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Environmental social movement and environmental policy in Chile

- An analysis of the identity of the environmental social movement and its role in constructing environmental policy in Chile

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the identity of the Chilean environmental movement in relation to the Chilean nation-state. The theme is discussed through theories of social constructivism, identity and social movements. Of central focus is to discuss the role of the environmental movement in constructing environmental policy and in relation to national identity. The thesis draws on empirical material based on interviews and other data collected in Chile during 1.6-31-8.2004.

The identity of the Chilean social movement is constructed both in relation and against the national identity of Chile. While the movement is eager to emphasize its criticality and independence from the state, the movement's main causes are related to those on the policy-agenda of the Chile. Of particular relevance for the movement is to get the voices of the civil society and the movement itself better heard. The following are among the most important goals of the movement: improving the institutions, open dialogue, and educating the civil society to take more responsibility for itself.

Keywords: identity, social movement, Chile, environment

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FOREWORD

In early 2004 I got a place for stagier for three months at the Finnish Embassy of Santiago de Chile. When my family and I landed at the airport of Santiago de Chile in the summer of 2004, we were right in the middle of the environmental problems of Santiago. The air was thick and hard to breath. From the first day on and during our whole stay, the Santiago smog was our daily nuisance. It made us to mainly stay inside and to escape Santiago for the weekends in order to clean our lungs. It made us seriously wonder the consequences of human action on the environment. How was it possible that five million people actually lived in the area of Santiago? And more importantly why did the problem exist in the first place? This experience made me search for the people who were actually trying to do something about the problem, the Chilean environmental NGOs, and in the end also made me write this thesis.

I would like to thank the Finnish Embassy for helping me to establish the relevant contacts for writing this thesis. Particularly I would like to thank Ambassador Pekka Korvenheimo and Pirjo Suomela-Chowdhury for their fruitful comments and their positive attitude towards my idea. And I would also like to thank the Embassy secretary Eija, who helped me to establish the necessary contacts. And I would also like to thank all the NGOs and other persons, who participated in the interviews. Writing this thesis has been a long road, so I would like to thank my supervisor Bo Petersson for his comments and patience. I would also like to thank my family and particularly my husband for encouraging me to get this thesis over and done with and for taking care of our two children when I have been writing.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Started at Pinochet time in the 1980's and continuing today the liberal economic policy is both giving Chile prosperity and causing serious environmental problems. In nutshell the laissez-faire model of Chile is giving power to market forces and favouring foreign trade. (Silva 1997) The economic achievements are clear. Chile is known to be one of the most developed countries of Latin America. Among other things Chile is often praised for fast economic growth of real GDP (2004 6,1%). (Country report Chile) It is also known for well-developed democracy and lowest corruption rates of the region. (<http://www.latinbusinesschronicle.com>) (www.transparency.org) Compared to other Latin American countries these achievements are significant. However the downside of the neoliberal economic model is a weak state with little power to deal with the environmental consequences of the chosen policy. Nationally Chile faces many unsolved environmental problems among them the smog of Santiago, ecological effects of mines and excess use of forest and water. (Weyland (1999)) Also the use of energy could be more efficient. (Piña & Bravo 25.8.2004) In some international issue areas such as the Montreal Protocol, the Chilean state has played an active role however. Chile does also participate in many international agreements such as Cites and Treaty on Biodiversity (Carruthers 2001, Sapag 15.7.2004)

Ramiro Riobe, head of the environmental department of Chile's foreign ministry, says that "In general Chile is selective and does not want to mix economic themes with the environmental ones" (Riobo 16.6.2004). Seeing the economy and the environment as separate and giving the economy priority over the environment were ideas often expressed in the Chilean newspapers as well. Environmental issues were mentioned less than ten times during the time I was following the debate. The articles on environment were mainly about the conservation of forests and environmental activists (El Mercurio 26.6.2004, 20.6.2004, El Financiero 14.6.2004) These examples show environment is not just something physical, but also something very conceptual. Our ideas about the environment and its importance are bound to our culture and transmitted to us from our previous generations. And it is these ideas that guide our action towards the environment. (Humphrey & Buttel 1982) Another idea that seems to be deeply rooted in the Chilean way of thinking, at least among the elite, is that economic growth brings prosperity. (Carruthers 1991)

In a society people share ideas about how the world is constructed and it is these ideas that unify them. These shared ideas form part of the national identity, seen as the main form of a collective identity for the members of a society. (Hall (1999) Ch. 2) However the national identity is not the only collective form of identity that the members of a society share. Some alternative identities emerge to question the existing political order

that is expressed and enforced by the political elites of the country. Social movements represent the mobilization of these alternative identities. Social movements can be defined as collective action to achieve broad changes in the society. (Touraine(1981) Ch5)) The Chilean environmental movement is a social movement, that represents an alternative identity. It has emerged to give voice to the Chilean environmental problems and to demand for change. Central for its purpose is to seek for solutions for the current and eventual future environmental problems of Chile.

1.1 Purpose and limitations

In this thesis my aim is to analyse the identity of Chilean environmental movement in relation to the Chilean nation-state. I want to give new insights about social movements role in constructing environmental policy and their identity in relation to national identity.

To answer my purpose, the main research questions of this thesis is the following:

What is the role of the environmental social movement in constructing environmental policy in Chile?

Two sub-questions of the main question can be phrased as follows:

a) How does the identity of the Chilean environmental movement relate to the Chilean national identity?

b) How is the identity of the environmental movement put in action?

The analysis is based on theories of social constructivism, identity and social movements. The thesis is mainly limited to nation-wide non-governmental organizations (NGOs) representing the environmental social movement in Chile. I will study the identity construction from the movement's point of view. An individual activist's and policy-maker's view is therefore given less attention. The relation of the environmental movement to the global environmental movement will be discussed only shortly. The internal differences of the environmental movement in defining what is environment will not be discussed here. I will not go into detail either in discussing what ways of acting the movement uses e.g. projects, campaigns or lobbying.

1.2 Method and empirical material

One of the main methods of data collection for this thesis are the interviews made in Chile in the period of 1.6-31.8.2004. I chose to use interviews, because I wanted to get close to the organizations core. In identity studies an interview is an acknowledged research method. (Petersson (2003)) The duration of an interview was between half an hour and an hour. The organizations were chosen using mainly relevance, getting as wide sample as possible and to some extent even availability as criteria for choosing the organizations. Thus I made interviews with representatives of ministries, companies, social movements, a journalist and a few researchers. All these interviews have shaped my view on the subject, even if not directly referred here. However it should be mentioned that the most relevant interviews for the purposes of this thesis are those with the ministries and the NGOs. The other ones have more of a supporting function in this context and were more relevant for a more general paper I wrote for the Finnish Embassy of Chile on environmental issues in Chile. (Ympäristöraportti (2004))

On my first week at the embassy I agreed with the Ambassador Pekka Korvenheimo that I could collect material for my own purposes and also write a general report about Chile and environmental issues for the embassy. The embassy helped me to establish interview contacts otherwise impossible in short times notice, because contacts matter a great deal in Chile. The name of the embassy helped me to create an environment of confidence and trust for the interviews. The consequence of this arrangement for the data collection is that I have met the informants in a double role, both as a student and as a representant for the embassy. I was always careful about telling of my role, but chose to emphasize different sides of it depending on the situation. The embassy role was naturally strong in the meetings with the ministries and companies. With the social movements and other less formal organizations, I chose to be less formal and emphasize my role as a student. All the interviews took place at the premises of the respective organization. The interviews were semi-structured, which means that the basic themes were the same, but modified to fit the respective organization's context. (Blee & Taylor (2002)) After all identities are context bound, so for them to come up in the interview a contextual approach is needed. (Petersson (2003)) Most of the interviews were later transcribed. Unfortunately it was not possible to record the interviews with all parties. In appendix 1 one can find an example of an interview guide and in appendix 2 an example of an interview.

