called for a moratorium on construction until the social, economic, and environmental implications had been investigated (Paehlke 1980). Paehlke (*ibid.*, 133) noted that intense protest against the James Bay project signaled a shift in the environmental movement's focus "from pollution to a more multi-dimensional concern with the broad and complex interrelationships between economy and ecology". Vaillancourt (1982) also suggested that the movement took on a more radical and popular bent at this time, particularly after the 1973 oil crisis.

The year 1975 saw the founding of the Mouvement pour une agriculture biologique (MAB), Le Monde à bicyclette (MàB), l'Association québécoise contre les pluies acides

(AQLPA), and the Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility (CCNR).⁴⁸ The latter, a national organization, was begun in Montreal by some of the province's foremost environmental and anti-nuclear leaders including H el ene Lajambe, Solange Vincent, and Gordon Edwards. MAB was started by a group of organic farmers who wanted to promote this form of agriculture so it would attain the same recognition it enjoyed in Switzerland, France, and West Germany (Mattei & Moreau 1983). By the 1980s, MAB was supported by more than 120 health food cooperatives (Jurdant 1984b).

In 1975 a cottager's association formed a federation. Some 215 self-help organizations came together as the *F d ration des associations pour la protection de l'environnement des lacs* (FAPEL). FAPEL was kindled by Tony LeSauteur, one of the pioneers of Quebec's environmental movement. LeSauteur, a chemical engineer who was hired by the *R g ie des eaux* in 1964, began advocating a change from a 'philosophie du robinet', in which pollution control was confined to filtering and chlorinating drinking water, to a 'philosophie du milieu', which meant solving the problem at its source (Cit es et Villes 1969). He spoke out about his perception of the apathy and inefficiency of civil servants. In the late 1960s, he gave conferences throughout the province on the problems of pollution and began helping cottage-owners form associations to pressure the government into preventing water pollution in their lakes.⁴⁹ As a result of his campaign, by 1970 thirty-seven lake-dwellers' associations had formed and more and more lakeside residents were requesting information about the clean-up and proper installation of their septic tanks (Ferrante 1970). LeSauteur's team included specialists such as forestry engineers, geologists, and town planners, who helped the umbrella group, FAPEL, to provide information to its member associations. By 1981 its membership had doubled (Vaillancourt 1981).

⁴⁸ MAB and AQLPA are the subjects of vignettes in chapter 4.

⁴⁹ Between July 1969 and July 1970, LeSauteur made 64 speeches, gave interviews on thirteen television and six radio programs, prompted the writing of 37 newspaper and magazine articles, and wrote 35 himself as well as an encyclopedia and a pamphlet, all on pollution (Grescoe 1970).

LeSauteur became president of La Fédération québécoise de la faune (FQF), a conservation association that was founded in 1945 and had 70,000 members in 1971 when he was elected. In 1969 LeSauteur had been influential in redirecting FQF's aims from those that safeguarded the interests of hunters and anglers to those that protected nature (Hunter 1969). Once he became president in 1972 he convinced the club to adopt a new constitution that decentralized and democratized the organization. He also established four Opportunities for Youth (OFY) projects in 1972. In one, students studied the flora and fauna in and around the islands between Longueuil and Sorel for the project 'Un Fleuve, Un Parc', a plan to set aside 110 islands in the Saint Lawrence River between Montreal and Sorel as recreation parks and wildlife reserves⁵⁰ (Pagé 1972; Richard 1972). In 1971, LeSauteur became the first Quebecer to win the prestigious White Owl Conservation prize. He was also instrumental in the founding of several of the environmental organizations that sprang up at the beginning of the 1970s. Young enthusiasts acknowledged his expertise and welcomed his role as advisor and consultant to their fledging groups.

Thus the first phase of modern environmentalism, which took place between about 1970 and 1975, was characterized by the Quebec public's awakening to the existence of environmental problems and the beginning of organized action to remedy them, including governmental legislation. Generally speaking, the focus of this period was on local and regional issues such as water pollution in lakes, air pollution in the cities, and hydroelectric development in the James Bay. ENGOs at the beginning of the 1970s also devoted their energies to the management of urban spaces, public transport, and to a criticism of consumer society (Vaillancourt 1981). Individual and community efforts were also being made by the youth of the counterculture to make their lifestyles more benign for their environment. Gradually, during the 1970s,

[u]ne vaste mouvement vert, plutôt diffus mais fort diversifié, s'est formé, avec des tendances et des positions variés, qui s'expriment à travers des

⁵⁰ See Côté's (1991) chronicle of LeSauteur's fight for the islands. When the project was first announced, only seventeen islands were protected. Today there are more than 50, thanks to the work of LeSauteur.

groupes, des revues, des ouvrages et des porte-paroles de plus en plus sophistiqués, et une opinion publique de mieux en mieux informée. (Vaillancourt 1985b, 7)

Revitalization: 1975-1980

Jurdant (1984b, 72) declared that 1977 represented "le départ de l'écologisme québécois". Indeed, as Vaillancourt attested (1979; 1981), the environmental movement gained a new momentum in that year because a great number and variety of the province's ENGOs and anti-nuclear groups were brought together by the nuclear issue. Hydro-Québec was planning to build 35 nuclear-energy plants along the Saint Lawrence River. At a Parliamentary Commission in February 1977, several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) presented memoirs voicing concern about the technical, economic, and moral implications of the plan and proposed conservation, recycling, and soft energy measures as alternatives. Subsequently, about fifteen ENGOs and antinuclear groups formed a coalition - un front commun antinucléaire (FCAN) - to force the closure of the nuclear sites at Gentilly I, to halt work on Gentilly II, and to oppose the completion of the heavy water plant at La Prade. They organized a demonstration and on 22 October, 1977 between 800 and 1,000 people came together at Gentilly, nearly 100 kilometres northeast of Montreal.⁵¹ This event triggered the formation of l'Alliance Tournesol, a decentralized antinuclear NGO whose mandate was live in an ecologically sound manner in harmony with nature and, in collaboration with other ENGOs, to inform the public about ecological solutions to environmental problems (Mattei & Moreau 1983). It was also at this event that FCAN decided to create a new coalition of Quebec's environmental groups (Vaillancourt 1981).

In 1978 FCAN's organizing committee sent a letter to 180 groups and hundreds of environmental activists throughout Quebec. It invited them to a week-end colloquium the purpose of which was to,

⁵¹ Their demands were partially met as only one of the sites was built.

lay the base of a large Québec Ecological Movement, decentralized yet united, whose goal will be to create a socio-political force that will revolutionize globally and radically the productivist, hierarchical and destructive society in which we live, by challenging its choices and its underlying values, and by proposing an alternative ecological society in harmony with the ecosphere of Planet Earth. (Vaillancourt 1979, 5)

About 200 people attended the event, which took place at Lac Saint-Joseph near Quebec City (Vaillancourt 1981; Jurdant 1984b). At this meeting the regroupement écologique québécois (REQ), "a loosely knit coalition of progressive ecology groups and ecologically minded individuals" (Vaillancourt 1979, 5) was formed. This umbrella group took over the work of an earlier and similar effort at unifying the diverging tendencies of the fledging environmental movement: le Regroupement québécois pour l'environnement (RQPE), which formed in 1976 and folded a year later because of lack of funds (Gignac 1982). REQ opened a café in which *écologisme* was the main issue of discussion until the political tendencies of this effort were engulfed by the countercultural ones. The seeds for Les Ami(e)s de la Terre du Québec were also sown at the Lac St-Joseph event. Subsequently an ecology manifesto stating the goals and demands of the militant members of the coalition was written and distributed by the REQ.⁵²

Efforts to unite the disparate environmental and nuclear groups were part of a trend toward coalition-forming that characterized the end of the '70s. The Regroupement pour un Québec vert, for example, was a coalition that brought together ecologists, *écologistes*, conservationists, and more moderate environmentalists to demand the democratic and ecological management of the province's forests and to fight against companies that were exploiting them unsustainably in the name of profit (Vaillancourt 1985a).

One of the most enduring umbrella groups to emerge after Lac St-Joseph (and in reaction to the disaster at Three-Mile Island), was the Front commun pour un débat public sur l'énergie (The Coalition for a Public Debate on Energy).⁵³ Created in 1979 out of one

⁵² See Vaillancourt (1979), who was an active member of REQ, for his presentation of and commentary on this manifesto, and Gosselin and Lapointe (1983) and (Les) Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (1986 and 1988) for updates of it.

⁵³ This coalition endured because government promises for a public debate never materialized. Two parliamentary commissions were held about energy and the White Paper of 1978 recognized the need for a

of the Société pour vaincre la pollution's (SVP) committees led by Pierre Lacombe, it became a coalition of about 80 groups whose mandate, as suggested by its name, was to demand that the provincial government hold public debates about Quebec's energy needs with a view to establishing an energy policy. It also demanded a moratorium on all nuclear projects (and, later on, all hydro projects) until a debate had been held. It strove to educate the member groups on energy issues and to coordinate and diffuse information. In February 1981, the coalition organized a conference and an 'energy week' at the University of Quebec at Montreal (Gendron 1992). The Réseau québécois des groupes écologistes, which officially began in 1982, is another umbrella group that facilitated the exchange of information among its member groups.⁵⁴

Thus the movement experienced a renewal in the late 1970s and early '80s with new action toward unity and concerns about the province's energy uppermost on the agenda, especially within the more radical arm of the movement. The period was also characterized by an enormous diversity of issues and causes. Despite the attempts at forming a vast cohesive movement, there was evidence of growing fragmentation, especially in the rift between *écologistes* and more reformist environmentalists, which often hindered concerted and coherent action (Gagnon 1985). Examples abound: Vaillancourt (1981) noted that a significant schism developed within the REQ between conservative and countercultural tendencies, and the more radical and politicized elements; Michel Jurdant, representing the radical wing, criticized FAPEL's actions because they protected the interests of people who owned land around lakes, places Jurdant thought should remain accessible to the public; and a schism also developed between Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT) and the

debate, but despite the coalition's efforts, none was held (Vaillancourt 1982; Jurdant 1984b). Finally, because environmentalists, economists, and Hydro planners expressed radically different views about energy demands during the 1990s impact assessments for the proposed Great Whale hydroelectric project in the James Bay, the government promised to hold a public debate on Quebec's future energy supply in the spring of 1995 (Derfel 1994).

⁵⁴ Still active at the present, it publishes *Le Bouquet écologique*, produces a repertory of Quebec's ENGOs, and holds annual general assemblies. These activities are financed in part by both provincial and federal environment ministries (Vaillancourt 1985a).

Association québécoise de lutte contre les pluies acides (AQLPA) because the former considered the latter too willing to rely on technological fixes.

The Golden Age?: 1980-1985

As the new decade began, momentum seemed to flag as the movement reached a sort of plateau at the beginning of the '80s. Vaillancourt (1982, 130) saw "un certain essoufflement" due to the recession and to people's concern for the economy and their own personal needs, to the fears of a third World War, and, perhaps to the fact that ENGOs were less confrontational.

During the 1980s, however, environmentalism did not die, indeed it appeared to be here to stay although the movement was changing and evolving. Environmentalists in Quebec, as they did elsewhere, became aware of global problems such as desertification, deforestation, global warming, and depletion of the ozone layer (Gagnon 1993). Consciousness of global issues also manifested itself in the new interest ENGOs expressed in forging ties with international peace movements and in Third World issues such as hunger, overpopulation, resource depletion, and inequality (Vaillancourt 1982). At local levels, the '80s saw many urban-based ENGOs working on establishing recycling businesses and educating the public about sorting their recyclables at the source. Quebec's Environment Ministry granted \$600,000 to recycling groups, creating 130 jobs (*ibid*). Other such groups concentrated on pressuring their municipalities to institute large-scale door-to-door recycling. Their success took recycling out of the hands of community organizations, placing the responsibility on municipal governments and the products in the hands of industry (De Guise 1994). The movement was still mobilized on the question of energy, but acid rain came to the fore as the major environmental problem. Pollution, in the form of toxic chemicals from agricultural practices, forestry, and industry was still a major preoccupation and hazardous waste became a new one (Vaillancourt 1981). Environmentalists also expressed views against the use of urea-formaldehyde for insulating

houses. The main province-wide conservation issues at the time were the uncontrolled spraying of the spruce budworm, which ENGOs opposed, the loss of agricultural land, and the creation of five new conservation parks (Mattei & Moreau 1983; Lauzon 1994). In Quebec City environmental and community activists became mobilized to save the port and prevent the construction of the Dufferin autoroute through the old city. In Montreal there was a concerted effort on the part of militant cyclists to force the city to provide more and better facilities (Vaillancourt 1982; Lauzon 1994).

The countercultural tendencies within the movement became more professional during the '80s as the concern for health and 'natural' food turned into a more organized alternative movement advocating holistic or preventative medicine, exercise and fresh air, and vegetarianism. Health food stores, vegetarian restaurants, and small alternative medicine practices sprung up across the province (Vaillancourt 1982).

The '80s also brought a new wave of adherents and activists to the movement: young people, most of them educated in the sciences. Environmental groups devoted to the interests of youth, like ENvironnement JEUnesse and les Jeunes naturalistes formed on university and CEGEP campuses (Vaillancourt 1982). ENvironnement JEUnesse was formed in 1979 when a faction within Quebec's 4H Club⁵⁵ in Trois-Rivières wanted to broaden the association's aims to a more global environmental perspective. The new group's goal was to sensitize young people to ecological concepts. It organized its members into different committees responsible for themes such as outdoor recreation, food, feminism, recycling, transport, gardening, energy, and pollution. The association's bimonthly newsletter turned into a 44-page quarterly journal published since 1980 as *L'ENJEU* (Mattei & Moreau 1983; Beauchemin 1994; Gagné 1994).

Another change in the 1980s was the increasing politicization of the movement. Environmentalists were questioning the role of multinationals, of the United States

⁵⁵ The province's 4H Clubs were founded in 1942. They are the youth wing of l'Association forestière québécoise.

(especially in the acid rain debate), and of government projects. They were proposing alternatives to projects that were not environmentally sound. The movement had become more concrete as well as more involved with other progressive social movements such as the union movement and feminism. Numerous labour councils established effective environmental committees (Walsh 1988). The CSN (Confédération des syndicats nationaux), for example, created an 'ecology' committee in 1980, whose mandate was to inform its members about health and job safety as well as air and water pollution, acid rain, recycling, and energy problems. Two democratic socialist groups (le Comité des 100 and le Regroupement des militants socialistes) also expressed interest in environmental matters (Mattei & Moreau 1983; Vaillancourt, 1981; 1985a). Some ENGOs declared themselves officially in favour of certain political parties. In 1980, for example, many *écologistes* said 'yes' to an independent Quebec and in the elections of April 1981, la Société pour vaincre la pollution (SVP) and le Monde à bicyclette (MàB), among others, supported an independent candidate who presented *écologiste*, feminist, independent, and socialist ideals (Gignac 1982).

The 1980s also saw the publication of Jurdant's influential book, *Le défi écologiste* (1984b). Jurdant played a significant role in the emergence of the environmental movement in Quebec. He was a militant activist with a reputation for being outspoken and radical, with an 'unusual' style. He passionately promoted and defended ecological life styles. Quitting his job of 22 years with Environment Quebec, he began teaching Geography and *écologie* at Laval University where he influenced a new generation of potential environmentalists. Before he died on 6 November 1984, Jurdant had helped found Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec.

During the early 1980s, the movement was being solidly implanted in diverse regions of the province as ENGOs emerged in all corners of Quebec (Vaillancourt 1982). Several mainstream groups showed rapid development during this period, notably l'Union québécoise pour la conservation de la nature (UQCN) and the Association québécoise de

lutte contre les pluies acides (AQLPA) (Gagnon 1993). Indeed, ENGOs had been growing in size and number during the first years of the decade. By 1984, there were some 820 NGOs whose specific mandate was environmental protection (Vaillancourt 1985a).

Environmentalism had truly emerged as a legitimate societal concern by 1985. A retrospective on Quebec's progress in defending the environment called 1984 "l'âge d'or du mouvement écologique" (Franc-Vert 1994, 13). Indeed, in a poll done by Consulation Nadeau in 1985, 64 percent of the respondents felt that environmental groups were very useful to society (Gagnon 1993). In the eyes of Jurdant (1984b, 25), however, the environmental movement of the mid-80s was still a marginal social force. He viewed the movement as a refuge for frustrated people, a therapy group, a naturalists' club, "une confrérie de rêveurs du paradis perdu", an association defending privileged interests or, quite simply, a good collective conscience. He strove to help it become "un véritable *mouvement social*, c'est-à-dire un mouvement capable de développer un projet de société alternative" (ibid, emphasis in original). He deplored the loss of the countercultural elements in the movement, its co-option by technocrats in the government and industry, and the tendency of many activists to "cantonner dans l'environnementalisme" by proposing technical and managerial solutions rather than by trying to change the underlying social reasons for the crisis (ibid, 380). His aspirations for a *projet de société* were evidently still too radical for mainstream environmental interests.

Luc Gagnon, another prominent environmentalist, was of the opinion that the movement needed to move into a phase of constructive action, the realization of which was hindered by the existence of the radical utopian strand personified by Jurdant: "[L]a phase de l'avenir sera celle de l'écologism constructif et non-utopique" (Gagnon 1985, 13). It appears, however, that despite their differences, both Jurdant and Gagnon questioned the strength and success of Quebec's environmental movement in the mid-'80s.

With hindsight, however, the mid-1980s may indeed have been the golden age of Quebec's environmental movement. From its emergence in 1970 to 1985 ENGOs had

been successful on a number of levels. Firstly, they had sensitized the public to environmental problems through their literature and public campaigns. Prior to 1970, the Quebec public was largely ignorant of the problems posed by pollution, but by 1978, Quebecers were more concerned about the quality of their environment than other Canadians (Gignac 1982). The Société pour vaincre la pollution (SVP), for example, had produced a map showing the areas affected by acid rain, the Association québécoise le lutte contre la pollution atmosphérique (AQLPA) had toured municipal councils to educate citizens about the problem, the Fédération des associations pour la protection de l'environnement des lacs (FAPEL) was educating thousands of cottagers, and l'Union québécoise pour la conservation de la nature (UQCN) had started publishing the magazine *Franc-Nord*. Second, ENGOs had successfully forced legislative changes, FAPEL regarding water quality and the Society to Overcome Pollution (STOP) in regulations about toxic waste are examples. Third, they had organized hundreds of community activities, such as a conferences, seminars, debates, and information sessions. Perhaps the fairest evaluation of Quebec's environmental movement in 1985 is that made by Vaillancourt (1985a, 46):

Il y a une croissance constante et un enracinement plus grand du mouvement dans son ensemble. C'est peut-être moins voyant, moins radical qu'il y a quelques années, mais c'est plus large et c'est plus fort. On est passé de la phase prophétique à la phase d'institutionnalisation. Beaucoup plus de gens sont rejoints, et de façon plus profonde.

