

**Eco-tragedy or Business Opportunity:
Discourses adopted by college students regarding environmental issues**

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ABSTRACT

The need for a sustainable society is recognized by an increasing number of Americans, but the potential avenues for bringing this about are numerous and rooted in several different conceptualizations about the human-nature relationship. Technological and market solutions to environmental problems reflect a view of nature as commodity, whereas solutions that call for a reform of our industrial means of production suggest a new paradigm of the human-nature relationship. Current mainstream environmental discourse calls for lifestyle changes without altering the dominant paradigm: it is up to the individual to adopt environmentally-responsible behavior such as recycling, reducing water use, and limiting use of vehicles which burn fossil fuels. In my study, I administered an online survey to 344 students enrolled in Environmental Science and Policy Management 50 AC, Introduction to Culture and Natural Resource Management (ESPM 50AC) and conducted focus group interviews with 4 students engaged in the environmental community on the UC Berkeley campus to obtain data on undergraduate students' understanding and conceptions of environmental issues. My results show that most students perceive environmental issues as caused by unsustainable individual lifestyles and environmentally irresponsible corporate activity, and the solution to environmental issues lies in the lap of these actors as well as the government with its ability to enact regulations and policy. The overwhelming majority of students recognize that unsustainable lifestyles are at the root of environmental problems, and for many students their experience at UC Berkeley has significantly changed their view of the human-nature relationship.

KEYWORDS

consumption, environmentalism, perceptions, discourse analysis, interviews

INTRODUCTION

American public concern for the degradation of the environment dates back to the late 1800's, and the various discourses describing this degradation that have developed over the past two centuries are drawn upon today to explain contemporary environmental issues. The first manifestation of concern over humans' impact of the environment was the conservation movement of Gifford Pinchot and Teddy Roosevelt, which stressed management of natural resources such as forests so that they could be harvested by future generations (Gottlieb 2005). This discourse was anthropocentric in that it emphasized the importance of nature for its utility to humans, and the framing of nature as commodity led to scientific-technological management policies (Sessions 1991) which are still enacted today (i.e. carbon taxes, payment for ecosystem services). In the 1960's and 70's America experienced a resurgence of environmental concern as industrialization surged ahead and the writings of Rachel Carson and various professional ecologists raised public concern for the pollutive effects of industrial production (Sessions 1991). The publication of Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* in 1962 decrying pesticide use, the 1976 Love Canal disaster, and 1969 Santa Barbara oil spill are a few specific events that galvanized the public concern for the disastrous consequences industrial production was wreaking on the environment. Political action succeeded in setting environmental issues on the government's policy agenda and in 1970 President Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency. Additionally, several important pieces of legislation were passed in the 1970's such as the Clean Air Act. However, a decade later emerging neoliberal politics called for a shrinking of government expenditures and funding was withdrawn from these new environmental protection agencies. Neoliberalization of the economy involved dropping trade barriers and increasing exports, which prioritized increased industrial production over protecting the environment. Additionally, the reduced role of the government in promoting environmental regulations on industry fundamentally shifted public perception of whose responsibility it was to address environmental issues away from the government.

Today, the main environmental discourse propagated by media and mainstream environmentalism focuses on the responsibility of the individual to adopt sustainable or "environmentally-friendly" behavior, which includes riding a bike instead of driving a car, using a reusable canvas grocery bag, and purchasing "green" products (Leahy 2010). Solutions proposed at the national level include market mechanisms such as cap-and-trade to control carbon emissions, and payment for ecosystem services. Setting a price on the environment is a

phenomenon that reflects the neoliberalization of nature. The understanding of nature as valuable for its human utility or for its inherent value which characterized the earlier conservation and deep ecology movements is increasingly replaced by the notion that the environment is a commodity that can be bought and sold (Heynen 2006). Some environmentalists call for a restructuring of the global economy and dependence on fossil fuels (Nordhaus & Schellenberger 2004), however these considerations fall on deaf political ears. Perhaps in response to the lack of political action on addressing contemporary environmental issues such as climate change, environmentalists focus on encouraging adoption of individual lifestyle changes. The emphasis on individual agency often results in more feelings of guilt than action, and people feel frustrated by the overwhelming number of sustainable behaviors “demanded” of them which is shown to lead to inaction (Butler 2010). The discourse of personal responsibility in environmentalism is not a new phenomenon, but the extent to which it dominates mainstream environmentalism is unprecedented and especially problematic for finding solutions to issues such as climate change which are complicated and have multiple causes embedded in political and economic structures beyond the realm of control of the individual. The discourse that environmental problems are created by the individual through their consumption and lifestyle choices and hence must be solved individually dominates the mainstream environmental movement today and delegitimizes other forms of environmentalism which challenge the production and regulation of industry and seek to link social and environmental concerns. How college students draw on different discourses to understand the causes and solutions to today’s environmental issues is unknown and could help reveal whether students support market mechanisms to address environmental issues or envision a reform of American production as we know it.