One of the main challenges with the interviews was to handle the interview situation in Spanish. Although my Spanish is good it was at the beginning difficult to tackle all the central concepts in the area. However my ability to tackle the interview in Spanish improved significantly after the first two interviews. The other main difficulty was to manage the balance between the interests of the embassy and my own. I tried to solve

this problem by posing open questions and then asking further questions to specify if necessary. The other issue with language is that, language is also about a certain way of expressing things. Even if I have tried to be careful, my cultural background might have influenced some of the interpretations I have made. (Rosengren & Arvidson (2001) Ch 8)

Newspaper articles were taken from the newspapers the embassy subscribed. The main Chilean newspapers are El Mercurio and business newspapers La Tercera and El Financiero. Unfortunately all of these three newspapers can be classified as “right wing” and they do not thus give a wide overview about the political issues in Chile. Since alternative newspapers were hard to find and I got additional material through the interviews I chose to concentrate on these newspapers. My method of sampling was to choose articles of relevance from environmental point of view. To get a wide sample I used rather broad criteria. These articles have influenced my view on Chilean environmental politics and function as some kind of background information for this thesis.

1.3 Theoretical approach

In this thesis theory is used as a support tool to discuss the empirical material collected in Chile. The theoretical framework is based on theories of social constructivism, identity and social movements. I found this combination of theoretical approaches as necessary for the purposes of this thesis and to describe and discuss the data collected in Chile. Social constructivism is merely used as a background theory that has influenced my choices within the other realms. It has also given the basic assumptions of the nature of reality. The reality is seen to be socially constructed, where the material structures are merely seen as products of the social world (Wendt 1995). All material and nonmaterial expressions of the environmental social movement are social constructs in that sense that they could not exist without the people involved in emphasizing them. The action of the movement is constructed by the identifications the people involved make of themselves. We act like who we are. These self identifications, identities, arise in situations of interaction and are thereby both socially constructed and constructive (Petersson 5.9.2002.)

The empirical material influenced my choice to discuss environmental identity in relation to national identity in this thesis. I found that identity issues were something very relevant for the social movement. The movement seemed to be both related and wanting to distance itself from the Chilean nation state. The other reason was that a social movement's identity in relation to national identity has not been researched much. It has been more popular to discuss the politics of identity in the movements seeking for recognition for their identity e.g. gays, women and ethnic groups. The

environmental social movement does not fall into this category, since it is more about seeking recognition for a cause than for an individual's identity. (Gutman (2003) Ch1)

Other theories on social movements are used to highlight the special characters of social movements. These characters as e.g. the more ad hoc and less institutionalized form of the movement, the issue of being a contra power to elites, networks and so on are of importance, because they are expressions of the identity of the movement.

1.4 Disposition

Above I have defined the purpose of this thesis, given some methodological remarks and shortly presented and motivated my theoretical choices. In the following chapters I first discuss the theories used in this thesis more thoroughly (Ch 2). Then I discuss the environmental policy context of Chile (Ch 3). After that I talk about the identity of the environmental social movement (Ch 4). Thereafter I move to discuss the environmental social movement in action (Ch 5). Next follows discussion on the role of the environmental movement in constructing environmental policy in Chile (Ch 6). Lastly I summarize the previous discussion and make some conclusions.

2. COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT

In this chapter I will present the theoretical frames of this thesis.

2.1 Bases of a collective identity

Usually political science talks about national identity as the main source of a shared identity a “we” in contrast to “them”, the others not sharing the identity. (Hall 1999, p. 12) National identity is one kind of collective identity and is based on shared values, history and cultural background. This “we” or merely our understanding of it and the feelings we attach to it is what makes us human beings and what bounds us to our group. (Peterson 5.9.2002) At the bottom of the “we”, one can find societal beliefs that are “enduring beliefs shared by society members, with contents that are perceived by society members as characterizing their society”. (Bartal 2000, p.39) These beliefs are lasting, since they are maintained both by various institutions of the society and in the minds of the people. It is these beliefs that help us to believe that there is a “we” and make citizens of a country to be a nation. They are enduring because they are long lasting. (ibid) Consequently identities should be seen in a historical context. (Miller 1995, Ch 1) For Chile e.g. the faith in economic growth as a sign of well doing is a kind of a societal belief. It has historical roots in Chile’s liberal trade policies nearly throughout the whole 20th century. (Villalobos 1996 Ch Ch 7-9). It is based both on true experiences of prosperity and myths of growth. It is partially a myth since it is used to explain the fate of Chile, even if not all parts of the society are experiencing the welfare brought by the growth. (Schöpflin 1997 p.25)

A person can not choose his national identity. It is something that becomes a part of him through a process of socialization. Socialization can be defined as the process where a human being learns the relevant cultural norms and rules in interaction with the members and institutions of his society. (Bartal 2002, Ch4)) We also construct our reality socially. The social construction takes places within and in between us. So both the collective and the individual identity construct each other. The reality in turn is a construct of human deeds, where the material structures are the products of social action. This means that the material concepts like water and copper get their meaning when defined socially. (Hall 1999, p.35) (Wendt 1995 p.73) Consequently also such material products as the institutions e.g. parliament and laws are products of social action. The role of institutions is to both legitimize and help to maintain the national identity to last. They reproduce the national identity through maintenance of laws,

norms and political culture of a country. In the case of Chile the institutions of the state can be thought to represent the upholding power for the societal beliefs. And the political elites, the people fulfilling the institutional reproductive work, are those who construct and enforce the dominant interpretation of the national identity. Evidently the institutions can exist only because people identify themselves with them through their societal beliefs in their collective national identity. (Bar Tal 2000 Ch 2, Hall 1999, Ch 2). Here I will use the term political elite in a broad way, it is anybody who the movement perceives to hold political power in Chile.

However not all individuals share the same interpretation of the national identity, or otherwise alternative identities would not emerge. Some do feel strong sense for nationality and others not. (Calhoun, 1998 p.13). On an individual level this means that an individual can simultaneously have many different identities that are dependent on the context where he is acting. (Hall 1999, Ch1) On the collective level this means that there is a group of people who mutually identify that they share something. Usually when talking about identity movements they share an idea of who they are. When it comes to the environmental movement the identity is more about an interest about what the people involved want. (Gutman 2003, Ch1) The goals of the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) differ, but their main interest remains the same to preserve and restore or enhance the natural environment. (Wikipedia) It is as part of this group that the individual activists can express their wishes and also form new world order.(Della porta & Diani 1999, p.95)

It is natural that alternative identities appear and that some identities come to dominate others. Assuming that the state is a democracy as Chile is and the alternative identities are not expressed via violent means (terrorism) a democratic state must tolerate these identities. And so Chile has. (Thörn 2002, Jabri 1996, Ch 5). Research shows that alternative collective identity in terms of we =the ingroup, the others= the outgroup develop easily when people are divided into groups. (Klandermans 1997, p. 41)These alternative identities become of political relevance when an Other has been identified and is held responsible for the condition of an us. Having an other is a necessary constraint for the identity of the environmental social movement. Creating a sense of an other is seeing the other part in a monolithic way. This stereo typifying helps to formulate the own identity. The environmental movement needs an existing political order to define itself against and to create visions about a 'better future'. So it can be claimed that to some extent the We of the environmental movement is constructed against the dominant national identity enforced by the political elites of Chile. (Taylor & Whittier 1992, Jabri 1996, Ch5). However it should be remembered that the activists of the movement do as members of the Chilean society share many societal beliefs included in the Chilean national identity. The parts were they differ are in centre for the action of the movement.

2.2 Identity and action

Collective action creates change and involves a group of actors. Action can not be reduced to discuss only the strategies these group of actors create in one specific power relation. This approach does not take into account all the other possible relations in place. The actors shouldn't either be seen as helpless and unable to influence their situation within their society. (Touraine 1981 Ch 4 Ch, Cohen (1985)). The identity perspective helps to understand the construction of action in a social context.