4: CONTEXT, MOBILIZATION, AND MOTIVATION

CONTEXT: DATA AT THE MACRO LEVEL

[T]he most significant development growing out of the changes taking place in Canadian society since the Second World War has been the sudden emergence of new large bodies of the population, what might here be called publics, actively involving themselves in the political and social affairs of the nation at large ... a larger population, bigger cities, more young people going to university ... an avalanche of social changes. (Clark 1975, 410)

It is within this context that the environmental movement arose in Canada. Quebec also went through similar changes, emerging from a closed, rural Catholic society during a time known as the Quiet Revolution to catch up to the rest of North America's post-industrialization. The following section highlights the changes the province went through prior to and just as ENGOs began to organize to stop the pollution that industrialization and urbanization had created.

The Social, Political, and Cultural Context

The Duplessis government that prevailed in Quebec after the second World War was closed and conformist, based on traditional religious and rural structures. Oppositional movements, however, began to seek social change and advocated *rattrapage* - modernization to catch up with social and economic development elsewhere. After 1955, "[l]e pouvoir politique de la petite bourgeoisie rurale fut remis en question par une nouvelle petite bourgeoisie urbaine, éduquée, avide de modernisation et de changements" (Monière 1977, 364).

With the death of Maurice Duplessis in 1959 and the victory of Jean Lesage's Liberals in 1960 came a new openness to political and social change. Quebecers wanted to be masters of their own destiny (Proulx 1982; McRoberts 1988). During the 1960s, the authority that had been vested in the Church was overturned as the Quebec state became predominant. The Quebec government soon employed a large proportion of the Francophone labour force and large enterprises and the public sector grew in importance.

The most successful state enterprise was Hydro-Québec, which by 1963 had taken over most of the power utilities in the province and had become "a symbol of modern Quebec achievement" (Sykes 1973, 181).

In 1964 the Quebec Ministry of Education was established so that the Quebec government took over full authority of private and public educational institutions in the province and within eight years the Quebec school system was completely remodeled. Laval University expanded, new universities opened, and Collèges d'éducation générale et professionnelle (CEGEPs) replaced the system of church-run classical colleges. There was greater equality among students, adult education became more widely available, and financial assistance for post-secondary studies was improved (Simard & Baillargeon 1992a; 1992b). Quebec also increasingly took control of health and welfare activities and access to justice became easier. As well, Francophone ownership in the Quebec economy grew substantially in the 1960s and '70s. The province also changed its relationship with the federal government, gaining more power to act in the economy (Thompson 1973; McRoberts 1988).

These changes had far-reaching social and political repercussions: religion no longer held reign over the family and sexuality: there was a decrease in fertility rates⁵⁶, in family stability, and in marriages, as well as an increase in divorce. People of all walks of life had more leisure time.⁵⁷ There was a huge increase in scholastic levels in secondary and college-level schools and more teenagers of modest means were attending university.⁵⁸ A large number of francophone students were graduating with qualifications for white-collar

⁵⁶ The annual population growth rate at the beginning of the 1950s was 2.5 percent but it began to level off in the early 1960s, which eventually resulted in rates that were lower than those for Canada as a whole. Household size also decreased considerably. In 1961 it was 4.53 persons and by 1975 it was 3.5 (Langlois *et al.* 1992).

⁵⁷ An approximate evaluation estimated that household spending on leisure activities increased from 11 percent to about 22 percent from 1962-1978 (Bellavance & Fournier 1992).

⁵⁸ By 1986, the percentage of fifteen to twenty-four year olds who had studied at university was four times what it was in 1961 (Simard & Baillargeon 1992a). The number of general college diplomas granted tripled between 1970 and the 1980s (Simard & Baillargeon 1992b).

positions, more and more were trained in the sciences, and many of the clergy's duties were taken over by educated social workers (Lazure 1970; McRoberts 1988).

This Quiet Revolution brought Quebec society "from at least seeming religious solidarity to rapid dechristianization, from ignorance to mass education ..." (Dumont 1974, 3). It also brought Quebec into line with other postindustrial societies: "[l]'ancienne société traditionnelle, cléricale, repliée sur elle-même, cède le pas à une société post-industrielle laïque, appartenant de plus en plus à la société nord-américaine" (Rocher 1973, 11). There was a spectacular rise in the tertiary sector⁵⁹, a greater percentage of the population was working in professional jobs, both white-collar and those related to scientific and cultural pursuits, a new intelligentsia had formed in society, and there was a proliferation of public interest groups. Organized groups and innovations were now emerging from the grassroots contrary to the pre-1960s period when social innovations tended to diffuse from the top down (Julien *et al.* 1976). Participation in voluntary associations, for example, increased markedly between the 1960s and 1980s (Langlois 1992).

As French Canadians increasingly identified with Quebec as a nation rather than with Canada as a whole, the goal of Francophone nationalists became "a highly efficient technological society led by French Canadians and animated by a French spirit" (McRoberts 1988, 129). Clandestine cells of the Front de libération du québec (FLQ) began setting off bombs. Young intellectuals - university students, artists, and poets - publishing in *Parti Pris*, called for a socialist, independent, and lay Quebec (Monière 1977; Proulx 1982; Raboy 1984). Leftists used a colonial model to justify the liberation of Quebec from Canada and from the influence of the United States as well as of "Francophone workers from Francophone upper classes" (McRoberts 1988, 196). Capitalism, whether English, American, or French, became the enemy. There was also a growing sense of a need for political independence among the Francophone working class

⁵⁹ By 1973, the tertiary sector accounted for 63 percent of jobs, having risen from 41.6 percent in 1950 (Julien *et al.* 1976).

during the late 1960s and the 1970s. For many, the Quiet Revolution had not met their expectations and "Quebec sovereignty had become an all-encompassing symbol for change" (McRoberts 1988, 262). In 1968, the Parti Québécois was founded. By 1970 it had gained twenty-four percent of the vote and in 1973 it secured thirty percent of the vote and six seats in parliament.

As part of the larger North American economy, Quebec experienced the depression that peaked in the years 1969-71. The Quiet Revolution was over. There was high unemployment and economic stagnation which led to some conflict, especially in Montreal. An era of social protest began that started with the merging of nationalist and socialist movements, with student protests, and with unionization (Proulx 1982). A new political liberty emerged and intellectuals were influenced by the discovery of marxism and by the media portrayal of the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam war protests in the United States, and the European student movement that culminated in May 1968 in France. In the fall of the following year, the student movement in Quebec caused the closing of CEGEPs and some universities (Lazure 1970; Huston 1972; Proulx 1982).

With the summer of 1969 came a rise in unemployment, demonstrations about lack of work, and the challenging of the Quebec government's authority by well-organized unions (Lazure 1970; Huston 1972; Proulx 1982). Added to problems in the job market were growing urban problems related to poverty, housing, health, and public services. Furthermore, the city of Montreal's administration was costly and not interested in social politics. These factors and the disillusionment with the Quiet Revolution led to the emergence of *groupes populaires* (Lesemann & Thienot 1972; McRoberts 1988).

In the mid-'60s, community organizers with socialist leanings began stirring up citizens in the poorer *quartiers* of Montreal urging them to set up committees to challenge authority and to protest the domination of the capitalist state. But the marxist-leninist tendencies of the social protest soon gave way to new social movements particularly concerned with the quality of social life as well as the defence and promotion of neighbourhood and local

interests: women's rights, environmental issues, urban issues, and sexual matters joined the more classical questions related to jobs and the work place (Raboy 1984). By 1968 community groups were less focused on protest and more oriented towards specific collective projects: citizen committees formed by *animations sociale* from the early 1960s were replaced in the early '70s by *groupes populaires* (Alsène 1983; Fréchet 1992a). Members created consumers' coops and medical clinics in the Montreal neighbourhoods of Saint-Henri, Pointe Saint-Charles, Centre-Sud, and Hochelaga, for instance. In 1970 a political action committee called the Front d'action politique des salariés (FRAP) entered the municipal elections but was discredited when it was accused of being connected to the Front de liberation du Québec (FLQ) during the October crisis (Raboy 1984).

This crisis was the culmination of political violence perpetrated by the FLQ since the early 1960s. Some FLQ terrorists kidnapped Pierre Laporte, a provincial cabinet minister, and the British trade commissioner, James Cross. The terrorists demanded total Quebec independence and the freedom of exploited Francophone workers. The federal government refused their demands and imposed the War Measures Act. Laporte was murdered by his captors.

Federal and provincial governments took steps to stave off social tensions. Several federally-sponsored job-creation programs were instituted, for example. In 1971, the Liberal government inaugurated Opportunities for Youth (OFY) or Perspectives jeunesse (PJ) with a \$14.7-million fund (Gwyn 1972). Applicants were invited to submit innovative projects that would create summer employment and they were awarded grants to administer them and to hire student workers (Raboy 1984; Westhues 1975). For 1972, the OFY budget was \$35 million. Another \$180 million was spent on a similar scheme, the Local Initiatives Programme (LIP) or Projet d'initiative locale (PIL), a winter job-creation plan. These projects were aimed at the educated unemployed - those who would have no trouble preparing, organizing, and administering a social program (Gwyn 1972; Huston

1972). "In the early 1970s, activist Canadian youth were no longer fighting the government but accepting government paycheques ..." (Westhues 1975, 403).

Parallel to the national movement and the *mouvement populaire* in 1960s Quebec was the counterculture. It diffused swiftly and easily into the province from the United States. Draft dodgers brought it, the media covered it. Expo-67, the International Exposition in Montreal, helped put into place the first underground networks of information (as well as the traffic of psychedelic and soft drugs) (Proulx 1982). The counterculture rebelled against what they saw as a wasteful and profit-seeking society mesmerized by consumption, and an enormous, well oiled, and impersonal bureaucratic machine orchestrated by technocrats. Lazure (1970, 50) saw Quebec's young people as "brimé, captif, aliéné". To cope, many of them, like their American neighbours, chose to 'drop out': to leave society by refusing to live by its rules, by leaving the cities to live in the country, by dropping out of school or quitting jobs, by becoming nomadic travellers, and by taking drugs. Others, however, became involved in social change. For some, the state of the environment became a catalyst for their energies and they began to work towards preventing its further deterioration by forming and joining ENGOS. The leaders and activists of such groups were drop-outs, social animators, students, housewives, intellectuals, and teachers, among others. But what was the state of Quebec's environment in the 1960s that warranted their action?

The Environmental Context

In September 1969, the Canadian Society of Zoologists published *The Rape of the Environment: A Statement on Environmental Pollution and Destruction in Canada*. The Society had contracted different organizations to prepare environmental impact evaluations of each province. Quebec, it appeared, was the worst offender. Untreated sewage poured

into the waters around Montreal⁶⁰, Lake Memphremagog was heavily polluted, roadsides were soaked with weedkillers, and Montreal suffered from serious air pollution. The situation hardly improved in the 1970s. Up to 800 tons of sulphur dioxide a day were spewing into Montreal's air from industries, cars, and the combustion of heating oil. Toxic industrial and agricultural wastes were pouring into rivers. L'Assomption River, for example, was the recipient of millions of gallons of pesticides from the Lanaudière's tobacco farms and the Quebec City incinerator at Limoilou treated but seven percent of the waste water it dumped into the Saint Lawrence. Indeed, in 1980, 95 percent of the province's municipalities were not yet treating waste water (Désy *et al.* 1980). One of the biggest polluters was the pulp and paper industry which was discharging about 632 million gallons of waste water a day into rivers from which the province drew drinking water (Vaillancourt 1979). Another was the copper-smelter plant in Rouyn-Noranda, which injected 2,000 tonnes of sulphur dioxide into the air in 1976 (Desjardins 1976).

In 1981 Rogel published a warning about the state of Quebec's environment in his book *Un paradis de la pollution*⁶¹, which announced that the province was experiencing the same *cauchemar écologique* as other modern industrialized nations. He noted that more than ten percent of the province's lakes were acidified or biologically dead and forty percent were being acidified.⁶² He named Quebec's own 'Love Canals' as the dumps at Ste-Julie de Verchères, at Mercier, and at Boucherville. The latter was illegally accepting toxic waste from Toronto (Rogel 1981). There were other related problems in the 1970s that affected people directly and heightened the public's awareness of environmental issues: deteriorating living conditions in cities, for example, and the evidence of health problems associated with industrial wastes. One such danger was the presence of mercury and other

⁶⁰ In 1971 Montreal was pouring 300-500 million gallons of raw sewage daily into surrounding lakes and rivers (STOP 1971). Richardson (1969, n.p.) summed up the situation in Montreal at the end of the '60s: "in dealing with our sanitary wastes, we have moved one step forward since the middle ages when sewage ran raw in the streets. We have moved it underground. Otherwise we have achieved nothing at all".

⁶¹ The title was coined by Ralph Nader, who called Quebec a pollution paradise when he was visiting Montreal in 1971 (Rogel 1981).

⁶² Désy *et al.* (1980) estimated that 50,000 lakes were in danger of being acidified.

non-biodegradable poisons in drinking water in the Matagami and Saguenay regions. Other problems were the health effects of asbestos mining, and lead poisoning at Carter White Lead of Montreal (Vaillancourt 1979). The list of Quebec's pollution problems goes on: a typhoid epidemic broke out in the village of Bouchette due to the polluted waters in the Gatineau River in May 1971; there was an urgent problem of water pollution at Farnham in the Eastern Townships in 1972; in July 1973 two hundred tonnes of oil were spilled off the coast of Les Escoumins when two tankers collided; in the summer of 1974, 22 municipalities had to boil their water because it was contaminated and, as in previous years, most of Montreal's beaches were closed to the public (Rogel 1981). Educated young people were aware of many of these problems and some decided to take direct action. The following section presents vignettes of six Quebec groups that took steps to remedy environmental problems.

MOBILIZATION: DATA AT THE MESO LEVEL

Vignettes of Six ENGOS

Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec

The initial impulse for the formation of a Quebec chapter of the international ENGO, Friends of the Earth (FoE), came from the charisma of Michel Jurdant and the spirit that animated the Lac St-Joseph event in 1978 (see chapter 3). On 12 January 1978, about a dozen people from diverse organizations gathered in Quebec City to establish Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT). Many were concerned about local environmental problems and expressed the need for a group that could coordinate political action against hydro development in the Jacques Cartier Valley, an industrial park at St-Augustin, and the incinerator in Limoilou, among other things. By the spring the group counted about 200 members and had obtained a provincial charter. Action in the first year was focused on organizing and giving information sessions regarding antinuclear protest as well as on promoting recycling and organic gardening (Gosselin & Lapointe 1983).

Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT) was the first ENGO in the province with a clearly *écologiste* ideology. Although it dealt with local environmental issues, its vision was broader than those issues: it stressed the linkages between science, technology, society, and education and it sought to improve the quality of urban life through the betterment of the physical, economic, social, environmental, and cultural milieu. Because of its social conscience, AT was linked to popular urban movements. Its first goals were to promote research and to experiment with alternative life-styles that improve general living conditions while respecting people and resources. It also spoke out about the need for proportional representation and for the equal representation of women in politics (Chouinard 1990). AT described itself as "un regroupement de gens sensibilisés aux problèmes d'environnement et d'énergie, au respect de la personne et de son milieu, qui ont une vision du monde découlant des principes de l'écologie" (Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec 1988, Annexe 1).

The group's organization was a reflection of its philosophy of decentralization, grassroots participation, and equality. As one member put it: "we were against too much organization, against hierarchy, against the established order".⁶³ There was a core group of activists, some of whom changed from year to year, which probably never exceeded about ten.

In the beginning AT functioned with very little money. Government funding, it appears, was often denied it because of the group's radical bent. In 1981, after a couple of years in which there was little action, AT was revitalized by Michel Jurdant and Jean-Philippe Waaub. Starting in the mid-1980s it received some financing from the government through Adult Education and the Environment Department. *Stagières* in social services from Laval University were paid by a grant to do community service with AT because by that time the ENGO was recognized as doing legitimate educational work. Another source of finances was the royalties from Michel Jurdant's book, which were

⁶³ As a result, the groups archives were not kept very well and more precise data was unavailable.

transferred to AT when he died in 1984. Some of the group's funds also came from the popular front called le Fond de solidarité. Monies from membership fees did not amount to much. The group was never able to pay any permanent staff during these years (1978-1985). A letter dated May 18, 1984 from AT's founding father and prime mover, Michel Jurdant, to the group's members was a plea for help. The core activists were 'burnt out' and there was no money: "les AT ne sont pas subventionnés, sinon par eux mêmes!" (Jurdant 1984a, emphasis in original).

In 1983, the group published its *Manifeste écologiste* and distributed some 3,000 copies to individuals and other ENGOs.⁶⁴ One of the goals was to encourage a convergence of diverse groups and interests focused on a *projet global de société alternative*. The manifesto called for "a genuine cultural and social revolution and the rejection of our system of cultural, social, political, and technological domination" (Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec 1986, 145-6). Its *écologiste* option was based on the following: self-management, antiproductivism, soft technologies, the sovereignty of natural communities, the autonomy of civil society, and solidarity with the Third World (ibid). Opposed to both capitalism and traditional socialism, AT supported the forces of the 'new left'. It also pronounced itself in favour of 'soft' feminism ("feminism that does not seek to transfer power to women but rather to destroy power through an intensive transformation of the phallogratic order" (ibid, 157)). It also supported Quebec independence because it was a decentralizing move and seen to be a step in the direction of sovereignty for bioregions and neighbourhoods. In the same year the manifesto appeared, Michel Jurdant initiated a course based on his book *Le défi écologiste* (1984b) that was offered through the Geography Department of Laval University. Taught by members of AT, it was a credited course that was also open free of charge to members of the public.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Prior to its being published in 1983, four other manifestos had been composed. Changes in the core membership of AT are reflected in the changes made to each manifesto.

⁶⁵ Between 1983 and 1987, some 400 people took the course (Ami(e)s de la terre de québec 1987). It has continued as an accredited course until the present, taught by graduate students who were influenced by Jurdant.

Michel Jurdant, a native of Belgium, became a sort of 'guru' to the radical wing of the environmental movement. He made his grievances known to the young and educated Quebec public during the early '80s. In *Le défi écologiste* (1984b, 33, 118) he protested against "une consommation effrénée, délirante et injuste" and against industrial-technological society characterized as "dérégulée, destructive, violente, injuste, énergivore, concentrée, stupide et hideuse". He blamed growth, as measured in terms of GNP, industrial production, technological and scientific innovations, and the production of goods, as not only responsible for increasing the destruction of the planet's resources, but for the growth in inequalities between humans.

Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec was active on many fronts during the period examined here. To carry out its goal to educate the public, it gave workshops and conferences and took kiosks into CEGEPs and Laval University during different events. It also published a large number of reviews in newspapers and its volunteers participated in discussion panels, conferences, and public consultations. In 1978, for example, it presented briefs at the Federal Commission on the extension of the Quebec Port and at the Parliamentary Commission on Quebec's energy policy. In 1982 it participated in public consultations regarding the creation of Parc Saguenay. The group was particularly energetic in helping found and animate the Coalition québécoise pour le désarmement et la paix (CQDP) and the Mouvement régional pour la paix et le désarmement, Région de Québec (MAPDQ) (Jurdant 1984b; Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec 1987).

Le monde à bicyclette

Inspired and animated by Robert Silverman, or 'Bicycle Bob'⁶⁶, and by the journalist Claire Morissette⁶⁷, Le Monde à bicyclette (MàB) was founded in 1975 to remedy the absence of amenities conducive to cycling in Montreal. The goal was to 'Amsterdamize'

⁶⁶ He has also been called the "Pape du vélo" (Mattei & Moreau 1983, 31).

⁶⁷ Morissette is author of *Deux roues, un avenir* (1994), a book about the history and philosophy of cycling.

the city. At that time there were no facilities such as bike paths, parking spaces, or bicycle access to the metro or bridges in the city. Silverman invited interested readers to attend a meeting that was announced in an article in *The Montreal Star*. A handful of enthusiasts attended and later prepared and published *The Cyclist's Manifesto*. In May 1975, they organized a Bicycle Week: a bicycle was presented to Mayor Drapeau for the use of the city council, a race between two bikes, two cars, and two public transit units was held, (the cyclists won) and a bike rally was attended by about 3,000 people (Morissette 1985; Conseil d'administration du MâB 1994).

Influenced by other militant cyclist's associations in Washington and Philadelphia, the first core group formed a vision of a new urban society. They opposed what they saw as a hierarchical, domineering, and opportunist, way of life in which the automobile was revered and nature and people's needs were ignored. The dominant ideology to emerge from the founding convention, one that has endured over the years, was 'poetic-revolutionary' (*vélorutionnaire-poétique*) (Morissette 1985; 1994).

In the beginning, MâB received funds from the sale of tee shirts and calendars, from a Local Initiatives grant, and from a provincial job-creation program. One of the projects was to teach children safe cycling. Rent for a small office at the YMCA was paid in part by seed money donated by a citizen's association. Membership fees contributed a little and volunteers did the work. The group was run in a fairly spontaneous way, one of the goals being the eradication of the authority of hierarchical institutions; there was little organized structure. Membership lists, for example, were never kept up to date (Morissette 1985).

One of the most successful tactics in which MâB engaged was guerilla theatre or what Silverman calls 'cyclo-dramas' or *commando théâtral*. MâB militants demonstrated at the annual Auto Show in Montreal. Arriving equipped with gas masks and stretchers, they staged mock fatalities to illustrate the harm done to pedestrians and cyclists by cars (Morissette 1985). In October 1976, about 100 enthusiasts staged a die-in on Saint Catherine Street at rush hour. MâB also called for reduced transit fees, bus shelters,

monthly passes, and pedestrian walkways and it undertook a battle against the banning of bicycles on bridges and the metro, a regulation which made it impossible for cyclists to cross the river. The press began to take note and the group's theatrics often made headlines (Morissette 1985; 1994).

The following is a summary of MâB's activities and accomplishments in the first few years of their existence.

- *Vers une Ville Nouvelle*, the group's newspaper, started in 1976 and was published two or three times a year. It became *Le Monde à Bicyclette*, a free quarterly forum for publicizing the group's pressure tactics as well as articles. It was financed by members and business announcements and volunteers distributed copies to various places in the city (Morissette 1994).

- On Easter Day 1981, activist actors portrayed 'Moses' attempting to divide the waters of the Saint Lawrence, citing the ten Bicycle Commandments: "thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not pollute ...". Bike racks were soon installed on the buses that crossed bridges.

- Another example of MâB's theatrics was the *manif spatiale* in 1981: rudimentary horizontal structures that had the same circumference as a typical car were rigged to bicycles which then took to the main city streets at rush hour. It was meant to demonstrate the amount of space a lone car driver takes on the road. It also attracted media attention and was copied by other bicycle groups in Edmonton, Minneapolis, and London (Morissette 1994).

- In the summer of 1978, MâB activists painted their own north-south dividing line on city streets to section off a lane for cyclists. Several group members were sent to prison for similar offenses. Subsequently, a north-south bicycle path was officially inaugurated by the city in 1983 (Morissette 1985).

- To determine what large objects were permitted on the metro, MâB members took on ironing boards, ladders, toboggans, bicycles, and a bicycle disguised as a hippopotamus. Only the latter two categories were stopped at the gates and several MâB activists were

arrested. In the fall of 1981, the Supreme Court confirmed the *de facto* right of cyclists to use the metro, after Claire Morissette had been fined \$15.00 for refusing to leave the metro with her bike (Gignac 1982). Cyclists soon gained access to suburban trains and a year later, to the metro.⁶⁸

Le Monde à bicyclette is a group devoted to advocating a change in lifestyle to one members deem to be benign to the environment, but its goals are not just oriented to environmental protection. Indeed, adherents insist that to improve one's surroundings, one must attack the causes of their deterioration, not the effects. One of the causes of today's environmental predicament, they believe, is a lifestyle too dependent on consuming the world's non-renewable resources to the detriment of our survival; "[L]a bicyclette est une métaphore d'un monde plus simple, plus naturel, plus harmonieux" (Conseil d'administration du MâB 1994). MâB members advocate the bicycle as a convivial tool because they say it is it is cheap, accessible, personally and socially harmonious, ecological, and healthy. MâB engages in direct action and humour to draw attention to the bicycle as an alternative means of transportation and to force municipal regulations to better serve cyclists. Indeed, it attracted considerable media attention: in 1975 alone, more than thirty-nine articles covering MâBs activities were published in seven Montreal daily newspapers (Gignac 1982). During the 1980s it was one of the province's most popular ENGOs. One observer concluded that MâB was one of the pioneers of the province's ENGOs and perhaps the one that had the most members (Mattei & Moreau 1983).

Ecosense

Ecosense began in 1977 when Phil Van Leeuwen was awarded \$30,000 for eleven months for a Canada Works project to start recycling in the Montreal neighbourhood of Notre Dame de Grâce (NDG). Two similar endeavours, one called Veilles Nouvelles in the town

⁶⁸ The metro was opened to cyclists as a result of the court's decision, but there were numerous restrictions, including the necessity for a special permit. In 1986 the Société de transport de la communauté urbaine de Montréal (STCUM) issued a press release announcing the less stringent rules of regulation CA3 that stipulated at what times and in which cars bikes would be allowed on Montreal's metros (STCUM 1986).

of Outrement, and another in St -Laurent, were beginning at about the same time. Three young enthusiasts employed in the NDG project started 'R' days - a day, once a month, on which glass and paper were picked up from three depots in the neighbourhood and then taken to Consumer's Glass and Fibrex, which bought the material. About twenty volunteers supplied extra manpower on these days.

Until it incorporated in 1979 and became Ecosense, the group was known as the NDG Resource Recovery Project. It had office space in the YMCA and was supported by the NDG Community Council, which provided office supplies and services. A truck was lent them by Tilden.

Several of the city's recycling groups collaborated on press releases, media action, and other efforts, but each functioned differently, usually according to the vision of the leader. Vieilles Nouvelles, run by Tooker Gomberg, had a store front and took all sorts of recyclables, everything from elastic bands to plastic bags. Ecosense was more pragmatic and influenced by similar successful recycling projects in Ontario. Van Leeuwen was also preoccupied with social change and other local grassroots issues. Ecosense's stated goals were to encourage conservation of resources at both personal and community levels, to create a greater awareness of how lifestyles affect the planet's health and the quality of life of citizens locally and worldwide, and to search for practical ways for people to take an active role in protecting the environment. Ecosense was involved in many other activities apart from the 'R' day collection: education, community events, networking, communication, social action, advocacy, and counselling.

As one grant finished so Ecosense's board of directors applied for more to keep the project going. With the additional revenues from the sale of recyclables, these monies enabled the group to continue 'R' days from 1979 to 1981 and to add curbside collection of newspapers on garbage days as an additional service. Another federal job-creation grant provided salaries for five people starting in September 1981, but by then it appears that

some erstwhile enthusiasts were experiencing 'burn-out'. A new coordinator was hired, but when the grant money was gone, 'R' days and curbside recycling in NDG disappeared.

New staff and another grant reanimated Ecosense in the mid-1980s. It decided to change its mandate. Convinced that it was the city's responsibility to collect and recycle garbage, members began to lobby the municipal government and Mayor Drapeau. They attempted to persuade the city to integrate recycling strategies into their waste management system. Faced with opposition to the idea from the city council, Ecosense began pressure tactics. One of these was the production of a video called *Montreal, the City that Won't Recycle*, which the group showed at public gatherings to educate NDG citizens and to embarrass city officials. Ecosense continued operating on a shoestring budget from member and corporate donations. After a change in city government, Montreal introduced curbside and depot recycling in many of the city's neighbourhoods.

Ecosense folded its operations in 1991. As with most ENGOS, a small core group of people had been responsible for breathing life into the organization. When recycling came to some Montreal neighbourhoods, rather than continue its efforts on behalf of the environment through the organization, the board of directors chose to retire and to redirect their energies into other activities.⁶⁹

L'Association québécoise de lutte contre les pluies acides

While he was working on installing power lines near the James Bay in the mid-1970s, André Bélisle and his workmates ate a lot of fish from the Caniapiscou River. When a biologist in the group analyzed the catch, he found that it contained too high a level of heavy metals. Perturbed, Bélisle set out to find out why and he learned about the phenomenon of acid rain. He became a member of the Société pour vaincre la pollution (SVP), hoping to be able to help solve the problem. Eventually, Bélisle founded the

⁶⁹ The name Ecosense lives on in *The Ecosense and Concordia University Alumni Association Bursary*, established in part with the small financial assets that remained when the group wound down its activities.

Association québécoise de lutte contre les pluies acides (AQLPA).⁷⁰ He quit his job to devote six months to the cause but became an environmental activist and has been involved in AQLPA ever since.

Subsidized by a government grant, the group began to educate the public and the government about acid rain. It gathered scientific documentation about the phenomenon as well as testimony from people who noticed that their maple trees were dying. They printed pamphlets, held information sessions at CEGEPs and universities, and showed films, one of which - *À la croisée des chemins* - was produced by the federal government.

A small core of activists found themselves 'playing the system' in the beginning in order to keep the cause going. Sometimes Bélisle and co-worker Pierre Veronneau went months without a salary while waiting the arrival of grant money. At other times they went on social assistance to be eligible for other kinds of financing. Funds from grants arrived cyclically: when money was available, the group was very active; when funding was scarce, facilities were often reduced to a telephone line.

Eventually AQLPA had six offices in the province - in Montreal, Sherbrooke, Joliette, Victoriaville, and Frampton in the Beauce, including a 'floating' team that travelled. Their money came from fund-raising, from contracts, and from government grants.⁷¹ One of the most significant projects that AQLPA engaged in was a 'caravan' on acid rain. A group of activists, equipped with a bus emptied of its seats and containing an educational exhibit, visited the municipal councils of 75 cities throughout Quebec. They presented their display to the city mayors and asked them to support their demands for a U.S.-Canada agreement that would begin to diminish the industrial emissions that cause acid rain.

One of Bélisle's innovations was the 'Arc en Ciel' project. It was the matching of twin cities in Canada and the United States whose mayors signed a protocol promising to respect certain air quality regulations. Working against organized industrial interests, AQLPA,

⁷⁰ AQLPA later became known as the Association québécoise de lutte contre la pollution atmosphérique.

⁷¹ A fire in 1987 destroyed much of the group's archives. It was impossible to collect more concrete data.

along with other ENGOs, campaigned until an agreement was signed between Canada and the U.S. in 1991.⁷² The result, however, was that the environment ministry ceased funding the project. AQLPA continues to work at decreasing air pollution through public education, research, and collaboration with other ENGOs.

STOP⁷³

Concerned about the contribution citizens unwittingly make to pollution problems, Carol Farkas, an American living in Pointe Claire, decided to test the phosphate content of 35 detergents and to inform consumers. She and her husband used their kitchen as a lab. In January 1970, Farkas elicited the support of the community and soon a small group of 'housewives' were using the Unitarian Lakeshore Church as an office and its mimeograph machines and mailing lists to start a group dedicated to stopping pollution. The association called itself the Society to Overcome Pollution or STOP and was incorporated on September 15, 1970. Farkas broadened her concerns, started to learn about sewage and other pollution problems, and began to speak on panels and at meetings and conventions (Pascoe 1971b; Seligson 1973). Eventually Key Punch Services Ltd offered STOP rent-free office space (Pascoe 1971a).

In August 1970, STOP and its francophone equivalent, La Société pour vaincre la pollution (SVP), set up an environment kiosk at the *Man and His World* exhibition. Here they displayed and distributed a map showing dozens of sites at which raw sewage was dumped into the Saint Lawrence River and other Montreal waters (Seligson 1973; Vaillancourt 1982).

By May 1971, STOP had about 2,000 members, a central coordinating committee, some 20 chapters in the Montreal area, 24 school groups, and a monthly newsletter. It had

⁷² On March 13, 1991 the Canada-U.S. Air Quality Agreement was signed by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President George Bush. It committed both countries to control the emissions related to acid rain (Government of Canada 1992).

⁷³ STOP's files were destroyed by fire in 1986. The following information was obtained from newspaper clippings and a few early *STOP Press* editions that survived the fire or were subsequently donated by members, as well as from the recollections of Bruce Walker.

also become visible in the press: it was called everything from a 'group of do-gooder housewives' to 'a bunch of communists' (Pascoe 1971b).

With funds from an Opportunities for Youth (OFY) grant and a donation from Labatt Breweries, it hired twenty-two university students, eight of whom studied public transportation while eight others researched environmental legislation in Quebec. Research was also conducted on Montreal's air pollution over a three month period, on fluoride levels in Montreal's air, food, and beverages, and on the pesticide content of certain foods. STOP also began to campaign for safe drinking water (Pascoe 1971b; Seligson 1973). The group published position papers on all these issues.

In 1972, new areas of concern were added to STOP's repertoire: cigarette smoking, the James Bay hydroelectric development, and recycling (STOP 1972). An Air Pollution Week was organized in February 1972 and STOP held a Sewage Treatment Week in May. It printed 25,000 copies of its position paper on air pollution and distributed the flier at information booths, as a press release, and as a poster. Several hundred more members were recruited.

The society financed itself in 1972 by fundraising, from a federal Winter Works grant, with money for a Local Initiatives project, from the White Owl Conservation Prize, and through donations from schools. These monies enabled STOP to open an office at McGill university staffed by eight people researching the economic and environmental aspects of the James Bay project, and to set up the Centre for Environmental Law, which was coordinated by Sheila Shulman, STOP's one-time president, and which employed a lawyer and three graduate students full time. The following year, a full time salaried executive director was hired (STOP 1972; Pascoe 1973; STOP 1973).

Advertising in one of its pamphlets, STOP declared itself to be "devoted to preserving and improving the quality of the physical and human environment and to promoting rational utilization of natural resources". Its activities were constantly in the news. Reporters at *The Montreal Star*, such as Cynthia Gunn and Norman Pascoe, were particularly active in

publishing letters from STOP members and in covering the group's activities. They were also clearly supportive of its efforts. By the end of the 1970s, STOP had earned the "reputation for stridency and single-minded devotion to environmental issues" (Reynolds 1980, 21-2). It had been successful at drawing the public's attention to environmental problems and it had prodded the government into taking action on some key issues. Because of lobbying efforts undertaken by STOP and SVP for example, the Quebec Environmental Quality Act was signed into law in December 1972 (Beal 1976).

In 1973 STOP's membership had levelled off at 4,000. It had fourteen full time employees, it boasted twenty-two area chapters in and around Montreal and in other parts of the province, it had received about \$75,000 in Local Initiative Project grants, and had raised some \$21,000 from membership fees, donations, and activities. As STOP prospered, however, so its membership dropped: "[a]s STOP became more service-oriented, it relaxed its campaigns for membership" (Gunn 1974a, A3). By 1976 there were only 400 members (Beal 1976). The area chapters were also discontinued as divisions were now made according to specific issues and members' interests (Buchanan 1976).

The society also faced a financial crisis when a request for another grant of \$60,000 was refused in January 1974. Monies had always been enough for one or two projects at a time "but no one ever knew where funds for the next one would come" (Gunn 1974b, n.p.). With the failure of the grant request, STOP laid off its fourteen employees, some of whom continued to work voluntarily while receiving unemployment insurance. It also gave up its office on Saint Catherine Street. Activists tried to raise money from businesses, with little success. They also sponsored one night of a Place des Arts concert featuring Harry Belafonte, which raised some money but caused the 'burn out' of several core members.

The group's activities continued, however, and a coordinator or office manager provided at least a part-time presence. It was supported by contributions, membership dues, and occasional grants, and a team of volunteers which constantly changed held the

core jobs. Bruce Walker, who has been with STOP for the past 21 years, was one of fourteen people hired in 1973. He became research director and then president and the group's single part-time manager. Since then Walker has been one of STOP's most active and visible members as well as one of Quebec's foremost environmentalists.

SVP

Coordinated since the 1980s by Daniel Green, another of the province's most renowned environmental activists, La Société pour vaincre la pollution (SVP) was also founded in 1970 and has become a mainstay of Quebec's environmental movement.⁷⁴ Hélène Lajambe, a 'housewife' who later became one of the province's most respected environmental activists⁷⁵, started a French equivalent of STOP in 1970 with the help of Tony LeSauteur and Sheila Shulman.⁷⁶ The mandates of both groups were similar: to inform and educate the public about pollution and to seek ways of stopping it. SVP's first activity was a door-to-door and shopping centre campaign conducted by twenty students armed with educational material about pollution and a petition asking that the government set up a special environmental department. The students were paid out of a donation from Labatt Brewery. The group's early activities included the preparation and presentation of briefs on water fluoridation, on the treatment of used water, and on the east-west autoroute. SVP began publishing a magazine called *Environnement* in 1982, which evolved out of its member's bulletin (Boileau 1976; Gignac 1982; Vaillancourt 1985a). Its first core members were biochemists, chemists, economists, and other environmental specialists. Membership reached about 1,000 by 1980 but the number of activists was always small, amounting to some six workers (Gignac 1982).

⁷⁴ Unable to interview Green, the following is largely based on information obtained from Boileau (1975). SVP is included in these case studies because it is one of Quebec's foremost ENGOs. The lack of more detailed information is made up for by the fact that in its early years SVP's goals and operation were very similar to STOP's.