The preponderance of environmental clubs and campaigns on the UC Berkeley campus ranging from fossil fuel divestment to waste reduction is evidence that many students are concerned about a variety of environmental issues. Perhaps even more demonstrative of the uptake of environmental concern by college students is the widespread presence of student-initiated sustainability programs in the dorms, fraternities, sororities, and cooperative housing. Although more college students than ever claim to perform environmentally-friendly behavior, this behavior is limited mainly to trash-sorting and taking shorter showers. Political demands are limited to the cry for fossil fuel divestment, even though UC Berkeley is invested in several environmentally destructive companies. Students support recycling and composting, but do not question the campus’s proliferation of disposable ware in its cafes, some of which only offer disposable cups for hot beverages. The emergence of a range of environmental discourses in

response to these issues is present among students, but which discourses are most popular is unknown. The discourses of individual responsibility, inherent value of nature, stewardship, and extended producer responsibility are a few such frameworks through which students may perceive and describe solutions to environmental issues. How college students describe the causes and solutions to environmental issues is unknown, and could reveal their perceptions and the future direction of environmental policy in America.

This study will reveal how UC Berkeley students understand the causes and solutions to the major environmental issue of climate change. I will distribute a survey to UC Berkeley undergraduate students that will prompt them to explain what they believe are the causes and most effective solutions to global climate change. I will investigate whether students believe that individual action is the most effective means of solving climate change, i.e. riding a bike in lieu of driving a car, avoiding disposable products, etc. or if the deep green ecology the exemplified the 1970's is still held by students today.

METHODS

Survey

I conducted an online survey of UC Berkeley undergraduate students to identify their perceptions of the causes and solutions to three environmental problems: (1) increase of greenhouse gases generated from transportation (2) rising amount of waste sent to landfills, and (3) toxic waste spills. The survey was administered online to current UC Berkeley students and spring admit students enrolled in Environmental Science, Policy, and Management (ESPM) 50AC, Introduction to Culture and Natural Resource Management. This course is part of UC Berkeley's American Cultures program which is focused on the study of race, ethnicity, and culture in the United States and includes courses from over 40 departments. Additionally, all undergraduate students at Cal are required to pass an American Cultures course in order to graduate. The 344 returned surveys from my study represented students from 35 academic majors. The survey was administered at the end of the fall 2013 semester and students received extra credit for completing the survey.

Survey Data Collection

To determine “how college students constitute environmental issues,” I first asked students what they perceived as the underlying cause of major environmental issues in general and they were required to allocate responsibility to unsustainable individuals, corporations, the government, or they had the option of indicating their lack of opinion (**Figure 1**).

What do you think is the greatest cause of the major environmental problems we face today?

Unsustainable lifestyles by individuals

Corporations’ desire to make a profit with little concern for the environment

Government’s failure to regulate environmentally destructive actions

The importance of “environmental issues” is generally exaggerated, so the causes are irrelevant

I have no opinion

I’m not sure

Figure 1: Main cause of environmental problems. I asked students to answer this general question before focusing on specific environmental issues

Collected demographic data included: academic major, year in college, engagement in environmental activities, and level of environmental knowledge. Students indicated their environmental engagement by choosing whether they “regularly”, “sometimes”, or “never”, discuss environmental issue with their friends, perform environmentally conscious behavior such as recycling and limiting water usage, seek information about environmental issues outside of class, and participate in environmental protests.

Next, I asked students to rank the three best proposed solutions to (1) greenhouse gas emissions generated from transportation, (2) increasing amount of waste sent to landfills, and (3) toxic waste spills. I selected these issues because I believed that they would be relevant for most Cal students: greenhouse gas emissions and climate change are hotly discussed topics on campus, UC Berkeley is striving towards its goal of Zero Waste by 2020, and toxic spills occur at the nearby Chevron refinery in Richmond. These issues have complex causes and solutions, and I wanted to identify narratives that students use to describe them. The suggested solutions provided to the students fell into the following categories: (1) government action, (2)

individual lifestyle changes, (3) corporate activity, (4) technological fixes, and (5) “I don’t care” (**Table 1**).