The construction of an identity is a social process, that is related to time and space. Thus the construction of collective action is also related to a political historical context of a country. (Calhoun 1994) The action of the movement is constructed by the identifications the people involved make of themselves. (Petersson 5.9.2002.) Meaning that the actors in the NGOs do already share some form of collective identity when acting together. If the movement fails to create a collective identity, it will not be able to mobilize collective action either. (Klandermans 1992) And this identity is related to other identities via the forming of a sense of a we and an other. It is both about seeking recognition for the own identity and simultaneously about differentiating oneself from this other. Thus relationships to other organizations are of relevance for action. (Touraine 1981, Della Porta & Diani 1999, Ch4) But the relationship of identity and action is more complex than this. Since identity construction is a continuous process and since identity consequently changes over time, it is important to understand that the collective identity of the environmental social movement changes continuously in action. This construction implies that the action makes some parts of the collective identity stronger and vanishes others. (Hirsch 1990)

A social movement can choose from various different ways of acting within a political context. Existing political opportunities may influence this choice. More dialogue like forms of actions are likely to be chosen when there are political opportunities available and more radical protest like if not. (Hilson 2002) Clearly the current political context is of matter for the choice of strategy for the movement. However perhaps even more important is how the activists of the movement perceive their opportunities to be. (Klandermans (1997) Ch7) The evaluation might be influenced by the background of the activist and the cause of the movement. Sometimes the chosen action can also be a statement for an identity, not necessarily having much to do with what is most effective for reaching a certain goal. (Kleinmann 1996 in Polletta) Also such situational factors as the opposition the movement expects it will confront, may influence the form of action that is chosen. (Bernstein 1997)

2.3 Environmental movement as a social movement

Before discussing the environmental movement, we should discuss what the concept environment is about. It is a rather broad concept that includes all “the physical and material bases of all life, including land, air, water as well as the vital material and energy resources in the surroundings of a society” (Humphrey & Buttel 1995 p. 190) As already mentioned our ways of looking at the environment is something that is defined culturally and that becomes part of us via a process of socialization. (ibid) These as other ideas of ourselves form part of the societal beliefs of a society. (Bartal 2002)

Dwivedi describes the environmental movement as the envelope that includes all the actors representing different socially constructed ideas and strategies about what do about problems with the environment. (Dwivedi (2001) I find his definition useful for this thesis, because he emphasizes the importance of social construction for the definition for the environmental problem. It is also good, because it relates the environmental movement to the environmental problems, that are at the centre for its purpose of being. The environmental thinkers can be divided in their relation to how they view the environment. To illustrate the differences shortly I will use the same categorization that Carruthers uses in his article. Conservationists want to preserve the environment in the state that it is and are concentrated on protecting species. They often have scientific background and are usually considered to be moderate. Environmentalists aim for broader policy changes and address environmental issues by bringing up economic, social and political issues also. They may be both reformist and critical in their way of addressing. Ecologists consider the ecological crisis broadly and bring up such issues as social justice and alternative suggestions for how the policy should be planned. (Carruthers 1999, p 352-354).

When talking about the environmental social movement and social movements in general it is central to understand the difference between the concepts of Non Governmental Organization (NGO) and Social Movement. According to Håkan Thörn one of the main differences is that NGOs often have a democratic purpose for their existence, where as social movements do not necessarily share this goal. Another difference is that the term NGO refers to a single nongovernmental organization such as e.g. Greenpeace. As the term ‘envelope’ suggest the term Social Movement is better applied to describe the whole environmental movement. (Thörn 2002, Ch 5) In this thesis the environmental movement will be discussed both as united and in its parts.

Another character often attached to the environmental movement is the global character of the movement. The environmental movement is often described by the slogan “think global act local”. The global context of the movement comes partially from the trans-boundary nature of the environmental problems and partially from having better

possibilities to influence nationally when having global support as a group (Steve Yearley 1994, p- 158-163) (Thörn 2002 Ch5). The eventual international connections may influence the movements identity and relation to national forces and is therefore of relevance to discuss in this paper.

2.4 Summary of the theoretical framework

Identity is about who we are and who we are not. The national identity is learned in a process of socialization and is usually seen as the basic source of our identity. The national identity includes societal beliefs, that are shared by the members of the society and forms a sense of an “us” in the minds of the people. An us is often contrasted to an other, to something that we are not. National identity is not the only identity that can be shared. Individuals can share alternative identities to the dominant national identity that is enforced by the elites. These collective identities matter, when they are mobilized against the dominant identity. Social movements are expressions of alternative identities and act in order to achieve political change. The chosen means the movement uses differ on the political opportunities available. The meaning of environment is defined culturally. The environmental social movement is an ‘envelope’ term for all different kinds of social constructs of what to do about environmental problems. It consists of different NGOs.

3. INSTITUTIONS AND POLICY IN CHILE

Before discussing the identity and action of the Chilean environmental movement closer, I want to give the reader some relevant background information about the Chilean legal-institutional context. I find this information helpful to the reader in the chapters that follow thereafter.

3.1 Environmental problems as problems of neoliberal policies

Pinochet first introduced the neoliberalism to Chile. He created a minimalist state that favours liberal trade policy. This model implies that the maximum power is given to the market and only little power is left to the state. (Weyland 1999) To liberal trade policy is included having open borders for foreign trade. It is the foreign trade based on natural resources that has been the main benefit of this model for Chile, because it has brought prosperity to the country. This is perhaps one of the reasons for why the economic model still continues to exist in Chile, despite that Pinochet was relinquished of power 1991 (Chile Review 2003). In many ways neoliberal economic policy has brought wealth to Chile as the GDP growth of Chile is highest in Latin America.

In Chile the economic success has created a sense of self-confidence and continues to make many Chileans thankful to the former dictator. (Carruthers 1999) However there are also people who disagree, since the economic model is mainly based on trade on natural resources and especially copper. If the demand of these resources or the reserves of them, as copper eventually will, the Chilean economy is likely to face significant problems. In the current form the wealth creation is mainly dependent up on producing more. For the economy to grow, the country must increase its production and use of natural resources, which poses stress on the environment. (Larrain 2001)(Weyland 1999))

Then there is also the intensive use of natural resources, particularly water by the fisheries and the forests that is considered to be a problem. (Bradbury 1993, Silva 1997) Current and future problems with raw materials are not the only serious environmental problem in Chile. For instance the inefficiency of energy use can easily be illustrated with the relation of GDP and use of energy. For the Chilean GDP to grow 6,3% between 1991-2001 a 5,3% increase in use of fuel and 8,3% increase in the use of electricity was needed. (Rojas 2003) In the Northern Chile the numerous mines and the areas destroyed by mines are the main environmental problem. In the capital area of Santiago the primary environmental problem is the smog. Santiago is the second

polluted city of Latin America, right after Mexico City. Both the geographic conditions and the pollution from households, industries and public transport contribute to the problem. So the very same sources of income bring both prosperity and environmental problems to the country.

It is partially due to the neoliberal economical policies that these environmental problems have been created. The focus on trade liberalization has created an atmosphere of trade at any cost. This in combination with the state lacking tools for enforcement to tackle environmental problems is one of the main causes of the Chilean environmental problems. (Silva 1997) However as we dig deeper also the Chilean political culture can be argued to have contributed to the problem. There remains a strong polarization between the cupula and the rest of the population of Chile. The cupula is Latin American name for the political elites of a strongly elitistically lead democracy. Another term for this form of democracy could be 'pacted democracy'. In this political model relationships matter more than anything else. The political elite of Chile is a small group of people that continues to define the official political agenda. This kind of structure makes it difficult to bring new ideas to the political agenda. It has also been demonstrated that the elite tends to reconstruct the existing order of neoliberalistic politics. The cupula existed in Chile already before Pinochets time. So elitism has long roots in the Chilean political culture. (Carruthers 1999, Leiva & Petras & Veltmeyer (1994)) Unlike Argentina Chile lacks a strong contra power to elites among its people, that could help to bring other ideas to political agenda. The Chileans do not participate in elections either, which is supposed to be the main way of participation in a democracy.(Riquelme 1999)