⁷⁵ Lajambe since obtained a doctoral degree in economy at McGill and now works in Paris at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). I was unable, therefore, to interview her.

⁷⁶ SVP was incorporated in 1971.

The society received \$4,000 for 1971 and \$12,000 for the years 1972-73 from the Régie des eaux du Québec. It set up sampling stations to test air pollution and to predict atmospheric inversions, it analyzed the waters of about 100 lakes, and it produced a white paper on solid waste. The group also conducted a market study of recycled products and it manned information kiosks at conferences. In 1974, SVP participated in the 'Un Fleuve, Un Parc' project, and produced an inventory of those groups working to protect the environment in Quebec, later published as *Le citoyen protège son environnement* (Gignac 1982). Like STOP, SVP paid its workers from grants, especially those from the federal government, and when these terminated many of the employees continued to work voluntarily while they collected unemployment insurance.

Neither STOP nor SVP produced any documents that explicitly described their global perception of ecological problems, nor the ideology that animated their actions. They concentrated on finding solutions to pollution and the loss of natural resources. Both groups had charters that defined the organizational structure and the role of the executive committee. STOP had a tighter structure with titled positions and a central decision-making body, whereas SVP was more loosely organized, its orientation directed largely by members (Boileau 1976).

By the mid-'80s, both STOP and SVP were considered legitimate and credible associations because of the quality of their scientific work and the pressures they had put on institutions and industries. Vaillancourt (1982, 86) said that SVP remains one of the most dynamic groups in Quebec's environmental movement. The significance of these two ENGOs in the 1970s and the beginning of the '80s was summed up by Mattei and Moreau (1983, 28): "toute tentative de structuration politique ou autre du mouvement écologique serait sans doute vouée à l'échec sans la participation effective de ces deux associations".

The following section examines in more detail the human and financial resources available to ENGOs in Quebec between 1970 and 1985. As archives were incomplete for the groups I researched, I also relied on secondary sources for some of this information.

Resources

Membership

Newspaper articles from the 1970s indicated that STOP's membership grew rapidly from its inception in 1970 until it peaked at 4,000 members in 1973, after which membership numbers rapidly declined (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1

STOP's Membership: 1970-1976

Year	Membership
1970	a small core group
1971	2000
1973	4000
1974	2000
1975	800
1976	400

Source: Pascoe 1971b; Gunn 1974a, Boileau 1976

Harnois (1986) conducted a study of 44 ENGOS that were founded in Quebec between 1929 and 1985 and whose mandates were directly related to actively protecting the environment. He also analyzed the 437 groups in the Environment Ministry's 1985 *Répertoire environnementale* using the same criteria. His research concluded that ENGOS in Quebec before 1985 had small memberships, with most groups counting less than 1,000 supporters.

Staff

The presence of a staff member acting as a secretary or coordinator was an important element in the operation of groups that had lots of members, education projects, documentation centres etc. Accounts from the individuals I interviewed indicate that numbers and permanence of paid staff members during the 1970s fluctuated enormously

depending on the funds available. The only time STOP had more than one full time worker, for example, was during a government-sponsored project that lasted ten months in 1973. Except for when a grant enabled them to pay a secretary, volunteers provided some measure of permanency in the offices of most ENGOs. According to Harnois (1986), three-quarters of the ENGOs had either a full- or part-time secretary in 1984. It is not stated whether these workers were salaried or not.

Finances

Table 4.2 combines figures I obtained from newspapers with those provided by Boileau (1976) to illustrate STOP's financing from 1970 to 1974. Although the data is incomplete, it is probably true that the groups obtained a relatively large amount of funding from government grants, as indicated in the table. Harnois' (1986) research focused on documenting the sources of funding of the ENGOs in his study and he concluded that 44.1 percent received money from the federal government, which represented an average of 36 percent of their budgets. About 70 percent of the ENGOs received provincial government grants, which represented an average of 45.3 percent of their global budgets. Seventeen percent of the groups received more than eighty percent of all their monies from this source. Subsidies from municipal governments represented an average of 42.8 percent of the global budget of those ENGOs that received funds from the city. These figures support the finding that ENGOs obtained a large part of their funding from government grants.

In general, ENGOs financed but a small fraction of their operating budgets themselves from membership fees and from various activities, such as the sale of recycled paper and glass. A third of the groups received donations, but these accounted for but a small proportion of the budget for most of the groups (Harnois 1976). Indeed, it appeared that very few associations were funded in any significant measure by private organizations, foundations, or large companies.

Table 4.2
STOP's Financing: 1970-1974

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	Total
Donations	4,058	3,000	14,697	6,971	755	29,481
Members	1,746		5,074	5,832	3,136	15,788
Prizes			2,500			2,500
Federal Grants		25,000	33,867	33,867		92,734
Other	1,127				5,425	6,552
Total	5,916	28,000	56,138	46,670	9,316	

Source: Pascoe 1971a; Seligson 1973; STOP 1972; Pascoe 1973.

MOTIVATION: DATA AT THE MICRO LEVEL

This section examines the social, psychological, and demographic information related to individual environmentalists. As pointed out in chapter 1, the only environmentalists who had been active in Quebec's environmental movement in the 1970s and early '80s and who were easily contacted for this research were those who have since become Quebec's 'elite' activists. The data examined here, therefore, pertain to leaders of the movement rather than to a cross-section of militants, members, and adherents. Although twenty-four interviews were conducted, only fourteen interviewees responded to Parts I and III of the questionnaire (see appendix 2).⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Three interviews were done as a pilot study and are not included here; several respondents participated as observers and answered Part IV only; and several others had their own agenda during the interview and their contribution was not confined to answering the prepared questions.

Socio-Psychological Factors

Grievances

The primary data were obtained from the fifteen interviewees who responded to a question regarding grievances they may have had for some aspects of society in the 1970s. First, they were invited to suggest some of the things they felt were wrong with society as they saw and experienced it at that time and then a prompt card was offered that listed twelve aspects of modern society that were being criticized in the 1970s. Respondents were asked to indicate which problems they thought were very serious, somewhat serious, or not serious, naming as many as they felt inclined. Those problems deemed most serious were the rise in materialism and consumerism (73 percent), the destruction of the environment (73 percent), inequalities between the rich and the poor (47 percent), and inequalities between men and women (33 percent). Aspect five, which cited undisciplined and unmotivated youth, prompt eight, which was the rise in drug use, and prompt ten, which named the breakdown of the traditional family, received interesting commentaries. One or two respondents argued that not only did they consider these not to be problems, but indeed, they were in favour of them. Similarly, several respondents stated that these issues were not serious problems. In addition to the grievances listed on the prompt card, violence, militarism, and colonialism were volunteered by three different respondents. In sum, it appears that environmental activists in the 1970s and '80s were most discontent with the rise in consumerism in modern society, followed by the destruction of the environment and inequalities between the rich and the poor.

Motivation

In response to the question about their motivation for joining or starting an ENGO, many respondents insisted that they were not 'joiners': they did not join groups or causes or 'jump on bandwagons'. They explained that their choices were made out of personal conviction rather than to be associated with a particular group, social movement, or

lifestyle. Indeed, of the fifteen respondents to questions in Part I, eleven volunteered information that suggests they were somewhat rebellious. Words such as reactionary, militant, black sheep, independent, rebellious, against the grain, argumentative, anarchist, and anti-establishment were used to describe themselves.

Fourteen respondents attempted to analyze their motivation for becoming active in the environmental movement. Eight of these (57 percent) said that one of the main factors that influenced their decision was knowledge of environmental problems that they gained from their education. Four of the seven were directly influenced by a mentor or teacher who imparted knowledge to them. Michel Jurdant was that person for two of the four. Of the others, one was inspired by the book *Limits to Growth* (Meadows *et al.* 1972). Two others had grown up in the country (one in England and the other in Belgium) and felt particularly close to nature. They went on to study biology and become knowledgeable about environmental problems. On discovering Canada's vast and relatively unspoiled 'nature', they were motivated to act on its behalf, arguing that there was still a chance to protect it from despoliation. Another respondent was an architect and his education in urban issues had shown him that pollution could be taken care of if urban problems were addressed.

The discovery of objective problems (such as no facilities for bicycles, the high mercury levels in fish, and the destruction of familiar, previously unsullied wooded areas) prompted three of the fourteen to become involved. Two more gave the following reasons "someone had to do it" and "I was a university drop-out and had the time". Finally, another participant became aware of environmental problems and was motivated to act because of his involvement in the antinuclear movement.

In sum, 57 percent of those that responded to this question felt that their involvement in the environmental movement was inspired by knowledge and appreciation of the problems associated with environmental degradation, whether this knowledge came from teachers,

books, or education in general. Another 21 percent were influenced to take action because of first-hand exposure to environmental degradation or pollution.

Values and ideology

The interviewees showed a clear association with postmaterialist values, or those associated with social and self-actualization needs as opposed to physiological ones. Values were tested with Inglehart's battery of twelve materialist/postmaterialist questions (see appendix 2). Respondents were asked to answer as they would have done in the 1970s. The results are the following:

Question 1 - which of the following four goals did you consider to be the most desirable in the 1970s? All respondents chose the postmaterialist values on Cards A and B: seeing that the people have more say in how things get decided at work and in their communities; ending war and working towards peace amongst the world's nations; giving the people more say in important government decisions; and protecting freedom of speech. Postmaterialist aims accounted for 87 percent of the answers to Card C: moving toward a less impersonal, more humane society; and moving toward a society in which ideas are more important than money. In sum, answers to the first question show that an average of 95.6 percent of the interviewees chose postmaterialist goals.

Question 2 - what would have been your second choice? Ninety-five percent of the answers were postmaterialist values.

Question 3 - which of all the twelve goals do you consider to be most important? Respondants indicated a preference for postmaterial values (93 percent).

Question 4 - which of all the aims on these cards would have been the least important from your point of view? Predictably, all respondents chose materialist goals as the least desirable. (Materialist goals include maintaining a high rate of economic growth; making sure that this country has strong defense forces; maintaining order in the nation; fighting rising prices; and fighting crime.)

Thus the leaders and activists of Quebec's environmental movement in the 1970s who were part of this survey evidently adhered to postmaterialist values as did their counterparts in Europe and the United States (see Inglehart 1990). They valued participatory democracy, in which people have a say in the way their government, community, and work place functions, and they strove for a more personal and humane society. These values were deemed more important than economic and safety pursuits. Indeed, many of the respondents volunteered that they were relatively poor in the 1970s and 80's but that this state was merely a reflection of their philosophy of non-consumption. One respondent remarked the following: "Even though I've never had more than \$15,000 a year to live on, I've never been poor and I've never needed that much money. I'm resourceful. When you're well educated and you have a good psychological background, you can be independent". Another illustrated the strength of his ideology,

when you work for the environment, you can't think about it in terms of earning your living by the environmental work you're doing. You have to organize it so that you can work at any old thing - and do environmental action on the side. I think that's what makes the difference between *ecolos* who work for the cause and those who work for a career.

Similarly,

we were almost all volunteers and university graduates with all sorts of other experience. We weren't doing it for the money. None of us had backgrounds in environmental issues or science, either. It was more important to take action, the rest we could learn from reading.

Inspiration and Exposure to Environmental Writings

As mentioned above, several respondents were motivated to become environmental activists in part because of mentors and teachers or due to the influence of a book. When asked about their sources of inspiration, many of the interviewees gave lists of authors: one person named René Dumont, Murray Bookchin, Serge Mongeau, and Solange Vincent; another was inspired by Buckminster Fuller, Frank Lloyd Wright, Krishnamurti, and Joël de Rosnay; yet another gave this list: the Club of Rome, Ralph Nader, Donella Meadows, René Dumont, E.F. Schumacher, René Dubos, and Rudolph Steiner. Other names that

were mentioned include Ivan Illich, Michel Jurdant, Ernest Callenbach, Alvin Toffler, Hugh Iltis, Robert Rosen, Henri Laborit, Hubert Reeves, and David Suzuki.

Five of the fourteen respondees (36 percent) said that they read and were influenced by underground magazines such as *Mainmise*, *La vie douce*, *Le Répertoire des outils planétaire*, *Mother Jones*, *Organic Gardening* and *The Whole Earth Catalog*. Only two read *Silent Spring* during the 1970s or '80s, although many said they had read it more recently. Indeed, it appears that some of the environmental activists became familiar with the books by Carson, Commoner, Meadows *et al.*, etc. *after* becoming involved in an ENGO. Another 36 percent obtained information about environmental matters from the scientific literature they read during their formal education in the sciences. When asked about the influence of the media, most respondents remarked that there was nothing in newspapers or on television about the environment in the 1970s and that these were not, therefore, sources of information.

Socio-Demographic Factors

Age

In my survey of environmental leaders, ten out of the sixteen (63 percent) who answered the question regarding their date of birth were baby-boomers or born between 1945 and 1958. They were between eighteen and twenty-five years old when they first became involved in the environmental movement. Boileau's (1976) research found that members of STOP in 1975 were between the ages of twenty and fifty.

Education

Sixteen interviewees in my research answered a question about their degree of education. Nine of these (56 percent) had a university degree: two had BAs, four had Master's degrees, and three had doctorates. Four others had a high school diploma and three had studied until grade ten. Three respondents volunteered that they obtained more education from the 'school of life' than formally. Six of the sixteen (38 percent) were educated in the

sciences (biology, ecology, agronomy, chemistry, science and human affairs⁷⁸, biochemistry). Boileau (1976) noted that STOP members were often educated in the sciences, such as chemistry and biology. Walker (interview 1994) said that when he joined STOP in 1973, most of the core members were women with children, many of whom had a university education - some with graduate degrees. Similarly, Van Leeuwen (interview 1993) said that most of Ecosense's volunteers were university graduates, although it appears that they were not scientists. Harnois (1986) noted that the majority (84 percent) of ENGO leaders in his study had a university education. Only 16 percent had less schooling.

Nationality

The questionnaire used in this survey neglected to ask about nationality or birth place. I was able to determine, however, that five (of fifteen) were immigrants (33 percent): one from East Germany, two from Belgium, one from England, and one from the United States. Several early leaders whom I was unable to interview were also immigrants. Jurdant (of AT) for example, was from Belgium and Farkas (from STOP) was American. Boileau (1976) noted that many of STOP's members in 1975 had foreign-sounding names. Walker (interview 1994) also remarked that in 1973 about half of the fourteen to eighteen board members appeared to be non-Canadians.

Occupation

Most of the respondents to the questionnaire in this research were actively involved in an ENGO in the 1970s or '80s, although only two of the fourteen were employed full time, a situation that lasted a mere ten months. These two people had worked on projects funded by federal government grants to STOP and SVP. During the period covered by the research, the interviewees also worked at all sorts of jobs apart from volunteering or working full or part-time for an ENGO. They were mostly young, single, and not worried

⁷⁸ Science and Human Affairs is a degree program at Concordia University, Montreal.

about finding work. When employment on a project finished, many went on unemployment insurance and continued to volunteer at the ENGO, as these quotes testify: "when I was working for the environmental group, I was single, I had no car, my clothes were second hand and I lived on a micro-budget. When my job finished I went on unemployment insurance", and "I think one of the reasons I could get involved in these issues was that I was never insecure about finding a job. I got jobs, then went on unemployment insurance for a while".

The majority of those STOP members who gave Boileau (1976) information about their occupations were professionals such as teachers, architects, doctors, nurses, lawyers, and scientists. The rest were housewives except for several blue collar workers, students, and retired persons. As noted above, STOP was initiated and animated in the first few years by educated 'housewives'.

Socioeconomic Background

Out of fifteen respondees, six said that when they were growing up they were part of the middle to upper class (40 percent); five were middle class (33 percent); two were upper class (13 percent), and two were middle to low class.

Participation in Outdoor Recreation

Out of sixteen respondents, seven environmentalists were brought up in the suburbs, five in a village, three in a city, and one in the country. Only one had belonged to a nature club, two had participated in the Scouts, two had spent summers at cottages, two had moved 'back to the land', and five had vegetable gardens. Nine or 60 percent participated, either 'a lot' or 'sometimes', in some sort of outdoor activity. Just over half (53 percent) had spent time in nature during their youth, not because they engaged in outdoor sports or spent the summer at a cottage, but because they enjoyed nature and actively sought to spend time there. They pursued activities such as walking, studying (in ecology, biology, agronomy),

gardening, or a combination of these. The other half felt no overriding empathy with 'nature' and the outdoors.

Participation in Other Social Movements

Almost half (47 percent) of the interviewees identified with the counterculture - its ideology, grievances, and lifestyle - at some point during the study period. As noted earlier, however, these activists were not 'joiners'. The results of the question regarding their involvement in other social movements or voluntary associations indicate that those who belonged to some other organization prior to their involvement with an ENGO had been leaders, not mere members or adherents. They were leaders in the anti-nuclear movement, a horticultural society, student groups, a health food coop, and the human rights movement.

This chapter provided detailed information with which to analyze how and why the environmental movement emerged in Quebec in the 1970s and '80s. The following chapter attempts to relate this data and the information presented in preceding chapters to the social movement theories outlined in chapter 1.

5: THE ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

To answer the questions how and why environmentalism became a social movement in Quebec, as well as to incorporate an examination of both continuities and discontinuities with environmentalism of the past, some attempts were made at synthesizing the most prevalent theories regarding new social movements. The perspectives outlined by resource mobilization theory (RMT), new social movement theory (NSM), and Inglehart's approach, offered variables that in combination and interaction with each other, help to explain the emergence of the environmental movement in Quebec. In this chapter, interpretation and analysis are undertaken in light of these theoretical constructs, and the many variables that conspired to assist in the birth of Quebec's environmental movement are explored and weighed. The chapter also portrays the distinctive characteristics of environmentalism in this province.

MACRO LEVEL OF ANALYSIS: STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS

Postindustrial Change

All three theoretical approaches examined in the first chapter acknowledge that the social and structural changes brought about by postindustrialism in western nations created conditions that were conducive to the rise of new forms of social protest characterized by concerns for non-economic goals and by an absence of class consciousness. Postindustrialism is characterized by a shift in international economy from an emphasis on manufacturing and production toward service and knowledge-oriented industries and by a rise in bureaucracy (see chapter 1). As demonstrated in the preceding chapter, by 1960 the Quiet Revolution had brought Quebec postindustrial status: it was "déjà carrément installée ou en voie de l'être dans l'ère post-industrielle" (Julien *et al.* 1976, 27). As in other postindustrial nations, the new conditions gave rise to a proliferation of public interest

groups. According to resource mobilization theory (RMT), the associated increased affluence, leisure time, and organizational proficiency were the social changes that prompted this new activity. New social movement theory (NSM) emphasizes the strain and grievances caused by conditions of postindustrial life, and Inglehart maintains that intergenerational value change was the fundamental variable. Thus RMT focuses "on the meso-level of organizational analysis" (Buechler 1993, 224) and NSM theory and Inglehart's approach emphasize microprocesses and features. As suggested by Lowe and Rüdig (1986), however, macro-level variables, such as changes in the political and social structure of society, may be influential as they can offer opportunities and constraints to the development of social movements: there must be some concern "to emphasize the mutually determining relationship between agency and structure whereby structure has both a constraining and an enabling role in relation to action and the exercise of power" (ibid, 520). As an analysis of the situation in Quebec in the 1960s and '70s shows, postindustrial changes as well as other structural factors specific to Canada and Quebec played roles in the emergence of the environmental movement.