3.2 Environmental institutions and law

The constitution from 1980 promises that Chileans have "the right to live in an environment free from contamination". (Bradbury 1993) This given right has been put more in action first after the end of the dictatorship. Being aware the trade favouring policy of Chile and that the former dictator was not enforcing environmental issues, it comes as no surprise that the Environmental legislation of Chile is very new. The first law to protect environment (Conama, Law nro. 19300) was established after the military dictatorship in 1994 by the Center-left coalition of Aylwins government. (Silva 1997) Law nro 19300 is based on four principles: prevention, participation, gradualism and "polluter pays"-principle. A governmental tool controls each principle. The principle of prevention is perhaps the most important. It functions via environmental impact assessments that companies apply to, when they plan on action that might cause damage to the environment. Another principle of interest in this context is the principle of participation. The environmental law is the first law of Chile that enables forms of public participation at some stages of political decision-making. The citizens can for

instance participate with the discussion on government on environmental norms within 60 days and to complain about Environmental impact assessments within 120 days. (Conama, Law 19300)

The law 19300 institutionalised also the environmental governance of Chile. The main coordinator of environmental issues in Chile is Comision Nacional de Medioambiente (Conama). The role of Conama is to carry out the environmental policy of the government. Conama has not the status of a ministry and is not an independent institution either. It is governed by a leader and a commission where the ministries of Chile are represented. The practical implementation of environmental issues is made in the 13 ministries of Chile. Consequently each ministry possesses some environmental knowledge. Comision regional de medioambiente (Corema) is the regional unit of environmental governance and functions under Conama. It is governed according to same distribution of power as Conama. (ibid)

3.3 Chilean environmental social movement

After the end of military government the environmental issues and social movements gained publicity in Chile. They were thought to represent the new more democratic values in Chile. Currently such issues as democracy continue to be of importance in presidential elections where as environmental issues have less popularity at the government and the press. (Silva 1997, Chile Review 2003). The seven environmental NGOs presented here form part of the Chilean environmental movement. The eldest environmental NGO Codeff was established in 1968. Also Casa Paz has been in Chile before 1990, but the rest of the NGOs were established after the dictatorship. The latest arrivals are international NGOs including Greenpeace and Oceana, both acting in many different countries.

I have chosen to present the NGOs in a similar way that Carruthers does in his article to conservationist, environmentalist and ecologists (see chapter 2.4). Carruthers has not included international NGOs in his definition. I Have separated them from the national ones, because they do have different financial bases and a mother organization to lean on. On the national scale one could say that, Oceana could be a critical conservationist and Greenpeace could be defined as radical ecologist. I find that this way helps to clarify some central ways of looking at the environment and what to do about it for the NGOs.

Table 1. The main NGOs representing the Chilean environmental social movement

Conservationists
Codeff (Comité Nacional Pro defensa de la Flora y Fauna)
Codeff was founded in 1968 and became official in 1969. It is the oldest environmental NGO of Chile and was founded by conservationists with background in natural sciences. The conservationist purpose in general and within this organization is to preserve nature especially the forests and the biodiversity in them in the case of Chile. Codeff works through projects, were professional scientists work. Campaigns are another form of influencing. They also have a solid memberbase of 4000 members. Codeff usually presents moderate criticism on the government. Codeff is the Friends of Earth of Chile. (www.codeff.cl) (Verscheure 9.8.2004)
Environmentalists
Casa de la Paz
Casa de la Paz was founded 1983 and officially five years thereafter. The organization aims at promover peace and sustainability through educating the citizens and also companies to some extend. It has more of a reformist than a critical tone in its way of acting. It also aims at creating platforms were different interestgroups of the society could meet. Is partially governmentally funded and the director Ms. Ximena Abogabir Scott works in a board of Conama. "environmentalist" (www.casapaz.cl) (Massai 26.7.2004)
Fundacion Terram
Terram was founded in 1997 and is is professionalist based organization without voluntary activist. It makes demands for policy changes considering many diffent areas such as natural resources and globalization, always keeping in mind broader democratic goals, among them empowering the people. It is critical in relation to the government. The organizations financial sources are nongovernmental in order to gain independence. (Vasconi 3.8.2004)
Ecologists
Renace (Red Nacional de Acción Ecológica)
Renace represents several environmental NGOs in Chile. Both small and bigger NGOs form part of this network organization. Renace helps especially smaller local groups to express and bring further their environmental claims. It also functions as information service and unites many of the NGOs together around some specific campaigns that change with time. It emphazises the need for broader changes in the political system in order to create sustainability. (Lincolao 23.7.2004) (www.renace.cl)
Chile sustentable
Chile sustentable is an interinstututional program of different academical and NGO groups. It converts the demands of the environmental movement to political suggestions. As Renace also Chile sustentable criticizes the political system broadly and presents demands for broad social change through more democracy and social equity. It functions through publishing material of these political suggestions and by giving som seminars on issues of current interest e.g. at year 2004 a seminary on alternative energies. (Larrain 15.7.2004)(Seminary 22.7.2004)
International

Oceana

Oceana was founded in the US' 1990, and started with its Latin American headquarters in Chile in 2003. The NGOs main aim is to make the fishery in Chile more sustainable. Fishery and especially Salmon, is third important industry in Chile in relation to GDP growth. Oceana is also involved in teaching new kind of culture in relation to salmon. (Gutierrez 23.8.2004) (americadelsur.oceana.org)

Greenpeace of Chile

Greenpeace was founded 1972 in Canada, started in Chile 1994 and is the biggest voluntary based organization of the Chilean environmental social movement. Aside for using traditional means for influencing, Greenpeace is known for its radical public evenements. (Villarino interview 26.7. 2004)

4. THE IDENTITY OF THE CHILEAN ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

This chapter discusses the different aspects that define the identity for the environmental social movement of Chile.

4.1 Shared identity of the NGOs forming the environmental social movement

The Chilean environmental movement consists of various kinds of environmental NGOs. Many of them are small one issue local NGOs and others nationwide as the ones discussed here. The NGOs discussed here seem to share a similar base of activist, that are well educated and most often employed by the organization. It seems as a general trend that experts more and more lead social movements, instead of ideological leaders. (Della Porta & Diani (1999) Ch6) All NGOs discussed in this thesis, except for Greenpeace and Renace have environmental expert's working for them. With expert is meant a person who is educated to work with certain environmental questions and who get paid for the job they do for the organization. Administrative part of the operations is dealt with paid employees in all the NGOs except for Greenpeace. Terram and Oceana are mainly expert organizations. Chile sustentable and Codeff are expert lead organizations but do involve activists in their work.

Table 2. The bases of activists for the NGOs

Codeff	Experts working in projects and 4000 members
Casa de la Paz	Both experts and activists
Terram	Expert organization
Renace	Nearly all voluntary
Chile Sustentable	Academic experts
Oceana	Expert organization with some campaigns involving activists
Greenpeace	Leader gets paid others voluntary

The table above might give the impression that the Chilean environmental movement is full of professionals working for the nongovernmental causes. In reality the case is not exactly so, since all the NGOs involved in this thesis are the bigger ones that have found some forms of funding. The smaller environmental NGOs are voluntarily based

and are not likely be able to pay for their personnel. The NGOs discussed here with Institution of Political Ecology do form the core of the environmental movement. It is these organizations that do have most contact with authorities and do cover many issue areas. (Gutierrez 23.8.2004, Villarino 9.8.2004)

Sharing a common cause is something that unites a movement. (Della Porta & Diani Ch 4) When looking at the campaigns and projects of the NGOs, there seems to be some similarities in their way of defining what the environmental problems of relevance are. Nearly all of the NGOs are to some extent concentrated on natural resources. Some as Codeff and Oceana are mainly focused on natural resources. Greenpeace, Renace and Terram do also have natural resources on the agenda, but do also focus on other areas of interest. In the interviews the resource issues were mainly discussed by criticising their overuse and giving suggestions for improvement for the future use. Chile sustentable, Renace and Terram argue also for a more just distribution of resources. These kind of themes are common for third world social movements. (Dwivedi 2001) The issue of a more just distribution, was however not the main focus for any of the NGOs.

Table 3. The main issue areas of the environmental movement

Codeff	Natural resources: Flora and fauna of forest
Casa de la Paz	Environmental education, conflict solutions, participation of civil society
Terram	Natural resources: water and forest, empowerment of civil society, influence public policy
Renace	Natural resources, consumption, trade and environment etc.
Chile sustentable	Energy issues, sustainability, Social Equality, Democracy
Greenpeace	Natural resources; Forests, Gene manipulated food
Oceana	Natural resources: Water

The other shared area has to do with the civil society and improvement of democracy through increase of civil society participation in policy-making. These issues were seen as part of the solutions for the environmental problems. Underneath Ms. Massai from Casa de la Paz expresses concern for the lack of unitedness of the civil society. Particularly also Chile sustentable as Mrs. Larrain puts it underneath and Renace wanted to take an active role supporting the civil society to develop itself.

“Casa Paz, Ms. Massai: The civil society is fragmented, alienated in the area of environmental issues”

“Chile sustentable, Mrs. Larrain: We want the civil society to be an actor in its own development”

Another matter that the NGOs of the movement share is a close relation to Chile. In the interviews belonging to the Chilean nation and the will to improve Chile was expressed

when talking about the goals of the movement. The environmental movement produced ideas about improving the environmental conditions for Chile and not e.g. for the whole globe. Even the representants of the international NGOs Oceana and Greenpeace were reflecting the world through Chilean lenses. With this I mean that even their point of reference was always the Chilean policy, the Chilean institutions or politicians and never e.g. international agreements or international organizations. Ms. Vasconi expression underneath describes the matter in a nutshell. She does not refer to the people of the world, she only refers to her concern for the people of Chile.

Terram, Vasconi: "We can't only think about our generation or our world but also about the people who live here in Chile in 30-50 years."

All the NGOs of the movement also share is a will to be seen as independent in their relation to the government. To some extent this is natural for identity of the movement, since it is part of its reason for existence. The citation from Mrs. Larrains interview shows a typical answer for a representant of the movement. There is contact with the government typically at least within some areas, but the movement is keen on differentiating itself from the government. The citation with Ms. Vasconi shows that the contact with the government is not always that easy. None of the representants for the movement except perhaps for Casa Paz was expressing very positive feelings about the relationship to Conama or other governmental institutions.

"Larrain: I represent chosen by the NGOs in the consultive commission of Conama. We have official relationships on regular basis. We are independent. "
"Vasconi: Yes we have contact with them. Basically the contact is rather formal and quite exhausting around certain issue areas. "

A collective identity is about having a sense of an us. (Klandermans 1997 Ch1) The feeling of being somehow united is important for the identity of the movement. Having similar issue areas would not matter if this idea of an 'us' didn't exist. In the interviews it became clear that the environmental movement does share an idea of an us. They feel that they are somehow interrelated. Concretely this is seen when the NGOs pull their forces together in some campaign e.g. when working together in Renace or other networks. And on the conceptual level this is seen in the way the NGOs talk about their relation to other NGOs. Ms. Lincolao from Renace explains down under that the differences within the NGOs can be overcome when the common voice for a greater good is needed. Ms. Massai clarifies that the degree of unification depends on what kind of theme is in question. And Mr. Gutierrez from Oceana also confirms that the NGOs do share a common voice.

"Renace, Ms. Lincolao: The NGOs don't have many conflicting interests, and we can always talk it through"

“Casa Paz, Ms. Massai: The NGOs are united in local themes but work alone in specific themes”

“Oceana, Mr. Gutierrez: The NGOs are a common front, representing the opinion of many persons and have a common idea about the objectives”

Infact all of the NGOs were in the opinion that cooperation with other environmental NGOs was rather easy. As potential sources of conflict were mentioned the scarce resources and the fact that the different areas of expertise do sometimes cause rivalry. (Vasconi 3.8.2004, Massai 26.7.2004) But as the examples above show, the NGOs of the movement have learned to overcome these differences, in order to find a common voice.

4.2 National political elites as an other

Above I discussed the environmental movement seems internal identity and started relating it to the Chilean nation and there through to the Chilean national identity. Identity is not just about what we are it is also about what we are not. Now I will discuss how identity of the movement is constructed in relation to national political elites.

In the interviews the representatives of the environmental movement made often polarizations between themselves and representatives of the state. The movement was seen to represent the civil society and the democracy, where as the political elites were often seen in a more or less negative way. This seeing oneself as something good and the other as something bad is typical for identity formation. (Jabri 1996 Ch 5) When talking about the other the activists used such broad general terms as “the government”. Underneath Ms. Vasconi tells how the government is sceptical about the civil society and its ability to use information. Another way of talking about the other was personalizing it in some key person as Mr Villarino from Greenpeace does underneath when saying that the Minister of Economy is working against the environmental law. He and his NGO are in favor of the environmental law and the Minister is not.

“Terram Ms. Vasconi: The government is afraid of the civil society, it thinks “how will they use the information””

“Greenpeace Mr. Villarino: The Minister of Economy works against the environmental law”

The feeling of the otherness seems to be dependent on context and time. Context in the sense that in the contexts were the environmental social movement and state have been

able to cooperate on environmental policy it is felt less. In the interviews as such context were mentioned some committees and round tables created e.g. within the Ministry of Fishery and Forestry. (Gutierrez 23.8.2004, Verscheure 9.8.2004) In turn in the contexts where there is less communication the sense of otherness is felt to grow. This means that there is felt to be more distance between the parties than cooperation. The difficulty to change the law of environment and the institutional form of organizing environmental politics is a context, where many activists feel frustrated and the sense of distance grows. Underneath Mrs. Larrain expresses that the level of felt togetherness is dependent on issues area. Mr. Villarino finds it difficult to improve the environmental law of Chile, since the main philosophy of facilitating project implementation regardless of environmental consequences isn't changing.

“Chile sustentable, Mrs.Larrain: In some areas we work together and in others we are very critical”

“Greenpeace, Mr.Villarino: Modifications to the law are being done but will not improve much since the philosophy of easing project processing will continue”

In a time perspective the sense of otherness has also varied. At Pinochet's time nearly no NGOs were tolerated thus there was no strong organised collective identity against the dominant national identity. Right after Pinochet's reign the environmental movement and other social movements were strongly favored, seen as a manifestation of democratization. And it was felt that the state and the movement were having similar goals. Thereafter there was a more conflictuous time. And now there is more cooperation between the environmental movement and the state again. (9.8.2004) Down under Mr. Verscheure explains the current relations between the state and the movement.

“Codeff, Mr.Verscheure: Now we have the phenomena of dialogue. The conflict has disappeared and there is a certain opening for dialogue. There are more negotiations between certain sectors and less conflicts. “

As already referred individuals in key positions do also seem to matter to how close or distanced the environmental movement defines itself in relation to the nation state's policy. For instance the former leader of Conama Gianni Lopez was considered not willing to take into account the voices of the environmental social movement at all. (Vasconi 3.8.2004) The current leader Paulina Sabal is considered to be somewhat more open towards the environmental movement and the atmosphere is felt to be better. The administration is also considered to include bureaucrats, who sympathise with the environmental movement, despite their position within the state bureaucracy. (Gutierrez 23.8.2004) These persons that try to act in favour for the causes of the environmental movement are considered to be as exceptions of the “other”.

4.3 Identity in relation to global environmental movement

The Chilean NGOs interviewed for this thesis did not identify themselves with the global environmental movement. As more important were identified the national networks. Some of the Chilean based organizations as e.g. Casa Paz recognize the need for international alliances. Other e.g. Terram was surprised when being asked about the importance of international connection for the movement. Mainly international connections were mentioned when talking about sources of finances. This is perhaps surprising since environmental movement is often associated with forming international coalitions in order to gain national influence. (Yearley 1994).

However this might be changing, when the movement gains new kind of experiences. The citate underneath tells about a forest protection deal were the NGO`s had an active role with the help of US` NGOs. The US` NGOs created debate in US` putting pressure on the Chilean forest industry. The outcome was perhaps more favourable than it would have been otherwise. (Gonzales)Underneath Mr. Gutierrez explains about what the movement has succeeded to do.