The polity

Until recently, only Smelser (1963) and Tilly (1978) had considered the influence of the larger political environment. Tilly's approach to RMT pointed out that governments wield powerful resources that can determine the outcome of social protest. Before RMT had become prominent, however, Smelser used the term 'structural conduciveness' to refer to opportunities or restrictions that influence the emergence of protest groups. More recently, in attempts to go beyond RMT Lowe and Rüdig (1986) and Jenkins (1987) suggested that, given the presence of other determinants, social movements emerge when political opportunities open up for excluded and aggrieved groups. Similarly, in their empirical studies on specific social movements, Breton (1973), Perrow (1979), and McAdam and Moore (1989) all concluded that it is essential to examine the political structure of the

society in which social movements arise. The polity's ability both to facilitate and to repress the public's involvement in decision making is reflected in the rise of public interest groups like ENGOs in Canada and Quebec during the 1970s.

As shown in the previous chapter, Canadian and Quebec society had become more complex after the Second World War with, among other things, the growth of centralized control and regulation.⁷⁹ More pressure groups arose to deal with politics as people demanded a greater voice in their own governance (Pross 1975; Dubasak 1990). In Quebec, the Quiet Revolution secularized society, diminishing the power and control of the Church. Although some observers suggest that Quebecers transferred their dependence to the State, Ricard (1992, 226) noted that there was an essential difference: the liberal State represented the people, "[c]'était *leur* État"; there was a conviction that "dans le politique se jouait un des sens profonds de la liberté". The public's new assertiveness during the 1960s and '70s is reflected in the rise of the student movement, marxism and socialism, the counterculture, and the environmental movement (Ricard 1992; Gauthier 1992). In Quebec's cities during the late 1960s and early '70s, the most notable manifestation of the rise in voluntary associations and grassroots action was the flourishing of *comités de citoyens* and *groupes populaires*. Political mobilization of a segment of Quebec's youth focused on separation, an issue paralleling the civil-rights⁸⁰ and anti-war protests in the United States (Westhues 1975).

Breton's (1973) analysis of the October 1970 crisis showed that the redistribution of power and influence that took place during the Quiet Revolution allowed for the rise of a separatist movement. Normative channels of action, however, remained closed to its demands because it challenged the legitimacy of Canadian politics. The radical fringe - the Front de liberation du Québec (FLQ) - was a violent expression of primary collective action

⁷⁹ See Pross (1975) who discusses the forces at work in postwar Canada that relate directly to the growth of public pressure groups.

⁸⁰ Indeed, some French-Canadian dissenters saw themselves as the equivalent of 'niggers', as demonstrated in Vallières (1968) book *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*.

in the presence of a political system that rejected it. The federal government's response to the crisis was suppression, and the War Measures Act was a way to defend social order.

In a less coercive attempt to counteract tendencies toward fragmentation and to establish social control after October 1970, the Canadian government took an active role in redirecting youthful energies into goals that would marshal popular support and advance national unity.⁸¹ For example, it encouraged the creation and development of public interest groups such as environmental organizations (Garigue 1980; Dubasak 1990). Indeed, as noted in chapters 3 and 4, many ENGOs took advantage of the Local Initiative Projects (LIP) and Opportunities for Youth (OFY) programs that were set up by the federal government to provide direct financial support for public interest groups immediately after the crisis. In this way the government co-opted the less threatening aspects of the youth movement and absorbed them into conventional life (Gwyn 1972; Westhues 1975; McGraw 1978; Raboy 1984): the programs were instituted "en fonction d'une réintégration des marginaux à la société dominante" (Huston 1972, 277).

On the other hand, although ENGOs were facilitated by these government grants, the associations had no input into the government's decision-making process and were hindered by governmental structures in several ways. Huston (1972), for example, noted that those Local Initiatives and Opportunities for Youth project applications that sought to attack structural and socioeconomic causes for society's problems were categorically refused. Such was the case for Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT), a relatively radical ENGO with *écologiste* goals to change society altogether. The job-creation projects were also too short-lived to encourage collective action (ibid). Projects were funded for summer or winter seasons after which ENGOs had to spend time and energy applying for more financing or cease pressure tactics while they focused on fund-raising. STOP, Ecosense,

⁸¹ Pross' (1975) analysis involves an examination of how government stimulates pressure group activity to encourage certain trends in society.

and AQLPA all experienced fluctuating funding that prevented them from applying consistent lobbying and pressure tactics.

One of the reasons for ENGO's lack of power and the difficulty in voicing public concern for the environment, was that, like other public pressure groups, they were insulated from members of government because of Canada's parliamentary system. Dubasak (1990) noted that, unlike the American adversarial model, the British system of a strong centralist government tends to keep the public at arm's length. As well, efforts to protect the environment were often thwarted because Canada's responsibility for the environment is split between the federal and provincial governments. Dubasak (1990, 172-3) maintained that this fact "precluded the development of a coordinated, rational approach" by conservation and environmental groups. Furthermore, until the formation of the Bureau d'audience publique en environnement (BAPE) in 1978, there was no formal procedure for the public to make complaints or recommendations regarding environmental matters in Quebec. Indeed, it was pressure from ENGOs that prompted the eventual formation of political bodies that would give the public a voice in decisions regarding the environment at provincial and municipal levels.⁸²

Canada's political system presented yet another restriction to potential action to protect the environment. It constrained the development of federal and provincial green parties, a situation that was similar to that in the United States. A green party had difficulty emerging in the U.S., partly because of the country's majority voting system and the fact that minority parties cannot compete with the two main powerful ones (Vaillancourt 1985a; Paehlke 1989; Bowlby & Lowe 1992).⁸³ Quebec did not have a green party until 1985 and it has remained fairly insignificant. On the other hand, European voting systems of

⁸² On the other hand, once governmental bodies to enable public participation in decision-making were set up, some of the more radical ENGOs mistrusted them and hesitated or refused to participate (See Rogel 1981 for examples).

⁸³ A Canadian green party was founded in 1983, however, and several provinces have since followed suit (Gagnon 1993). A green party was founded in the United States in 1984 (Hawkins 1993).

proportional representation enabled green parties to accede to various levels of power in several European nations.

The Environment

One of the features of postindustrial society is the emergence of the public's general awareness of environmental problems. This sensitivity is the result of many factors. The relative significance of a real increase in objective problems, improved scientific bases for evaluating environmental degradation, media coverage of ecological matters, increased education of the public, and the work of the environmental lobby is impossible to gauge. It remains a fact, however, that industrialization resulted in severe and far-reaching environmental problems and that during the 1960s and '70s there was a rise in the number and frequency of local and global environmental catastrophes. As a macro-level factor in the emergence of environmental movements, objective problems must be considered.

Mitchell (1989, 107) argued that the environmental issue itself is the movement's most important resource because of its "universal character, diversity, evocative symbolism, and importance as a meaningful critique of modern society". As a social issue, environmental problems have a universality that others, such as feminism and ethnic concerns, lack. *Everyone* is threatened in some way by pollution, diminished natural resources, and a degraded environment (Downs 1972; Bowman 1975; Schnaiberg 1977). Indeed, it is often assumed that increased aggression towards the natural world is the cause of environmental action (Désy *et al* 1980). According to many scholars, however, objective conditions themselves are not enough to promote an awareness of social problems, which are socially-defined constructs (see Spector & Kitsuse 1977; Pepper 1984; Yearly 1991). Indeed, social movement theories addressing contemporary protest movements do not consider a rise in problems to be a causal factor: they agree "that the passage from condition to action cannot be explained by the objective conditions themselves, because these conditions are

mediated by discursive practices, ideologies, political processes, or resource management" (Canel 1992, 48).

Fuentes and Frank (1993), however, suggested that the environmental and peace movements are the result of recent technological developments, which makes them 'new' social movements. The increase in problems may have led to grievances, discontent, and deprivation, and as such should be examined as a significant variable in the emergence of the environmental movement. In his study of Germany's movement, Dominick (1992, 213-14) argued that the RMT and NSM approaches,

omit one of the most basic causes for public concern: increasing damage to the environment. Even if one accepts that only a certain proportion of the population is predisposed by personal values or political ideology to protest the spoliation of the environment, specific incidents still are needed to launch the protests.

At the beginning of the 1970s Quebec was characterized as being a 'pollution paradise', the result of the cumulative impact of few decades of industrialization. In several instances highlighted in the vignettes in chapter 4, specific issues appear to have triggered the establishment of some ENGOs. The high content of heavy metals in the fish he consumed prompted André Bélisle to take action and form l'Association québécoise de lutte contre les pluies acides (AQLPA); phosphates in detergents was the *raison d'être* for the beginning of STOP; SVP formed to address air and water pollution in the Montreal area; lack of facilities for cyclists inspired Bob Silverman to start le Monde à bicyclette (MàB); and the problems associated with nuclear power as well as local environmental issues in Quebec City brought people together to form Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT). In short, in the presence of other variables, objective problems are one of the causal factors of Quebec's environmental movement.

Social-Structural Changes

A macro-level analysis related to postindustrialism also includes questions of social structure, such as educational attainment, changes in class and age composition, and

labour-force participation. Buechler's (1993) research of the women's movement led him to conclude that changes in social-structural factors such as these are essential to understanding the origins of new social movements. These factors also played relatively significant roles in the rise of the environmental movement in Quebec.

Eckersley (1989) remarked that one of the most notable characteristics of environmental activists is their high level of education.⁸⁴ The data I gathered for this research supports this conclusion. Related to the presence of environmental issues, which alone cannot account for the emergence of a social movement, is the fact that the postwar expansion of higher education in industrialized nations gave the young generation tools with which to comprehend some of the more complex issues related to ecology and the environment (Jasper & Nelkin 1992). Educational reform during Quebec's Quiet Revolution meant that young people in this province were equipped to understand environmental problems, especially since the sciences had been given more emphasis in schools and universities. Apart from their comprehension of such matters, education gave activists the capacity to formulate ideas for LIP and OFY projects, to follow the necessary bureaucratic steps in applying for funding, and to administer the programs.

Another structural change related to postindustrialism in Quebec and the associated growth in public interest groups, such as environmental associations, was the rise of the middle class. Barriers to mobility characteristic of the prewar and pre-Quiet Revolution eras had broken down and large segments of the population that were formerly isolated from mainstream Canadian life were now part of middle class society, especially since the growth of urban populations and the expansion of communication networks. The province was also more democratic, pluralist, and egalitarian and the new middle class had more voice in shaping society because of the political, economic, and social gains they had

⁸⁴ See Van Liere and Dunlap (1980), Cotgrove (1982), and Morrison and Dunlap (1986) for more evidence of this, and Gagnon (1993, 80), for a synthesis of four studies regarding the relationship between education and environmental activism. See also Bakvis and Nevitte (1992) for the socio-structural bases of support for environmentalism in Canada.

acquired and because of the new openness of the Lesage government: they "became involved in the problems and the affairs of the world at large" (Clark 1975, 412).

Thirty-three percent of the activists interviewed were from middle class backgrounds and forty percent said they were part of the upper-middle class. Some observers interpret the high level of activism on the part of the upper-middle and middle classes to mean that they have a greater concern for the environment than do 'upper' or 'lower' classes.⁸⁵ It is assumed that the upper-middle class is out to protect its own elitist interests. In fact, studies in several different nations have shown that the socioeconomic makeup of core environmentalists is very different from that of the concerned constituency of the movement, which is drawn from across all socioeconomic categories (see Buttel & Flinn 1978; Cotgrove & Duff 1980, 1981; Cotgrove 1982; and Milbrath 1984). Although this study did not include research on the socioeconomic background of a representative sample of Quebec's environmental movement constituency during the 1970s and early '80s, it is safe to assume that the same was true in this province (Macdonald 1991). Furthermore, Lowe and Rüdig (1986, 522) maintained that "the larger ecological problematic is not amenable to such an interpretation" because the environmental movement also acts on behalf of working class people who are usually more exposed to environmental hazards than others. The class composition of members of the environmental movement, therefore, is not related to elitist interests.

The fact that the emergence of environmentalism correlates with the rise of the middle class is often associated with the growth in interest in outdoor recreation during the 1960s in North America (McEvoy 1972; Schnaiberg 1977; McCormick 1989; Dunlap 1992; Dunlap & Mertig 1992). More and more people were able to afford access to resorts, parks, and wilderness areas that only a small wealthy group could once afford. As well, metropolitan decay and the expansion of urban areas created a new demand for wilderness recreation activities and spaces to which one could 'escape'; it is assumed that there was a

⁸⁵ This approach is often called new class theory.

consequent rise in the concern for the deterioration of those spaces.⁸⁶ Only one respondent in this research mentioned that he was inspired to act because of the degradation of wilderness areas with which he was familiar, although just over half of the interviewees spent time engaged in outdoor activities during their youth. No pertinent conclusions can be drawn from these observations, however. Perhaps the more significant variables associated with the class composition of Quebec's environmental movement are related to meso- and micro-level variables, discussed further on. Indeed, Mohai's research (1985, 836-7) found that the reasons the upper-middle class participates more in leading environmental groups is because that class has "greater access to resources and [a] greater sense of personal efficacy".

There are two further observations regarding social-structural changes in Quebec that may pertain to the rise in environmental activism. First, the increase in the relative numbers of youth in the population provided a larger pool from which activists could emerge (Pinard, personal communication 1994). Westhues (1975, 398) asserted that "[e]mpirically, one explanatory factor upon which all scholars can agree is the quantitative growth of youth during the 1960s. It was during this decade that the postwar baby boom reached adolescence and young adulthood". The relatively high numbers of baby-boomers gave this generation of conscientious young adults a position of relative strength regarding their claims on society (Fréchet 1992b). Second, in 1960s and '70s Quebec, married women had not yet made their spectacular entry into the labour force. An informed leader of Quebec's environmental movement speculated that one of the reasons 'housewives' initiated groups like STOP and SVP is because they were not employed in paid work. The importance of this factor will be reexamined in the meso level of analysis.

In sum, several macro-level changes in the social structure of Quebec society were significant variables in the emergence of the environmental movement. First, a rise in the middle class and in the percentage of young educated people in society meant that there was

⁸⁶ Deterioration due to logging, ranching, and mining activities, for example.

a larger pool of potential leaders for social movements as well as a public more motivated to participate in its own well-being by becoming active in them. Second, higher levels of education, especially among the youthful generation, meant that people were able to grapple with ecological notions and were equipped to accept the challenge of running an environmental group. Third, women had not yet entered the work force in large numbers and presumably had the time to participate in voluntary social activism such as protecting the environment.

Links with the Past

The historical roots of environmentalism were explored in this thesis in order to establish any links with the past that might help to shed light on its recent emergence as a social movement in Quebec. Research revealed that there is both continuity and discontinuity with the past. Although historical factors are not causal agents of social movements, they can be said to condition them (Eyerman & Jamison 1991).

NSM theory tends to assume the 'newness' of the type of social movement that emerged in the 1960s in industrialized countries, a point debated by some theorists (see chapter 1). The environmental movement, however, appears to have a valid claim as a 'new' phenomenon. There are several reasons for this. First, as suggested by Fuentes and Frank (1993) and Pinard (personal communication 1994), the environmental and peace movements may be 'new' because they are the result of the use of new technology, whereas religious, ethnic, and women's movements, for example, have existed before. Indeed, as pointed out above, industrialization increased the frequency and severity of objective environmental problems and can be considered to be one of the many causes of environmentalism.

Second, links with its precedents are more tenuous than once thought. Traditionally, the environmental movement in the United States was linked directly to the conservation movement. Recently, however, this assumption has been contradicted. Hay and Haward

(1988) and Hays (1989), for example, pointed out that there is more discontinuity and change than direct linkages.⁸⁷ One reason is that conservation was largely initiated by professionals, scientists, and administrators, whereas the environmental movement was fueled by the public. This difference is particularly pronounced in Canada and Quebec, where there were no strong wilderness preservation organizations pressing for the establishment of parks and reserves in the nineteenth century as there were in the United States. As well, conservation measures were taken by civil servants and by a government commission in Canada and were influenced by the experience in the United States. Another reason to doubt the strong link is that conservation was concerned with efficient production whereas environmentalism was against production and consumption. Conservation in Canada and Quebec was undertaken for utilitarian motives rather than for altruistic preservation: "[p]reservation in Canada, in contrast to the United States, did not have much of a constituency" (Dubasak 1990, 103) until the advent of environmentalism. Furthermore, the environmental movement coalesced around new interests in pollution and the viability of the whole planet, not just in wilderness protection. The large national conservation groups in the United States transformed themselves into ENGOs by broadening their mandates to include pollution issues, but, with a few exceptions⁸⁸, the same was not true in Canada and Quebec. Indeed, most groups pressing for pollution control in Quebec were new ones with no constituency carried over from older conservation organizations.

Other differences between the conservation and environmental movements further highlight the lack of historical links between the two: unlike previous group efforts to protect nature, the contemporary movement was part of a larger upsurge of social protest.

⁸⁷ For points of comparison see Morrison *et al.* (1972); Schnaiberg (1977); Pepper (1984); Hays (1989); and Paehlke (1981; 1989).

⁸⁸ A major exception is The Canadian Nature Federation, which evolved into an ENGO rather than a narrowly defined conservation association. As it broadened its mandate to include a wide range of environmental issues so its membership multiplied: "[m]embership grew to nearly five thousand in 1972, doubled in 1973, and nearly doubled again to eighteen thousand in 1974" (Dubasak 1990, 56). In Quebec, the FQF also broadened its aims under the direction of LeSautour and in the 1980s the 4H Clubs and the UQCN expanded their objectives to include global environmental issues (Beauchemin 1994).

The latter also had essential social movement characteristics its precedents lacked: its activities were unconventional and non-routine and it was an agent of social change. The links between urban sanitation improvements and the environmental movement in Canada and Quebec are as tenuous for most of the same reasons. As well, technological fixes, such as 'end of pipe' solutions were advocated to curb pollution in the 1930s whereas contemporary environmental thought stresses cleaning up the sources. Thus, although the concern for the state of human surroundings is common to conservation, urban sanitation, and environmental protection, the emergence of the latter in Quebec was not a continuation of the former.