“Oceana, Christian Gutierrez: Last year we were successful to achieve a deal with the forest industry...and... It was somewhat because, we got united with international NGOs”

One explanation for this could be that the organizations can not afford to send representants to international meetings, meet environmental activists from other countries and there through form a more conscious bond to the global environmental movement. (Massai 26.7.2004) Oceana and Greenpeace, NGOs with international background did identify themselves with the mother organization, but were strongly Chilean in terms of projects. The projects of Oceana are related to fishery in Chile, not e.g. to saving the world oceans. It seems that the environmental movement of Chile does “act local”, but does not fully think global. Such ideas that exist within environmental thinkers around the world as sustainability and biodiversity do appear, but their relevance is seen in the context of Chile only.

5. ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN ACTION

5.1 Identity in action

Above I have described what forms an 'us' for the Chilean environmental movement. I have also related this 'us' to the national identity. These factors are relevant for action, because action can't take place until actors are able to define who they are and their relation to other actors. (Touraine 1981) Now I will discuss the identity in action.

In the interviews the past, referring to time of Pinochet, was not being discussed. Only a few times it was referred shortly as a time when social movements were not allowed to exist or act. The explanation could be that the time of the dictatorship lies still very close. So the start of action is seen to be somewhere where the past ends. The comment of Ms. Lincolao, where she explains why Chilean civil society isn't particularly strong is one of the view made about past.

“Renace, Ms. Lincolao: There should be more solidarity for the challenges of politics. We lack this due to the traditions of the dictatorship. “

The present circumstances seemed to be the main point of reference what the movements brought up actively and related themselves to. Meaning that each NGO gets activated when an environmental issue area of interest for the organization is being discussed politically. It is mainly in these contexts that the movement tries to create new ideas about how to get recognition for the environmental side of the issue. The solutions and the suggestions correspond to their idea of themselves. Thus different NGOs of the movement suggest also different solutions. NGOs have also started political debates within Chile. Chile Sustentable has for example written a book to suggest how the Government should change its energy politics to be more just. (Larrain & Palacios & Aedo 2003)

The future of a better Chile seemed to be important in forming the identity and action of today, it acted like the reason for acting today. Besides being about a more environmental friendly Chile the future visions were also a lot about a more democratic Chile. In this sense the future visions are deeply aligned with both past and present. In the example Mr. Verscheure talks about hopes about the law of natural forests that still hasn't come out. His NGO has been working in favour of this law.

“Codeff, Mr. Verscheure: We hope it comes out. We have been working hard. It has been under process for the past twelve years... We are worried we hope we can have this law to protect the natural forest. “

Decentralized internal structure and organization in an ad hoc way is said to be typical for such movements as the environmental movement is. (Melucci 1985, Pichardo 1997) Networks of NGOs of the environmental social movement are a way to make the own identity stronger and to give a sense of having more power to make their voice heard. In concrete terms the movement is unified in the several NGO networks of Chile. Renace is the common network for all the NGOs. It functions mainly as a channel to circulate information and helps smaller NGO's. Other networks have been organized around a certain theme. For instance Asonje for energy. The networks have an important function in supporting the action the movement wants to take. (Della Porta & Diani 1999 Ch 5). The citation underneath shows that the movement feels more powerful when united. With “they” is meant the state and its representants.

“Renace, Mrs. Lincolao: They know that we are many, they are afraid of us”

The state authorities did not see the environmental movement of Chile as a common front. Instead they were keen on making distinctions among the different NGOs. It was e.g. mentioned that certain NGOs are more easy to work with than others and that certain NGOs have irrational and unreasonable claims (Riobo 16.6.2004).

5.2 Acting to change governmental institutions

The governmental institutions and particularly Conama function for the environmental movement as ways for influencing the dominant identity of Chile. For example the round tables, committees, participatory elements for environmental impact assessments and why not even the freedoms of expression and social organizing represent political opportunities in Chile. A movement faces always a choice between civil disobedience and using of the existing political opportunities. (Thörn 2002 Ch 5). The Chilean environmental movement, or at least the core NGO's discussed here have chosen the established democratic ways. Since the movement has chosen to use this way of influencing the nation-states political system can also be understood as necessary means for the movement to promote its cause. Another important channel of influence for the social movements is the civil society. (Della Porta & Diani p 237) That will be discussed further on.

Since the movement uses democratically accepted ways when seeking recognition for its identity, the institutional contacts and forms are of relevance. Chile has no Ministry

of Environment, therefore all the Ministries have to take care of some environmental tasks. The environmental issues do not get a central role in the Ministries, because the Ministries have other priorities relating to their main area of responsibility. For example Conaf an entity under the Ministry of Agriculture has to decide both on the industrial use of forests and on protection of forests, which often are contradictory causes. (Gonzales 21.8.2004) The possibilities of the coordinating unit Conama to balance the situation are limited. First of all its institutional status is rather weak in relation to ministries. It is lead by the ministries of Chile and its leader is not as independent as the Ministries are. The activist of the movement seem to be unanimous about that Conama was necessary and revolutionary at its time, but doesn't anymore serve its purpose. The representatives of the state consider that it would be difficult to change the situation now that it is established

“Chile sustentable, Larrain: Look Conama was necessary at its time, but now it is not serving its purpose anymore”

“Foreign ministry, Riobo:It would be very difficult to change the system now. They should have had to do it otherwise from the very beginning”

Particularly Terram has taken as its mission to change Conama's institutional status. The movements main claims are that Conama should be more independent in relation to the government and be empowered to focus more on objective facts when evaluating the state of environment. (Pizarro & Vasconi (2004)

The other field of problems is related to Conama and participation of the civil society. The NGOs can with representants of companies, universities express their opinion in the consultive commission of Conama. The leading commission of Conama in turn must ask for opinion of the consultive commission, when it makes decisions on environmental norms and standards. Additionally the commission takes stand on complaints about the Environmental Impact assessments. (Conama, Law 19300) The environmental movement is in the opinion of that the current arrangement is not really participative:

Massai: My big criticism on the government is that the process of making the evaluations of Environmental impact assessments isn't participative. They think that to participate is to inform and it isn't that way. We should be able to participate in the form of decisions. “

In the citate above it is also seen how the movement identifies that the government thinks and is of a different way than the movement. The movement would like to see itself having a more active role in policy formation. In Chile the movement can only participate during 60 or 120 days in a certain phase of the process, they can not participate during the whole process. (Conama, Law 19300) What is curious is that the

movement both distinguishes itself from the state wants to change it towards the direction of itself. So the movement is both saying we are not like you and we would like you to be like us. Partially this can be explained with that the movement is dependent on the political institutions of Chile if it wants to create policy change in Chile.

Another problem with Conama and other institutions seems to be that the environmental movement and the representatives of the institutions don't always speak the same language. The representatives of the state seemed to expect the representatives of the movement to be able to present their claims in their terms. This would imply high technical level and sticking strictly to facts. Some more emotional and less formal presentations of the movement seemed to make the movement lose some of its credibility. (Riobo 16.6.2004, Sapag15.7.2004) Even some of the bigger NGOs recognize that they do not have enough people to form a dialogue in government terms. (Massai 26.7.2004) NGOs that have most problems of this kind are small local NGOs with perhaps only one environmental cause. They can get some help from Renace, but it is not always enough. (Lincolao 23.7.2004)

5.3 Acting to improve citizen participation

Besides the institutions the environmental movement of Chile face problems with the political culture. Chile has a long tradition of an elitically lead democracy and secrecy. Since people feel that they can't influence they have lost interest in politics. In concrete terms this can be seen in the low participation rates in general elections. Casa Paz where Mrs. Massai works is trying to act as a bridge builder for the different parts of the society, but still she feels that the civil society and the government don't trust each other. Ms. Lincolao explains that the Chilean people are also sceptical due to the times of dictatorship.

“Casa Paz, Massai: The current situation obligates to take a stand. There is a mistrust between the civil society and the government.”

“Renace, Ms. Lincolao: The people say I don't want to get involved in politics. It is because of the practices of the dictatorship.. The strength of Renace are the actors of the civil society that start to ask themselves why isn't my land my land, why is my water getting dirty? It is important for the people to understand that there will be no others taking decisions for them.”

The examples illustrate that there is a polarization between the cupula and the civil society. Both the movement and the government feel that it is difficult to communicate

with the other partner, which in turn leads to further polarization and distance between the groups. The movement feels that the government should do more about the issue. Some representants of the movement are also critical about the movements own efforts to activate the civil society. As the Table 2 from 2.1 shows not all of the NGOs have e.g. projects that activate citizens. The NGO`s are critical but fail to make suggestions on how to improve the situation.

“Renace, Ms. Lincolao: The NGOs themselves should be more active too in relation to the people”

For the citizens to be able to participate more on policy-making, access to information is needed. Chile is trying to improve the transparency of its institutions and policy-making. When I was in Chile the Ministries held e.g. a seminarium on transparency, so there is debate ongoing on the area. Yet the NGOs feel that they have problems of getting information on time and sometimes not at all. For instance Mr. Gutierrez from Oceana told me that they could get information on test results, but no information on how the results were got. Thus they could not evaluate the results in relation to the methods being used. (Gutierrez 23.8.2004) Vasconi explains that the reason for why it is difficult to get information is

“Terram, Ms Vasconi: It`s a question about a culture of secretes that exists here in Chile”

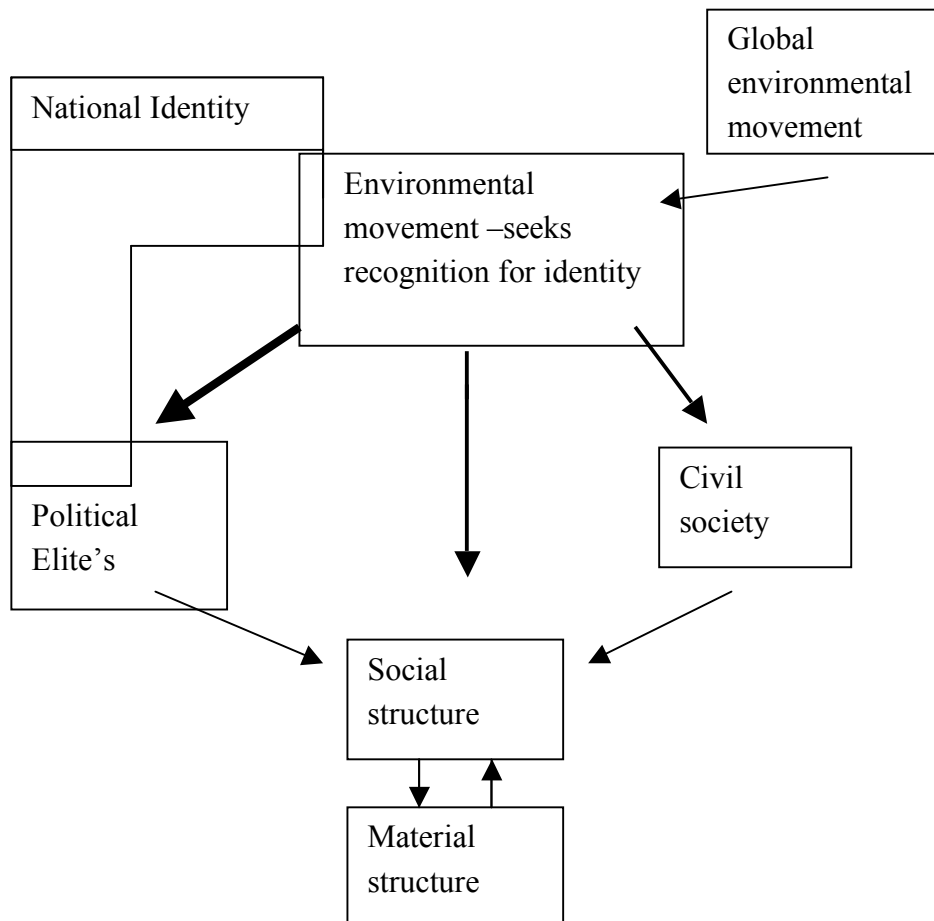
5.4 Summary of the empirical part

Here I summarize what has been documented in the empirically oriented chapters 4 and 5. The core of the Chilean environmental movement shares similar educational background, an interest in Chile and to solve similar kind of environmental problems such as the overuse of natural resources. The movement sees itself as a representative for the civil society and wants to improve conditions for the civil society and make Chile more democratic there through. The relationship to authorities is twofold on one hand they are seen as a kind of an other, on the other hand dialogue with the authorities is needed to change the policy and the political institutions. The movement does not have strong connections to the international environmental movement, but has had some positive experiences of doing cooperation with them. The movement would like to change the status of Conama to be more like a ministry or even more independent than that. In its action the movement uses mainly parliamentary means. Cooperation with other NGOs is seeing as positive and something that makes the movement stronger.

6. ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT AND CONSTRUCTING ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

The purpose of this thesis was to analyse the identity of Chilean environmental movement in relation to the Chilean nation-state. Of central relevance was to discuss the environmental social movements role in constructing environmental policy and its relation to the national identity. In Figure 1 I have both summarized what has been discussed so far about the environmental movement of Chile and added some new thoughts. In this chapter I will discuss the subject more thoroughly.

Figure 1. Environmental movement and construction of environmental policy.



In the figure the identity of the movement is seen to be in relation to the national identity. The national collective identity is seen to form part of the bases for the identity

of the movement. The movement constructs its identity against the national identity or perhaps more exactly the political elites dominant interpretation of it.

Seeking for recognition is something that is at the centre for the existence of the social movement and something that always remains an unfinished project (Calhoun (1994) Ch1) The movement seeks both recognition for environmental problems and alternative solutions to environmental problems. It is the concern for the environment that unites the movement. (Della Porta & Diani 1999) Mainly the environmental movements seek to change the social structure, the conceptions and the ideas about the environment. After all it is the shared way of looking at the environment that leads to material outcomes. (Wendt 1995) It is also true that the movement lacks the power to directly intervene in the material structures. And since it lacks this power it could not do so without jeopardizing democratic means of acting, which would be against the movements identity. Being democratic and promoting democracy forms clearly part of the identity of the movement. In this way the chosen ways action functions also as a statement for identity. (Kleinmann 1996 in Polletta)

As illustrated by the figure the Chilean environmental movement searches for recognition mainly in two ways, through the political elites representing the institutions of the state and through the civil society. In the interviews we discussed mostly the first option of these two.

What matters more than the internal differences, is to confront the national elites, because the movement feels that it gains power when it presents the environmental causes as a united front. Besides seeing itself as a common front, it also sees the elites as a kind of an other, as one. The fundamental difference in the political elites and the movements view is the way of looking at economy and environment. The Chilean states policies are an illustration for that the economy and environment are seen as something separate. One explanation why this view has come to dominate is that economic investments can more easily be attracted to the country when having lower environmental standards. (Yearley 1996, Ch 7). The movement in turn sees that the action taken on economy has environmental consequences. (Larrain 15.7.2004, Massai 26.7.2004, Villarino 9.8.2004) An explanation in these differences in the societal beliefs of the movement and the political elites could be that they have had access to different kinds of societal beliefs, due to the context where they have lived. (Klandermans 1997 p.44) This could be true for activists of smaller environmental NGOs from poor regions, that have not experienced the prosperity brought by the economic growth. For Santiago based bigger NGOs these societal beliefs are the object of questioning, consequently they are aware of them. What is interesting to notice is that the activists of the movement did not oppose economic growth as such, which might indicate that the societal belief of economic growth as bringer of prosperity also exist in them. The main

difference is that they wanted to have economic growth without jeopardizing the environment.

Even if the movement sees the political elites and the environmental institutions as something that is different of them, they also see that they need them in order to construct change. The movement and the political elites share a concern for Chile. Both the elites and the movement have constructed an idea of what is and what to do with the environmental problems. The elites idea represents perhaps more the historical continuum of ideas that exist in Chile. These socially constructed ideas lead to certain material outcome. (Wendt 1995) In the movements view the current material outcome of environmental problems is not satisfactory.