It was suggested in chapter 2 that conservation and environmentalism in North America were linked by the science of ecology - a "crucial connection between the early work of preservation and conservation at the turn of the century and the environmental movement of the 1960s" (Dunlap 1991, 145). This, however, was less true of Quebec than it was of the United States and federal Canada. Canadian national parks policy was influenced by the new role ecology took in U.S. wildlife protection in the 1930s. It was not until the 1970s, however, that Quebec began to protect intact ecosystems in provincial parks. Similarly, although Dansereau brought ecology to Quebec in the 1940s, it was not before the 1960s that ecological notions were adopted by conservation agencies. The contemporary environmental movement in Quebec, then, is new for several reasons, perhaps the major one being the fact that for the first time in history it became a social movement involving a large segment of society rather than merely episodes of isolated attempts at preserving nature or improving urban living conditions.

MESO LEVEL OF ANALYSIS: MOBILIZATION

Resource mobilization theory focuses not on the structural changes that facilitate or impede the rise of protest, nor on the discontinuity between previous and contemporary social movements, but on the social movement organization (SMO) as an entity and how it

organizes collective action. Its emphasis, unlike that of NSM theory, is on mesoprocesses such as the mobilization of various kinds of resources and the skill with which they are used. New social movements are assumed to arise because of the following: the availability of financial resources; the ability of professional SMO leaders; the flexible time schedules of core members; the organized structure of the group and its networks; and the new technologies available to the mass media. Participation is viewed as a cost-effective means for collective actors to share tangible benefits.

Financial resources

According to RMT, the rise in new social movements can be accounted for largely by the financial contributions made by foundations, governments, industry, churches, and the affluent middle class public. Indeed, as shown above, when the first ENGOs were forming in Quebec, both federal and provincial governments were making funds available to public interest groups. Ecosense, for example, got started simply because its founder knew that there was money available. It appears that the other groups I researched, however, were founded *before* they applied for government funding; Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec did not receive such financial aid until several years after its formation, for example.

The money, however, enabled the new groups to establish themselves with offices, phones, and paid personnel (albeit temporarily, in some cases), to stimulate an interest in environmental issues among the public, to lobby governments, to pressure industries, and to make their cause known to the press. But the money was also short-term and cyclical and ENGOs were far from wealthy. Contributions from other sources were minimal. Most groups received less than ten percent of their budget from membership fees and few were funded in any significant measure by private donors or organizations, by foundations, or by industries or large companies. This is in contrast to organizations in the United States, many of which were supported by wealthy foundations. In many cases,

community organizations, schools, and churches did help by providing seed money or by lending facilities to the fledging groups. Such was the case for le Monde à bicyclette, Ecosense, and STOP. But the existence of most ENGOs was precarious at best due to the insecurity of financial income. Many ENGO projects were thwarted or ended because a grant ran out. Vaillancourt (1981, 90) recognized that "[l]e grand problème des associations écologiques québécoises demeure toujours celui du financement de leurs activités" It is a moot point whether these ENGOs would have succeeded in their initial activities without government funding, but the money certainly gave a 'kick-start' to the environmental movement in this province.

Time Availability, Volunteers, and Leaders

According to RMT, new social movements were facilitated by the ability of core members to juggle schedules and devote time to SMOs. The fact that several ENGO initiators and activists in Quebec in the 1970s were 'housewives' supports this assumption. Students are also able to organize their own time, and many of SVP and STOP's activities in the first two years were undertaken by students hired for summer jobs on federal grants. Workers whose employment ended due to the termination of a grant also had 'time', if they were so inclined, to devote to volunteer work once they went on unemployment insurance.

American studies on the sociodemographic characteristics of participants in the environmental movement found that in general, core environmentalists are college-educated, have professional jobs, and incomes that are "moderately skewed upscale" (Morrison & Dunlap 1986, 582). The environmentalists I interviewed, however, did not hold professional jobs with upscale salaries when they were beginning their involvement in ENGOs. A couple were 'drop-outs', some were newly-graduated from university, others were returning from travels abroad, and yet others were students, housewives, or unemployment insurance recipients. Perhaps the possibility of a salary from the government grants attracted some well-educated activists, since opportunities in Quebec's

economic sector had not expanded as rapidly as education and many graduates' aspirations may well have been frustrated (McRoberts 1988).

In most cases the leaders and core workers were young, well-educated idealists who ran the organizations on tight, erratic budgets and were willing to continue working without salaries or by supporting themselves on often less-than-adequate unemployment insurance. Furthermore, volunteers supplied much of the labour and enthusiasm that enabled the groups to pursue their activities. As shown further on, micro-level factors, such as ideological and moral convictions, rather than high salaries and status may well have provided the necessary incentives for well-educated activists to initiate environmental groups. The government grants, however, appear to have fostered the emergence of a new type of job - that of social movement organization (SMO) worker or, to use Staggenborg's (1988) term, 'entrepreneur'. These monies cultivated "un nouveau mode d'engagement et de militantisme en la 'profession' de permanent-e de groupe populaire, permettant d'instituer celle de travailleur-se d'organisation sans but lucratif" (Alsène 1983, 52).

One of the most important elements in any SMO is its leader: "among those contingencies the ability of 'movement intellectuals' to formulate the knowledge interest of the emergent social movement is particularly crucial" (Eyerman & Jamison 1991, 56). As shown above, the high education of ENGO leaders increased their capacity to acquire, assess, and pass on ecological information as well as to administer projects. Such appeared to be the case of the ENGO leaders I interviewed. Their organizational abilities were certainly an asset to the environmental movement.

Organization

RMT emphasizes how formal organization facilitates mobilization. Staggenborg (1988) classified SMOs into formal and informal ones. In the former there is a division of labour, bureaucratic procedures, and professionalization of leadership. Informal SMOs have few established procedures, operate in a flexible and ad hoc manner, and are associated with a

non-professional, largely volunteer leadership. Professional leadership and formalized SMOs, she maintained, are valuable to organizations, but usually become incorporated into the movement as it intensifies. Contrary to RMT assumptions, my research found that the organizational characteristics of the ENGOs forming at the inception of Quebec's environmental movement were those of informal SMOs, or those described by NSM theorists as being typical of new social movements: they were informal and decentralized, preferring non-hierarchical structures and spontaneity. They were what Wilson (1992, 112) called "benign open oligarchies". Structure it appears, was not a factor in the rise of ENGOs; rather its absence was of significance. Perhaps there were advantages to the informal arrangements. One can speculate that unencumbered by institutionalized procedures, ENGOs may have been more flexible, adaptable, and able to develop quickly, becoming vehicles for generating immediate action.

RMT also emphasizes the importance of formally-organized networks. There is some consensus, however, regarding the significant role of dense *informal* networks of all types of organizations in a society to social movement activity. Buechler (1993), for instance, in a study of women's movements, found that informally-organized networks of activists were critical in all the stages of mobilization, while the more formal networks were often non-existent or marginal. Both Von Eschen *et al.* (1971) and Pinard (1975) found that informal social organizations contributed to the socialization of people (to a shared dissatisfaction with society, for example), were channels of communication for new ideas (about social dysfunction), and contributed to the development of leadership and other skills. Informal networks also provided solidarity and social cohesion to SMOs (Useem 1980).

I suggest that the counterculture movement of the 1960s and '70s provided the environmental movement with informal social networks that enhanced its emergence as a social force in Quebec. One of the respondents in this research offered the following observation:

I think it's important to recognize that the movement in Quebec, like elsewhere in North America, grew out of the counterculture movement. Before 1973 it was a sort of new age, granola movement, but within it there was the fleeing of polluting, inhumane society

Boismenu *et al.* (1986) noted that it was the environmental strand of the counterculture that endured into the 1980s as the popular movement lost its dynamism. There remained a solid core of people who did not leave behind one of the tenets of countercultural thought, that of environmental consciousness (*ibid.*). This awareness was spread throughout Quebec's counterculture by underground literature and it also diffused to mainstream society. The counterculture was also a milieu in which feelings of discontent with modern society and its negative relationship with nature flourished and were transmitted with ease.

Health-food coops were informal networks that helped in the diffusion of ideas through the magazine and the stores themselves where people congregated. They were a source of members to the environmental movement (Vaillancourt 1982). The antinuclear movement was another forum for new ecological ideas and was very influential in Quebec as it provided the emergent environmental movement with ideologies as well as with members. As Vaillancourt (1992, 796) made clear, after several victories on the part of the anti-nuclear movement, "il n'est pas surprenant qu'un certain nombre de ses militants aient décidé de passer à autre chose". Indeed, several antinuclear leaders became active in ENGOs after the Lac St-Joseph event in 1978. Thus informal networks within society contributed ideas, members, and cohesion to the fledging movement. On the other hand, the more formal networks of coalitions and umbrella groups of environmental and sympathetic organizations were not one of the movements strengths. Indeed, because of the schisms within them, they failed to provide the movement with a sense of solidarity and cohesion.

The Mass Media

According to RMT, a significant determinant of social action on behalf of the environment was the advance in communication technologies that enabled the media to put the

environment at the forefront of public consciousness. Maloney and Slovonsky (1971), in a study using the measurement of column-inches and the number of stories devoted to the environment, documented a six-fold increase in the United States media and editorial reporting of environmental issues between 1955 and 1963. Similarly, the results of a content analysis undertaken by McEvoy (1972) showed an increase of more than 330 percent in environmental content of selected periodicals from the 1957-59 period to the 1967-69 period. The author not only noted that this study is an index of the media-attentive public's growing interest in environmental issues, but he pointed out that the literature "serves to activate concern" (ibid, 217). In sum, there is a consensus that the news media was influential in broadening the public's awareness of environmental problems (Lowe & Morrison 1984; Foster 1993).⁸⁹

No doubt such was the case in Quebec as well, but it did not occur until well into the 1980s and there was a significant dearth of material in French. Interviewees were adamant about the lack of information relating to ecological issues in the Quebec media in the 1960s and '70s. Several English-language journalists were sympathetic to the cause and published articles relating to LeSauter's and STOP's activities, but generally-speaking, the media was not a significant determinant in the emergence of the environmental movement in Quebec.

More important, perhaps, was the environmental literature, both countercultural and mainstream, being read by the educated and ecologically-aware young people. Most of the respondents had been influenced by the neo-malthusian depiction of the future, by the approach taken by the '60s social critics, by scientific knowledge, and by the hope of alternative technology in the literature diffusing from the United States and France. If the public was not influenced by the media directly, leaders of ENGOs were certainly well-informed by the sophisticated material to which they had access and, in turn, they

⁸⁹ One observer suggested that it may be well have been that a new generation of journalists was just as significant as the new technology they used.

transmitted its message to group members and the public in newsletters, fact sheets, and bulletins.

In sum, the resources available to fledging ENGOs in Quebec were not on the same order of magnitude as suggested by RMT: financial aid was available but it was never enough and leaders, while well-educated and hard working, were not paid the salaries of professionals. ENGO activists were social movement entrepreneurs. Furthermore, formal organization was shunned, ENGO networks were not very successful, and the French media was slow in showing an interest in environmental matters. The following are probably the resources that best explain how the environmental movement was born: the availability of cyclical funding from government grants; the work of young energetic volunteers with time to devote to social work; the dedication of militant but under- or unpaid leaders; the informal social networks such as the counterculture, the health food coops, and the antinuclear movement; and the literature available to educated and aware young activists.

In focusing on how SMOs mobilize their resources, RMT fails to address the role of microprocesses that help to answer the question 'why' social movements arise. A cost-benefit analysis of core-member participation in Quebec's first ENGOs would find, no doubt, that tangible incentives were lacking except, perhaps, for the collective good of an improved environment. Internal or intangible incentives, however, examined in the following analysis of micro-level factors, may have provided the significant motivating forces for the initiation of, and participation in, Quebec's ENGOs.

MICRO LEVEL OF ANALYSIS: MOTIVATION

With the rise of RMT and NSM approaches to the study of social movements, the role of social-psychological factors emphasized by the classical theories was discounted. Recently, however, several scholars have called for the integration of the social-psychology of mobilization (see Jenkins 1983; Klandermans 1984; Ferree & Miller 1985; Hannigan

1985; and Buechler 1993). Values, ideology, moral convictions, and grievances may be important variables in the rise of the environmental movement.

Values

Inglehart's approach emphasized the role of changed values. He maintained that children raised in times of economic well-being tend to have needs that are 'higher' on Maslow's hierarchy. As adults, they are not as preoccupied with materialist needs, such as satisfying physiological and safety requirements, but seek postmaterialist goals such as quality of life at both individual and societal levels.

Many other observers of environmental movements also suggested that post-World War II affluence lowered the concern with materialism amongst the youth and generated a greater desire for 'quality of life' values such as liberty, equality, peace, and environmental protection (see Bowman 1975; Frankel 1987; Yearly 1991; Dunlap & Mertig 1992; Jasper & Nelkin 1992; Shabecoff 1993). Macdonald (1991, 90) asserted that the generation reaching adulthood in Canada during the 1960s was the "first in a half-century that could afford the luxury of disinterested social involvement".

As reported in chapter 4, results of the materialist/postmaterialist battery of questions in this research show that the environmental leaders I questioned valued ideas more than money, and that they strove for a less impersonal and more humane society, an end to the arms race, and more say for people in the way society works. They were not preoccupied with the amount of their salaries but motivated by a desire to do something for a larger cause. As one interviewee said, "those who have some higher quality of life are going to be interested in doing altruistic things". It was "important to take action"; "someone's got to do it", they said.

Moral and Ideological Convictions

In general, the ENGO leaders had a well-articulated ideology and this is what motivated them. Disinterested motives, selfless ideals, and moral obligation moved them to act rather than material incentives. Although RMT acknowledges the contribution of SMO leaders, it focuses on their organizational abilities, neglecting the value of their inspirational qualities. Staggenborg (1988) maintained that voluntary entrepreneurs initiate informal SMOs because of ideology. ENGO leaders were efficient but they were also ideological, individualistic, charismatic people with streaks of rebelliousness that made them dynamic and rousing leaders. They were inspired by their own sense of justice, and the strength of their convictions was an attribute that certainly enhanced the environmental movement and contributes to the reasons for its emergence. On the other hand, their personalities also made them somewhat intransigent regarding cooperation and consensus with other ENGO ideologies, causing rifts and schisms between the radical and reform strands of the movement.

Grievances

NSM theory accords significance to the role of grievances. Part of the leader's motivation was fueled by a discontent for the way modern society functioned and for its domineering relationship with nature and its resources. Environmental leaders in Quebec protested against consumerism and materialism, inequality, unbridled production and growth, and the destruction of the environment. As shown in chapter 4, more than half of the interviewees were inspired to act because of their awareness of environmental degradation.

In sum, this research shows that ENGO leaders were driven primarily by ideological and moral convictions. Grievances and discontent, emphasized by NSM theory but discarded by RMT, were also significant factors in the emergence of Quebec's environmental movement. Although not conclusive, these results support the suggestion

that social-psychological factors and grievances should be integrated into a new model for social movement emergence.

THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF QUEBEC'S ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

The environmental movement, like other new social movements, "transcended national boundaries" (Westhues 1975, 388). The emergence and development of environmental awareness and action in industrialized nations occurred at relatively the same time and in relatively the same manner. Differences in history, culture, polity, social structure, and geography, however, meant that each nation's environmental movement evolved in its own particular way. Generally-speaking, the Canadian experience resembled that of the United States. Quebec, however, was also influenced by environmentalism in Europe (Gagnon 1993). Moreover, as part of Canada, some of the characteristics of Quebec's story are the same as the country of which it is a part, but others are typical of the distinct society that is Quebec's.

Wilderness Preservation Versus Social Equity

Some comparisons between the European and North American environmental movements help in recognizing Quebec's distinctiveness. Bakvis and Nevitte (1992) pointed out that the 'green' backlash in Europe was motivated largely by deep and extensive industrialization and fuelled by opposition to nuclear power. On the other hand, environmentalism in the United States was driven by "the frontier experience and the perceived need to preserve wilderness" (ibid, 145). Hay and Haward (1988, 438) suggested that the impulse to "defend the existential rights of wilderness in precedence over human-use rights" was instrumental in providing the North American movement with the ethical base of biocentrism or deep ecology. They noted that "[a]lmost all the major 'ecophilosophers' ... have worked out their positions in non-European intellectual environments" (ibid).

In contrast, the antinuclear debate in Europe furnished green parties with new social principles focusing on the human condition. This approach provided a basis with which to criticize industrial society. The research for this thesis found that there appeared to be no wilderness movement in Quebec during the study period nor a deep ecology ethic within the environmental movement.⁹⁰ Rather, the radical faction of Quebec environmentalism was represented by *écologisme*, which focuses on human development and social justice. Activists and leaders of Quebec's ENGOs were motivated more by a social conscience than by the need to defend nature's rights. It was not the writings of Thoreau or Leopold (or any Francophone 'equivalents' such as Frère Marie-Victorin) that inspired them, for example, but rather the ideas of social critics such as Jurdant, Illich, Bookchin, and Dumont. In this sense, environmental philosophy in Quebec largely resembled the European approach more than the North American. Like the European movement, it was inspired by the anti-nuclear impulse and it developed social rather than wilderness-protection principles. The antinuclear movement called lifestyles, modes of development, and energy use into question and sought another type of social organization - a *projet de société* (Fréchet 1992a).

Dansereau (interview 1994) offered another explanation for the lack of a wilderness-protection ethic in Quebec. He suggested that the 'sentiment de la nature' is largely absent in Latin culture and artistic expression, such as French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin-american literature and painting. Nature in French landscape painting, for instance, is decorative and does not express the empathy with leaves, trees, and flowers that is so evident in English, American, German, and Scandinavian literature and art. Thus, according to Dansereau (ibid), "the emotional, cultural background in Quebec is simply not very hospitable to the modern and now not-so-modern naturalist movement". Further, Dansereau added that in the past, preservation ethics may have been forced upon Quebecers

⁹⁰ Although there were natural history and conservation organizations, they hardly amounted to a 'wilderness movement', nor did they become integrated into the new wave of modern environmental thought.

by the federal government. When some lands were transferred from the control of the clergy to the government, for example, protection and access came under the jurisdiction of what was viewed as a foreign power. Hence there was some concern about imposed environmentalism, which may have dampened the acceptance of preservationist ethics in Quebec.

Perhaps wilderness preservation was a less pressing issue in Quebec because of the abundant resources and the vastness of the province's forested interior. Dubasak (1990, 206) suggested that,

Canadian historical tradition does not contain the same degree of romantic veneration of land as a component of national character. In Canada, the vast northern wilderness and the perception of being a small population group dwarfed by a huge land mass makes it more difficult to credit the need to preserve wilderness.

Indeed, Foster (1978) also maintained that a preservation ethic in Canada was slow in appearing because of the tenacity of the myth of abundance, the promise of an ever-new frontier, as well as the importance of resource extraction.

Problems Specific to Quebec

Both the conservation and environmental movements in Canada and Quebec were influenced by the role resource extraction and exploitation played in public and private interests. Wilson (1992, 110) summed up this tendency:

[M]uch of the history of the Canadian environmental movement has revolved around struggles against coalitions such as those which draw forest companies, government forestry agencies, and their allies together in support of long-term plans to liquidate old-growth forests, or those which linked various industries and development-oriented government departments in opposition to measures that would disrupt long-standing waste disposal practices.

In Quebec, however, forestry was not one of the first issues ENGOs addressed. Vaillancourt's (1981) analysis of the distinctiveness of Quebec's environmental movement stressed the specificity of this province's environmental problems. Quebec's first ENGOs emerged in cities and focused on issues that were pertinent to its own geography,

resources, and pollution problems and unlike British Columbia, for example, forestry was not an issue. The struggles most characteristic of the province between 1970 and 1985 were energy questions, air and water pollution, acid rain, and household and hazardous waste, among others.

Regionalization

Geography accounts for another of the characteristics of environmental politics in Canada: its intense regionalization (Brooks 1993). Because of the great distances, the smaller population base and its greater dispersion, national ENGOs and umbrella organizations had (and have) more difficulty forming in Canada than in the United States and had much smaller membership numbers (Mowat 1990; Gagnon 1993). They also lacked the funding from foundations that American organizations had.

One of the problems was the cost of communication between regions (Brooks 1993). It was easier for environmentalists in isolated areas to begin local or regional groups than it was for them to join associations in distant towns and cities (Gagnon 1993). Furthermore, provincial organizations were suspicious of national groups that might attempt to control local initiatives (Brooks 1993). Francophone groups in Quebec also tended to keep to themselves regionally and even locally, because of, among other things, a desire to retain their own identity and because they were isolated from anglophone Canada by language difference. Even those that had ties with international ENGOs remained autonomous. *Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec*, for instance, was very independent and distinctive relative to other Friends of the Earth groups. Quebec's ENGOs arose within the province; they were not branches of larger national organizations. Gagnon (1993, 85) found that the province's groups are only weakly integrated into the national network of ENGOs and that the majority of members of national associations are from Ontario. Dansereau (interview 1994) added that sometimes he felt that national groups invited Quebec participants almost

as an afterthought, as tokens or "québécois de service": once a pan-Canadian society was founded, a member would say "Oh, we should have someone from Quebec".

The difficulty in linking up with other groups also meant that, generally-speaking, local rural associations often took on the broad interests of whole regions. Urban ENGOs, on the other hand, tended to divide environmental interests between them, concentrating on specific issues, such as recycling, pollution, or energy. The vignettes reflect this fact: SVP and STOP focused on pollution and energy, l'Association québécois de lutte contre les pluies acides (AQLPA) on acid rain, Ecosense on recycling, and le Monde à bicyclette on transportation. These factors contributed to the great diversity of ENGOs in both Canada and Quebec⁹¹ and to the lack of unity at the national level.

Diversity, Schisms, and the Radical Wing

Diversity also meant that Quebec's ENGOs were not able to unite effectively at a provincial level (Vaillancourt 1985a). Despite this fact, Corriveau and Foucault (1990, 29-30) felt that diversity was a positive aspect of Quebec's environmental movement: "[c]'est le signe que la population québécoise a réagi de façon ponctuelle et avec une grande vigilance face aux menaces qui pesaient sur elle".

The lack of unity within the Quebec movement was not only related to diversity and geography but to the fact that there appeared to be very little middle ground between the radical *écologiste* wing and the establishment or reform elements of the movement. Conflicts between the two approaches hindered attempts at unification in Quebec. Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec, for example, discontinued its association with AQLPA, accusing the latter of refusing to question dominant lifestyles and to search for non-technological solutions to acid rain (Jurdant 1984b). As one participant expressed it: "If the vision is too extremist or utopian, well, there is too much of a conflict".

⁹¹ Walsh's (1981) study of citizen protest in communities around Three Mile Island also found that the dispersed settlement pattern accounted for the local antinuclear movement's great diversity.

Indeed, one of the interesting characteristics of Quebec's environmental movement between 1970 and 1985 was the evidence of a strong radical or 'utopian'⁹² segment that urged the establishment of an ecological *projet de société*, which often included the desire for a separate Quebec. This radical wing of the movement, whether nationalist or not, put the fundamental structure of society into question and the strength and pervasiveness of this strand of the movement is distinctive to Quebec. An informed observer made this remark,

the ethos ... has always been that there is some kind of ultimate objective that goes right across the political spectrum, whether it's social movements or the nationalists, the best of them have always had a *projet de société* interest".

Furthermore, this aspect is a continuation of the approach taken by *groupes populaires* in the 1960s:

that's one of the interesting features of social change in Quebec - there's always this objective, this dream of a *projet de société*. In other words we're not interested in a string of reforms that would ameliorate the situation. We want to *change* the situation and that is a pretty constant thing.

Diffusion From the U.S. and the Lag Effect

Both conservation and environmental protection in the U.S. had a significant influence on practices in Canada and Quebec. During the Progressive Conservation era in the United States (1890-1920), American ideas were picked up by Canadian civil servants (Foster 1978; Dubasak 1990). Quebec, however, was tardier in its adoption of preservation ideals than was the national government: it was not until 1977 that park policy took an ecological orientation in this province. There was also a spill-over of environmental awareness and interest in pollution problems from their southern neighbour to Canada and Quebec: information on ecology and alternative technology diffused from the U.S.

Some observers criticized Quebec's environmental movement for a weakness related to its 'lateness' in relation to the United States (Julien *et al.* 1976). There was a difference of

⁹² Jurdant (1984b) countered that it is far more utopian to believe that society can continue its pace of exploiting the planet's resources and fouling its life-sustaining environment without serious repercussions.

about eight to ten years in the rise of public interest in the environment in this country compared to the U.S.⁹³ Similarly, the wave of new ENGOs, which signaled the arrival of environmentalism as a social movement in the industrialized world, came to Canada and Quebec several years later than it did to the U.S. It is interesting to note that in Quebec it began during economic depression, high unemployment, and the oil crisis, the very reasons for a pronounced dip in concern for the environment among the American public at the same time.

The specific reasons for the lag in Quebec are assumed to be its preoccupation with economic expansion during the Quiet Revolution, the fact that it was culturally isolated for so long, and worries over the problem of Quebec sovereignty (Vaillancourt 1981). A journalist writing in 1970 called Quebec "a reluctant flower in the environmental field" (Winslow 1970, n.p.). He blamed the government for failing to inform the public, via the news media, of the "real story of pollution" (ibid) as well as the media's own inertia, and on the fact that the English press was more 'hip' to pollution than was the French media.

The Impact of the Separatist Movement

There is some debate about whether Quebec's nationalist movement hampered the rise of environmentalism. Vaillancourt (1985a) felt that cleavages within the environmental movement regarding nationalism affected its efficiency, and Gagnon (1993) stated that linguistic divisions and the debate about Quebec's status were obstacles for environmentalists. Similarly, in 1971 LeSauter (cited in Windeyer 1971, 2) said that "a lot of energy that the English are putting into cleaning up the environment is absorbed in the French community by the nationalist movement". One observer noted that the passionate, intelligent people - the professional journalists, media manipulators, and lobbyists - got involved in the national issue to the neglect of the environmental one. This same sentiment

⁹³ It was not until the end of the 1980s that Canadians began to perceive 'the environment' as a problem, whereas in 1970 it was volunteered as a national problem in polls done in the United States (see Wood 1982; Dubasak 1990; Greg & Posner 1990; Bakvis & Nevitte 1992).

was voiced by several respondents to my questionnaire. On the other hand, six of the eleven who answered this question maintained that the separatist movement did not take any energy away from the environmental movement. Many Quebecois *écologistes* felt that sovereignty will give them more power to solve environmental problems because it is a move towards greater decentralization. They explained, however, that their energies remained devoted to the environmental cause whether that involved fighting for separation or not. They pointed out that the environment has no political boundaries and that the separatist issue was not discussed much within the environmental movement.

Language

The presence of two language groups in Quebec adds to the distinctiveness of its environmental movement. Observers noted that anglophone groups tended to be better connected to other ENGOs outside the province while Montreal-based francophone groups cultivated links within Quebec. Furthermore, because there was less French literature about ecological matters available in Quebec, and because material translated from English took longer to appear, unilingual francophone environmentalists or potential activists were disadvantaged. Some observers noted that anglophone groups were more methodical and structured than francophone ones.⁹⁴ Two respondees speculated that this may be a cultural difference, one of them musing that he thought the Anglo-Saxon sense of citizenship, especially toward the environment, is more developed.

Another distinctive characteristic of Quebec's francophone ENGOs is that, unlike anglophone ones, they were reluctant to criticize hydroelectric development. In 1973, ninety percent of the memoirs against the James Bay Project were written by anglophones. Several observers remarked that Hydro-Québec was viewed with pride by Quebecers; it was a symbol of Quebec's entrepreneurial and financial accomplishment. It had done a lot of public service in communities and it gave out university scholarships. For a Quebecer to

⁹⁴ Note that STOP was more structured than SVP.

speaking out against Hydro-Quebec, therefore, was unpatriotic and seen as practically treason. Francophone ENGOs, it appears, were slow to criticize hydroelectric development on environmental grounds during the 1970s and early '80s for this reason.

Immigrant Activists

According to Mowat (1990), one of the characteristics of the Canadian environmental movement is the fact that many of its leaders were immigrants.⁹⁵ The same may be true of Quebec. Out of the ENGO leaders I interviewed, thirty-three percent were immigrants from Europe or Britain. One environmental activist offered an explanation for the interest new immigrants appear to have for environmental protection in their adopted country: speaking from her own experience as an immigrant to Canada she speculated that because Europeans are aware of the levels of pollution and population density in their homelands, on arriving in Canada they say to themselves "we're in a new country and here we have the chance to save it, we can't make the same mistakes here".

⁹⁵ Mowat (1990) introduced Canada's foremost environmental and animal rights activists by presenting his conversations with them. They are Monte Hummel, Gerry Glazier, Paul Griss, Ron Burchell, Vicki Miller, Michael O'Sullivan, Brian Davies, David Suzuki, Elizabeth May, Michael Bloomfield, Stephen Best, and John Livingston.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

New social movements emerged because of the enormous changes that occurred at all levels of society in industrialized countries after World War II. Samuel Hays (1989, 21), an authority on the environmental movement in the United States⁹⁶, believed that the environmental movement grew out of "the vast social and economic changes that took place in the United States after World War II": the advanced consumer economy; the rise in incomes, standards of living and levels of education; changing values; and "a desire for a higher standard of living and 'quality of life'" (ibid, 25). Quebec was no less affected by these changes. Reasons for the rise of the environmental movement in this province are largely the same as those that explain its birth elsewhere. The development of each country's movement differed, however, depending on the structures of opportunity, the timing, and the amount of available resources, among other things. Schnaiberg (1977) suggested that the movement in the U.S.A. was propelled by the information made available in books such as Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, by the media's increased coverage of environmental issues, and by the work of groups engaged in spearheading and shaping the environmental message and in organizing people to act. Van der Heijden *et al.* (1992) said that the combination of environmental catastrophes, publications by scientists, and the actions of organized protest groups were the preconditions for the emergence of the environmental movement in western Europe. In order to identify the most significant variables in the emergence of Quebec's environmental movement, I turned to RMT, NSM theory, and Inglehart's model.

Tilly's approach to RMT suggested the significance of the polity and Smelser's focus on structural conduciveness prompted the study of Quebec culture and society. An analysis of these macro factors showed how ENGOs were facilitated by changes in political and social structures that opened up opportunities for public interest groups. RMT's emphasis

⁹⁶ See Hayes (1959, 1981, 1985, 1987).

on resources suggested the need to look at meso-level changes. Their access to, and use of resources, explained how Quebec's ENGOs were able to become established. Micro-level variables, the focus of NSM theory and Inglehart's approach, suggested an examination of ideology, values, and grievances. These factors showed why individuals were motivated to take action on behalf of the environment. A subjective review of the results of this research lead me to propose that a combination of the following factors influenced when, why, and how organized action on behalf of the environment began in Quebec.

1. Without objective ecological problems, the environmental movement would not have emerged. The increase in severity and distribution of pollution in the province as a result of its industrialization, urbanization, and technological advances made it a 'pollution paradise', a state that could not go unnoticed nor be allowed to continue.
2. The enormous social changes that occurred during the Quiet Revolution brought Quebec into line with other postindustrial nations and made it party to the same rise in public interest groups and social movement activity. Quebec society's new pluralism, secularism, and liberalism gave the rising middle class and the large proportion of educated youth a greater say in decisions; changes, such as those on behalf of the environment, began to be initiated from the 'bottom up'.
3. Although political conditions in Quebec and Canada restricted the growth of the environmental movement in some ways, it facilitated it in others so that despite the recession and worry about separatism, ENGOs started to galvanize around pollution issues in 1970. Opportunities for the physical establishment of such associations were largely the result of the Local Initiatives Projects and Opportunities For Youth grants that became available to public interest groups after the October crisis. These monies enabled ENGOs to begin their activities with the minimum facilities required, as well as with salaries, albeit short-term, for core workers. How these groups would have fared without the grants remains a moot point.

4. The fact that students and 'housewives' had flexible schedules and could devote time to voluntary social activism, such as the protection of the environment, may have contributed to the rise of environmentalism.

5. Informal networks of like-minded people, such as the counterculture, the antinuclear movement, and health food coops, provided the movement with members, communication networks, and solidarity.

6. Leaders and core members of the movement were well-educated and dedicated to the environmental cause. They were aware of and discontent about the state of the province's environment as well as with the way society functioned, especially regarding consumerism. As part of a well-educated generation that professed postindustrial values, they had selfless ideals and felt a moral obligation to work towards improving the quality of life for themselves and their fellow human beings. Money was of little consequence. They were young, rebellious, motivated, and equipped to organize and administer SMOs. These leaders were a significant determinant in the rise of environmentalism in this province.

Quebec is a distinct society within Canada and North America. It is not surprising, therefore, that the environmental movement developed in a distinctive manner, nor that it exhibits many characteristics that are particular to this province. For example, efforts at conserving Quebec's natural resources and improving urban sanitation preceded and conditioned the contemporary environmental movement, but unlike the situation in the United States, there was a pronounced discontinuity between them in Quebec. The environmental movement in this province was a phenomenon new to the 1970s. As well, in contrast to American environmentalism, there was no wilderness or deep ecology movement. Rather, the goal of many francophone environmental leaders was a *projet de société*, based on an ideology akin to social ecology which emphasized the links between environmental issues and social problems. The environmental movement in Quebec was also distinctive because of the specific problems resulting from its geography and the perception of those problems mediated by its particular culture: hydroelectric development

by Hydro-Québec for example, was not an issue for francophones, nor was wilderness preservation a tenet of their brand of environmentalism. Air and water pollution, however, so evident in Montreal where the first ENGOs were established, were issues the groups fought energetically.

EPILOGUE

Nous ne sommes plus au début de ce mouvement un peu idéaliste, celui des écologistes qui criaient dans le désert. On a dépassé le niveau de la revendication idéaliste pour viser le pouvoir réel en travaillant sur des politiques concrètes, en demandant d'être écouté par les hommes politiques avant qu'ils ne décident. C'est ça l'évolution qui donne de l'espoir puisqu'elle montre qu'on commence à entendre partout l'appel au secours de la Terre. (Hubert Reeves cited in Corriveau & Foucault 1990, 20)

If the first half of the 1980s was not the golden age of environmentalism in Quebec, the end of the decade may have been the peak of enthusiasm to date. Several local ecological disasters involving PCBs and burning tires, as well as Hydro-Québec's Great Whale project in the James Bay, stirred up public concern for health, safety, and environmental quality. ENGOs were growing in numbers and size, recycling had become normal daily routine for most conscientious citizens, and environmental activists controlled the debate in the press by their memoirs and their participation in public forums. Founded in 1985, by 1989 Quebec's Green Party was able to present 46 candidates in the provincial election. Environmentalism was no longer the concern of a small minority of 'granolas', but a value of mainstream Quebec society. As the quote above notes, the time when environmentalists were preaching in the desert had ended.

Several years later, however, ENGO membership, government funding, volunteers, programs, and donations declined. A recession gave people new preoccupations. Furthermore, the institutionalization of environmentalism that its legitimacy engendered in the late 1980s and early '90s in Quebec meant that people thought that 'things were being taken care of'.

Although institutionalization meant that there were now political channels within which action could be taken to prevent pollution and other assaults on the environment, it also meant that government and industry could co-opt environmental ideals to promote their own interests. ENGO leaders began to be torn between a wish for autonomy, which cut them off from the decision-making power, and the wish to participate in political and

economic decisions, with all the risks of co-option that such a choice entails (Vaillancourt 1992).

Though there are fewer activists and volunteers involved in the movement in the mid-'90s, it appears that they are more profoundly implicated in their work and their actions have more substance. Environmental activists recognize the need for more cooperation among the different ENGOs as well as for coalition-forming with other social forces so that resources can be shared and so that cohesion and solidarity can enhance their actions. As well, in the event of the separation of Quebec from Canada, many *québécois* environmentalists envisage greater chances for the establishment of a *projet de société* that incorporates *écologiste* goals and that would make Quebec a model ecological society.