Power structures of Chile are evolving to allow more civil society participation in policy-making. So we can no longer talk about only oppression of elites in the context of Chile. (Slater (1991) Political elites unwillingness to listen to the environmental causes is probably true to an extent. Partly it is because they are playing their role as institutional actors, following the rules set by the institutions. After all the institutions do have this function of preserving in a society (Hall 1999 Ch 1) The hierarchical building of the institutions doesn't exactly help either to encourage the employees to act in a different manner. (Sapag 15.7.2004) Perhaps the political elites are not that unwilling to change the situation, as the movement seems to think. All the comities and round tables are examples of platforms where the parties can meet. Mr. Sapag was particularly positive about the new possible international alliances with US and EU NGOs might bring to the Chilean environmental debate.

The other way of being recognized is seeking for public support for the causes of the movement. The environmental movement was very open to this idea and identified itself as a representative of the civil society. Regardless of their will to do so, only some of the NGOs were actually involving the civil society in their action. Consequently it seems that the environmental movement itself is reproducing the model of the very same elitistically lead organization it criticizes the authorities for. It is true that the social movement functions as network and is trying to be more informal in that sense. However the core of the operations are in Santiago and not in the regions where many of the environmental problems are. The very expert-alike-way of dealing with environmental problems might appeal to political elites, but perhaps not to the public that much. At least the core of the movement might be difficult to approach from outsiders point of view.

Having experts as the base for the core NGO's of the movement might have an impact on how the movement is being shaped. Environmental activists may have professional interests besides environmental ones. (Sikkink 1998 Ch 4) For example the executive director Massai of Casa Paz, an engineer herself, was chosen to develop the NGO to

develop the organization to have more contacts with the market forces. (Massai 26.7.2004) However it is also true that all the risks and uncertainties related would prevent participation if strong feelings didn't exist. (Della Porta & Diani 1999, p. 88) It is for instance true that the experts could earn more, when having another kind of employer. Some mentioned e.g. having lost co-workers to ministries and that some used the NGO's as a stepping stone to work as a public functionary. I brought up this issue with the expert base, because it might be an internal problem the environmental social movement of Chile is having.

In the figure I have placed the global environmental movement quite far away from the Chilean environmental movement. The movement has many similar causes with the global environmental movement, but has not fully perhaps used the potential the relation could have creating change both in the social and the material structure.

In the Chilean context the environmental movements role in policy-making is to present alternative visions about how the state of Chile should deal with its environment. When looking at the outcomes, the movement has perhaps not achieved so much in concrete terms yet. There are signs that the civil society of Chile is getting more and more active in environmental issues. (Economist 23.6.2005) Since the local NGO's in general are not able to formulate their cause in government terms, the core NGO's have an important function to act as an intermediary between the civil society and the political elites. Their role is both to translate the local environmental issues to 'official' language and to encourage the civil society to express their concerns.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to analyse the Chilean environmental movement's role in making environmental policy in Chile and its relation to the Chilean nation-state. I expect this thesis contribute in terms of bringing further insights into how social movements construct their identity. I also hope it brings new insights to understand the national identity from a national actors point of view, that is not questioning the whole national identity, but is trying to modify it.

Based on this thesis it is difficult to judge whether the environmental movement has managed to make any major impact on the environmental policy-making in Chile. It seems that beyond the usual political rhetoric, the neoliberal trade policy continues to reign and environmental issues continue to be in the periphery of the government's and administrations agenda. Also, while there can be identified an environmental social movement in Chile, its impact on the Chilean society remains focused on those interested in politics and environmental issues in the first place. Arguably the majority of the Chilean people are not that active politically, especially after Pinochet's reign, and any interest in environmental issues is in many cases secondary to the daily problems of improving third world living conditions.

What I find interesting is that there are signs of that the civil society of Chile is healing. The environmental movement is concerned for the civil society and its development to become politically active. In this context there are many areas to research further on. What can the civil society learn from democracy via involvement in small environmental projects? How can the movement help the civil society to help itself? I would also find it interesting to be able to interview more representatives of the political elites and there through get a broader picture of the relationships between the environmental movement and the elites.

The question of validity is always a bit tricky when it comes to qualitative analysis. I have tried to give truthful picture of the situation for the environmental movement in Chile based on the interviews, media analysis as backup and literature. The reader has had to rely on my choices of citation as illustrations for the data collected. I have made many citations to enable the reader to judge for himself whether I have made the right interpretations or not. Interpretation of another language is sometimes difficult, and perhaps more information is lost than when the own language is interpreted. After all the researcher wears always his own cultural lenses, when interpreting the data. On the other hand being an outsider might sometimes be good for data collection, because the informants might explain situations more thoroughly for someone who is not supposed to know much previously.

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Terram interview 3.8.2004 with Ms. Paola Vasconi, Coordinator of Territorial Organization-project and issues on law and politics.

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Environment

What are the main areas of interest for your NGO?

What is the most important environmental problem of Chile? And why?

Do you see any differences in the environmental politics of Chile comparing to 10, 5 years ago?

How do you find the state of environment in Chile?

NGOs

What channels can an NGO use to influence in Chile?

What ways does your NGO use and why?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of your NGO?

What is your relation to other NGOs?

What are your main problems as an NGO in Chile?

What possibilities do you see for NGOs in Chile?

State

What do you consider about not having an environmental ministry?

How well/bad do the authorities listen to your causes?

What do you consider to be the main problem in relation to the Chilean authorities?

Do you get access to information?

Which instances are favourable to your causes?

Thank you for your cooperation. Is there anything else you want to tell me that I haven't asked?

APPENDIX 2: TWO EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS

From the interview of Oceana:

“Interviewer: Como actua su ONG para influir?”

Informant: Nosotros tenemos accion en todos los frentes... Nuestra accion lobby, contactos con dibutados y policy makers, y por supuesto la Conama. Pues...Por otro lado hemos construido unas alianzas con otra ONG: GP y eco-oceanos el Oica para para defender el tema, para poner estos temas en agenda legislativo Chileno.

Interviewer: Y en la area de la la sociedad civil?

Informant: Con la ciudadanía trabajamos de bases voluntario. En el verano basado tuvimos actividad interactivo con la gente. Habia bastante gente en la Serena, 4 region. Hace poco hicimos en una visita al centro de Santiago, hicimos conocer a Oceana y protesta contra pesca de rastre. Eso surgio via nuestra pagina de web. Tambien via las universidades buscando voluntarios. Haciendo firmas por la calle

Interviewer: Y que mas?

Informant: Hubó un encuentro en Santiago con científicos, tema : , mar, recursos de mar y recien investigacion en Chile, fueron científicos reconocidos de universidad de Chile, de los Lagos, Universidad Catolica etc. Trabajan de consultivo, nos pueden dar los ultimos datos

Interviewer: Y si continuamos de discutir su ONG, cuales son las fuerzas de su ONG?

Informant: La fuerza de terram es de tener un equipo de profesionales, de ser equipo capasitario con multidisciplinario y relativamente joven. Nivel de recursos importante en comparacion con otros ONG. Tenemos recursos de EEUU...Marcel, el director es una figura publica conocida, un ecologista evaluado.”

From the interview of Renace:

“Interviewer: Que es Renace, consiste de varios ONG’s no?”

Informant: Las que forman parte del RENACE son todo tipo de agentes ambientales, como ONG’s (Greenpeace, Chile sustentable etc), comunales y

ecoclub. Las ONG's grandes ofrecen ayuda tecnica a los chicos. Tambien hay personas que nos dicen no tengo tiempo para trabajar como voluntario pero le puedo dar expertis tecnica. El expertismo da mucho credibilidad. Cuando hemos comentado algo del gobierno o planteado un tema nunca nos han dicho que hubieramos sido equivocados.

Interviewer: Y en que redes participa Renace?

Informant: La Renace participa en varios RED nacional e internacional (CIFE Consejo de Energia).

Interviewer: Y como es su organization internal?

Informant: La directiva de Renace se elige cada dos años, son representantes de organizaciones. Son nueve directivas 3 de regiones, desafortunadamente es demasiado costura de traerlos todos aquí. Si en encuentros nacionales si participan pero en los demas es imposible. “