ENVOI

The current popular concern for the capacity of our planet to continue to sustain us is the most recent expression of the ancient human interest in, and appreciation of the natural world and of our desire to improve the surroundings in which we live. This concern for the quality of the environment reached significant proportions in the 1960s and '70s throughout North America and Europe as other new social movements were emerging. Unlike some of the others, environmentalism has endured as a vital and major social phenomenon, one that has reoriented human perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour. Nisbet (1982, 10) declared that "[w]hen the history of the twentieth century is finally written, the single most important social movement of the period will be judged to be environmentalism". Indeed, several scholars view the phenomenon as no less than a revolution (see Nicholson 1970; Pearce 1991; and Sale 1993). In Canada, only the separatist movement eclipsed it as a progressive political tendency (Paehlke 1981). Whether environmentalism remains the work of non-governmental organizations or it becomes completely integrated into conventional politics, it is likely to continue to be one of society's most pressing concerns.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEWEES

Name	ENGO	Date of Interview
1. Anonymous		04/05/94
2. Astbury, Janice*	Canadian Environmental Network (CEN)	03/02/94
3. Belisle, André	Association québécoise de lutte contre les pluies acides (AQLPA)	10/05/94
4. Biron, Reine	Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT)	21/04/94
5. Boutin, Marc	Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT)	21/04/94
6. Dansereau, Pierre		08/02/94
7. Edwards, Gordon	Canadian Coation for Nuclear Responsibility (CCNR) Survival	24/04/94
8. Fontaine, Gilles	Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT)	21/04/94
9. Girard, Michel*	Friends of the Earth, Ottawa (FoE)	15/08/93
10. Hill, Stewart		23/03/94
11. Hilton, Suzanne	Temagami Wilderness Society	19/04/94
12. Jacob, Henri	Réseau québécois des groupes écologistes	04/02/94
13. Lacombe, Pierre	Société pour vaincre la pollution (SVP)	25/04/94
14. LeSauteur, Tony	Fédération des associations pour la protection des lacs (FAPEL)	07/04/94
15. Ouimet, Jean	Parti vert du québec	31/03/94
16. Robillard, Monique	Fédération des associations pour la protection des lacs (FAPEL)	25/08/94
17. Rousopoulos, Dimitri	Ecology Montreal	01/06/94
18. Silverman, Robert	Le monde à bicyclette (MàB)	12/04/94
18. Smeethers, Edith	Nature-Action	07/04/94

19. Tanguay, François	Ami(e)s de la terre de Québec (AT) Greenpeace	29/03/94
20. Waldron, Eva	Nature-Action	13/04/94
21. Van Leeuwen, Phil*	Ecosense	10/08/93
22. Veronneau, Pierre	Association québécoise de lutte contre les pluies acides (AQLPA)	15/04/94
23. Waaub, Jean-Philippe	Les ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec (AT)	11/04/94
24. Walker, Bruce	Society to Overcome Pollution (STOP)	19/04/94

*Pilot Interviews

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

(Guidelines for a semi-structured in-depth interview)

I'm interested in finding out about the early days of the ecology or environmental movement in Quebec. Perhaps you could try to imagine yourself back in the 1970s. I'd like you to recreate some of the feelings you had about society in general, and to try to remember what your goals were and what activities you were involved in at that time. The information is part of the research for my master's thesis but your answers will remain anonymous.

PART I

I would like you to imagine that it is the early 1970s. Please try to answer the following set of questions as you would have done back then.

There was a lot of talk about what the aims of this country should be. On this card (CARD A) are some of the goals that different people would have given top priority. Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, considered most important in the early 70s?

CARD A:

1. Maintaining a high rate of economic growth.
 2. Making sure that this country has strong defense forces.
 3. Seeing that the people have more say in how things get decided at work and in their communities.
 4. Ending war and working towards peace amongst the world's nations.
- And which would have been the next most important?

Again, imagining that you are answering as you would have done in the 1970s, which one of the things on this card (CARD B) would you have said was most desirable?

CARD B:

1. Maintaining order in the nation.
2. Giving the people more say in important government decisions.
3. Fighting rising prices.
4. Protecting freedom of speech.

And what would have been your second choice?

Here is another list. (CARD C) In your opinion, which one of these was the most important to you back in the 70s.

CARD C:

1. Maintaining a stable economy.
2. Moving toward a less impersonal, more humane society.
3. The fight against crime.
4. Moving toward a society in which ideas are more important than money.

And what would you have said comes next?

Now would you please look again at all of the goals listed on these three cards together and tell me which one you would have considered the most desirable of all?

And which would have been the next most desirable?

And which one of all the aims on these cards would have been the least important from your point of view?

PART II

1. Do you consider yourself to have been part of the 'counterculture' of the late 1960s and the 1970s? (i.e., were you a 'hippie', or part of the student movement).
If so, what behaviour made you a part of that movement?

2. Did you feel there were some things wrong with society at that time?
If so, what were some of the grievances you had with society as you saw and experienced it then?

On this card (CARD D) are some aspects of modern society that were being criticized in the 1970s.

Please tell me, from the outlook you had back then, which problems you thought were the most serious. You can answer by indicating which of the following you saw as very serious, somewhat serious, or not serious.

CARD D:

1. inequalities between the rich and the poor
 2. rise in the cost of living
 3. increasing government bureaucracy
 4. corruption of some major institutions
 5. undisciplined and unmotivated youth
 6. destruction of the environment
 7. society's increasing faith in science and technology
 8. rise in drug trafficking
 9. rise in materialism and consumerism
 10. breakdown of the traditional family
 11. intrusiveness of government in private life
 12. inequalities between men and women
3. Were you a member of any of the following:
 -a conservation or wildlife and wilderness protection society,
 -a natural history club,
 -a bird watching society,
 -a hunter's or
 -fishermen's organization?
 If so, which one(s)?
4. Did you pursue any of the following outdoor activities. Please answer with 'often', 'sometimes', or 'never':
 -hiking,
 -camping,
 -cross-country skiing or
 -other wilderness recreation?
5. Did you 'return to the land'
 -or start a garden?
6. Did you or your parents own a cottage where you spent weekends and holidays?
7. When did you first become concerned about environmental problems?
 What prompted that concern?
 Which environmental problems were you particularly aware of?

- Did the problem affect you personally?
- If so, in what way(s)?

8. Were you, in the 1970s, in any way involved with what is now called the 'environmental' or the 'ecology' movement'?

Did you, for instance, belong to some club or organization (perhaps on a university campus) that sought to make the public more aware of pollution, to recycle, or to press for legislation to protect the environment? (If not, skip to #10)

If so, what was its name
and where was it situated?

What environmental issue(s) was the group involved with? (i.e., urban pollution, waste management, wildlife conservation etc.)

What form of commitment did you make to the group?

- Did you pay a membership fee?
- Did you donate money?
- Did you work for the organization on a voluntary basis
- and if so about how many hours of work did you do a month?
- Were you a paid employee and if so,
- what was your position?

Which of the following reasons influenced your decision to become involved in an environmental organization:

1. I had some free time
2. A friend encouraged me to join in
3. I wanted to do something worthwhile
4. Other?

9. Were you, in the 1970s or earlier, part of any other social movement that was actively trying to change society or its institutions and activities?

(For instance, the movement against the Vietnam war, movements for peace, nuclear disarmament, feminist, gay or animal rights, civil rights, student's or poor people's rights, the separatist movement, urban groups (groupes communautaires))

If so, what protest movement were you involved in?

What was your level of participation?

-Were you a paying member of a non-governmental organization (NGO) that was active in that social movement?

-If so, which one?

-or were you an employee of an NGO?

-Did you participate in any demonstrations, such as sit-ins, or rallies to support the group or the movement? - or was your role more that of a sympathetic observer?

10. Do you remember Earth Day 1970?

Did you participate in any celebration of the event?

11. How often did you obtain information about environmental problems from the following sources? - please answer with 'never', 'sometimes', or 'often'

newspapers, magazines
 television
 radio
 discussion with people at work
 discussion with friends, family
 discussion with fellow students
 books, journals
 lectures, meetings
 special publicity by interested groups

12. Did you read any of the writings of Henry David Thoreau or John Muir or were you familiar with their or any other naturalist's or early environmentalist's ideals? (Grey Owl? Aldo Leopold? Ralph Waldo Emerson?).

What about French Canadian figures such as Frère Marie-Victorin and Pierre Dansereau? If so, what or whose philosophy most inspired you?

13. Did you read any of the following in the 1970s or 80s

- Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*,
- Barry Commoner's *The Closing Circle*,
- Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb*,
- Shumaker's *Small is Beautiful* and/or
- Frances Moore-Lappé's *Diet for a Small Planet*

If so, how did these writings influence you?

14. Were you familiar with any of the following magazines? Please answer by indicating whether you read them often, sometimes or never:

Mainmise,
le Répertoire québécois des outils planétaires,
Transitions,
le Noyau,
Informations (Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec),
Biosphère ,
Harrowsmith,
Organic Gardening ?

PART III

1. In what year were you born?
2. Are you the first born of your parent's children?
3. Were you still living with your parents in the early 70s?
4. Was your home
 - in a city,
 - a suburb,
 - a small town or
 - in the country?
5. What was your father's occupation at that time?
6. Was your mother employed full time
 - employed part time
 - a housewife

If employed, what was her occupation?

7. What level of education did your parents have?

Mother

Father

8. Were either of you parents activists? If so, for what cause?

9. In the 1970s, which bracket would you put your family in?

-working class,

-lower middle class,

-upper middle class,

- or upper class?

10. Were you attending university in the early 70s? (If not, skip to #12)

If so, what were you studying?

11. Did your parents pay for your university education?

12. How many years of schooling did you have by 1980?

13. If you were working, what was your job?

14. What was your general political leaning?

15. Were you actively involved in any political party (at any level of government)?

16. Do you remember how the Cold War affected you?

17. Do you remember how the 1973 energy crisis affected you?

That completes this section of the interview. Would you be able to give me the names of some other people who were active in the environmental movement in the 70s whom I might interview?

PART IV The following questions are to be asked of staff members of environmental groups that were active in the 1970s:

I am interested in obtaining some data pertaining to your environmental group as it existed when it was founded and in its early years. Does your group have any archival material you would be willing to let me look at? Perhaps you, or someone else who was 'there' at the beginning could answer the few remaining questions.

1. In what year was the group founded?

Who initiated it?

2. How was the group funded?

Did it have any financial support from outside institutions such as

-the government (grants),

-businesses,

-churches or

-corporate foundations?

Did it receive any charitable donations?

Was it mostly funded by member's contributions?

3. Who did the work
- volunteers,
 - paid staff, or
 - both

4. About how many core members did it start out with?

I am interested in finding out about the rate of increase in membership of the organization over the 1970s and 80s. Do you have any statistics regarding membership numbers that I could see?

5. How were members recruited?

6. Did members pay a fee and if so, how much was it?

7. Were members expected to participate in any way?

- did they attend meetings,
- do any voluntary work,
- recruit more members?

8. What benefits did members receive by belonging to the group, apart from a belief that their environmental concerns were going to be addressed by your organization?

- Did they receive any publications,
- were there any social activities organized that might have attracted them?
- were there any other 'tangible' incentives to join?

9. On a scale of 1 - 10, could you say how well organized the group was in its first few years?

Did it operate democratically?

Did it have a board of directors?

Who made the decisions?

10. Did your group belong to any umbrella group or coalitions? If so, which one(s)?

PART V Questions to be addressed to those activists who are willing to share some of their insights and opinions about the rise of Quebec's environmental movement:

1. How, and how much was the movement's emergence in Quebec influenced by the environmental movements in the United States and in the rest of Canada?

2. In what ways do you think Quebec's movement was distinctive or unique?

3. Did the movement here begin 'later' in comparison to the ones in the United States, in British Columbia or in Ontario? If you had to indicate the year in which Quebec's environmental movement was at its peak, when would that have been? Why?

4. Do you think that the emergence of a protest movement to protect the environment in Quebec was hampered by the existence of the separatist movement?

Did both movements compete for the same support base (among the student and youth population, for instance)?

4. How much did the language issue affect the movement?

How much did French and English speaking environmental leaders mingle and share their concerns, their knowledge, and their resources?

Did French and English speaking environmental groups work together or did they go their separate ways?

Were the issues both language groups addressed the same or was there some sort of division of interests?

Did the two language groups divide the issues they addressed on a geographical basis?

5. Could you comment on the significance of Hydro-Quebec to the environmental movement in this province?

6. Do you think that Quebec's preoccupation with industrializing and 'catching up' with the rest of North America during the Quiet Revolution accounts in part for environmental concerns coming 'late' to this province?

7. Are there any other comments you would like to make about the emergence of Quebec's environmental movement?

Thank you for your cooperation and for your time.

APPENDIX 3

SUGGESTED READING

The Environmental Movement Worldwide

For a comprehensive history focusing on the western world see Nicholson (1970; 1987). Pearce (1991) portrayed of the world's foremost environmentalists and their causes. See also Van der Heijden *et al.* (1992).

Environmental Philosophy and Ethics

See, for example, Glacken (1956; 1967); Leiss (1972); Merchant (1980); Thomas (1983); Pepper (1984); Hargrove (1989); Oelschlaeger (1991); and Wall (1994). Davis (1989) compiled a bibliography of literature pertaining to environmental philosophy.

Attitudes Towards Nature and Wilderness in North America

For works that examine the history of changing attitudes towards wilderness in North America (culminating in modern environmental thought) see Huth (1972); Ekirch (1963); Schmitt (1969); Nash (1973); and Marx (1981).

The Conservation Movement

See Bates (1957); Hays (1959); Udall (1963); Worster (1973); Moneyhon (1980); and Stegner (1992). See also McCloskey (1972); Fox (1981) and Koppes (1988). Burton (1972); Foster (1978); and Dubasak (1990) provide histories of conservation in Canada and Hébert (1991) has portrayed conservation efforts in Quebec.

The Contemporary Environmental Movement in North America

See Petulla (1980); Kuzmiak (1991); and Dunlap and Mertig (1992). There has been a recent spate of literature - Gottlieb (1993); Merchant (1993); Mowrey and Redmond (1993); Sale (1993); and Shabecoff (1993). As yet, there is a dearth of material about the history of the Canadian environmental movement. Articles by Macdonald (1991) and Wilson (1992) sketch its evolution. Vaillancourt (1979; 1981; 1982; 1985a; 1985b; 1987a; 1987b; and 1992) has examined Quebec's environmental movement since its beginning and Mattei and Moreau (1983) and Corriveau and Foucault (1990) provide brief descriptions of its characteristics. Boileau (1976), Gignac (1982), and Harnois (1986) researched different aspects of Quebec ENGOS.

The Contemporary Environmental Movement in Europe

See Van der Heijden *et al.* (1992) for a sketch of the development of the environmental movement in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. See also Jamison (1990) who compared the environmental movements in Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands. See Capra and Spretnak (1984) and Frankland and Schoonmaker (1992) for the history, beliefs, goals, actions, and influence of Germany's Green Party. Dominick (1992) documented the historical roots of Germany's environmental movement, exploring, among other things, the links between the nature protection movement and the Nazis. Bennahmias and Roche (1992) chronicled the history of the Ecology Party in France. See Pronier and le Seigneur (1992) for a history of the French environmental movement focusing on its foremost activists.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AT -	Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec
BAPE -	Bureau d'audience publique
CARC -	Canadian Arctic Resources Committee
CCNR -	Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility
CEGEP -	Colléges d'éducation générale et professionnel
CEN -	Canadian Environmental Network
CQDP -	Coalition québécoise pour la désarmement et la paix
CQE -	Conseil québécois de l'environnement
CSN -	Confédération des syndicats nationaux
ENGO -	Environmental Non-Governmental Organization
ENJEU -	ENvironnement JEunesse
FAPEL -	Fédération des associations pour la protection de l'environnement des lacs
FCAN -	Front commun antinucléaire
FCAR -	Fonds pour la formation de chercheurs et l'aide à la recherche
FLQ -	Front de liberation du Québec
FoE -	Friends of the Earth
FRAP -	Front d'action politique des salariés
FQF -	Fédération québécoise de la faune
IUCN -	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
LIP -	Local Initiatives Project
MàB -	Le Monde à bicyclette
MAB -	Mouvement pour une agriculture biologique
MRPDQ -	Mouvement régional pour la paix et le désarmement, région de Québec.
NGO -	Non-Governmental Organization
NPPA -	National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada
NSM -	New Social Movement Theory

- OFY - Opportunities for Youth
- PAEQ - Programme d'assainissement des eaux du Québec
- PIL - Project d'initiative local
- PJ - Perspectives jeunesse
- REQ - Regroupement écologique québécois
- RMT - Resource Mobilization Theory
- RQPE - Regroupement québécois pour l'environnement
- SMO - Social Movement Organization
- SPE - Services de protection de l'environnement
- STCUM - Société de transport de la communauté urbaine de Montréal
- STOP - Society to Overcome Pollution
- SVP - Société pour vaincre la pollution
- UQCN - Union québécois pour la conservation de la nature
- WWF - World Wildlife Fund

GLOSSARY OF FRENCH TERMS

(as applied in this thesis)

Écologie: the science of ecology.

Écologisme: a politicized approach to environmentalism that derives its inspiration from ecology: it is a "holistic kind of politics" (Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec 1986, 140). It is the theory and practice of those environmentalists who try to bring about concrete but radical solutions to environmental problems by changing political, social, economic, cultural, and environmental aspects of society (Chamberland 1983; Vaillancourt 1985a; Gagnon 1991). In short, "L'écologisme, c'est la conséquence social et politique de l'écologie" (Gagnon 1991, 97).

Écologiste: a person who promotes *écologisme* : s/he is an adherent to, or activist in the political and social movement dedicated to protecting the environment and to changing society (Académie française 1992). Thus the English term ecologist is not the equivalent of *écologiste* and scientists of ecology are not necessarily *écologistes* and vice versa (Vaillancourt 1985a, 37).

Écologue: an ecologist, a scientist who studies ecology (Collin & Schuwer 1992).

Environnementalisme: a term probably derived from the English word. There is some controversy over its meaning (Gagnon 1991). Usually it refers to a more moderate and conservative approach to environmental protection than the radical and politically-oriented *écologisme* (Vaillancourt 1985a). Many *écologistes* dislike being called *environmentalistes* because they associate environmentalism with technocentrism (see Chapter Two).

Écolos: the diminutive of *écologistes*. It is used by both insiders and observers of the movement. Critics employ the term in a pejorative sense: it has the connotation that *écologistes* are unrealistic fanatics, 'freaks', 'tree-huggers' or *oiseaules* who are totally disconnected from reality (Vaillancourt 1985b, 8). One journalist noted that *écolos* are sometimes thought of as "une bande de marginaux farfelus, inoffensif, brouteurs de nuages et poétiques marchands d'utopies" (Lussier 1984, A7).

Mouvement écologiste: the term most frequently used to refer to Quebec's environmental movement. This is difficult to translate into English; it cannot be rendered 'the ecology' or 'ecological' movement, which would translate as *mouvement écologique*. To simplify matters, this thesis uses the word environmentalism to cover the broad range of environmental ideologies and the term environmental movement to include all ENGOs, whether *écologiste*, *environnementaliste*, or *vert* in their approach.

Projet de société: literally means 'social project'. This term refers to the goal of *écologisme* : a restructured society, an *écosociété*. The exact nature of the new society varies according to the individual or the ENGO that advocates it. Les Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec, influenced by the more-or-less socialist vision of Michel Jurdant, formulated a coherent idea of the features of their *projet de société*. It is based on the principles of diversity, self-discipline, moderation, and equality. Two of its fundamental tenets are that science and technology cannot solve humanity's problems - only new ways of living can - and that 'to be' is more important than 'to have' (see Jurdant 1984b; Ami(e)s de la Terre de Québec 1986).

Verts: usually signifies a political party although *vert* ('green') can simply allude to environmental consciousness or to the fact that something is benign to the environment.

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