Finally, students filled out a short response question prompting them explain the cause of one of the three identified environmental issues in their own words in a sentence or two.

Table 1. Survey question on solutions to environmental issues

	Government	Individuals	Corporations	Technology
Toxic Waste	Government incentives & mandates to reduce fossil fuel use	Individuals should become less oil-dependent	Chevron should voluntarily comply with environmental regulatory standards	The refinery should be installed with devices that prevent toxic fumes from leaking out
Greenhouse emissions	(1) California should support city planning projects that prioritize walking and bicycling routes, (2)The United States should stop subsidies to oil companies	Individuals should adopt new lifestyles that are less dependent on cars and airplanes	Local companies should be created to meet consumer concern over fossil fuel emissions	Government should consider technological solutions (ex. geoengineering the atmosphere)
Waste sent to landfills	The State of California should provide UC Berkeley with funding for more recycling and composting bins	Individuals should stop generating so much waste	Corporations should eliminate non-recyclable/compostable packaging	Waste sorting technologies should improve

Survey Data Analysis

To characterize the relationship between academic major and attributed cause of environmental issues, I first consolidated the 35 majors represented in my data into six similar academic disciplines or “super majors.” Similar majors were identified as belonging to the same department and sharing similar topics. For example, Environmental Sciences, Environmental Economics and Policy, Conservation and Resource Studies, Society and Environment, and Forestry and Natural Resources were all classified as the “environmental” super major. After consolidating the majors I constructed a pivot table in Excel comparing academic major to identified cause (**Figure 1**).

To code responses concerning solutions to environmental problems, I assigned points to the rank given by students to specified solutions with the highest ranked solution being worth three points, the second two points, the third one point, and unranked solutions received zero points. I then compared the sum of values for each specified solution category: (1) government action, (2) individual lifestyle changes, (3) corporate activity, (4) technological fixes, and (5) “I don’t care”. Each student then had a score for each category, with high scores signifying that they perceived that solution as the best. I performed this process for each of the three environmental problems to explore if the type of solution depended on the specific environmental issue.

Interviews

In addition to the survey, I conducted a semi-structured focus group interview with 3 students and a personal interview with one student to explore students’ understandings of environmental issues more thoroughly than the survey permitted. The four interviewees were seniors engaged in campus environmental clubs or campaigns who I knew through my own engagement in the environmental community at UC Berkeley.

The format of the focus group interviews allowed the students to provide complex explanations to multidimensional issues and I used this data to inform the trends that surfaced from my survey data. Both interviews lasted one hour, and included questions based on the survey. I asked the group to brainstorm current major environmental problems, and then each student chose one specific issue to describe in depth. The students discussed their own environmental participation, and what they perceived as the major underlying causes and best solutions to their chosen issue. The students were invited to discuss any environmental issue that they wished, which provided me additional information on which contemporary environmental issues students are

most concerned about. The length and format of the interview allowed students to describe in great detail the characteristics, causes, and solutions to environmental issues.

RESULTS

I found that UC Berkeley students are concerned about greenhouse gas emissions, the increasing amount of waste sent to landfills, and toxic waste spills regardless of academic discipline, however students have different views about whether individuals, corporations, or the government is most responsible for causing and solving these issues. Less than 10% of survey respondents indicated that they had no opinion or did not care about these environmental issues. Each of the interviewees and over 80% of survey respondents reported regularly engaging in “environmentally friendly behaviors,” although only 11% of surveyed students reported involvement in an environmental group on campus. Whether students attributed causes of environmental issues to government, corporate, or individual actors largely varied by academic discipline, and Fall Program for Freshmen (FPF) students leaned towards policy solutions, whereas main campus students generally favored improved technology as a solution. Each interviewee noted that their experience at Cal has changed their perspective on environmental issues. They emphasized the interconnectedness of environmental and social issues, which was also evident in many short answer responses. Overall, students recognized that solutions to environmental issues must address lifestyle choices, particularly consumption, but they have different beliefs about whether lifestyle changes should be voluntarily adopted by individuals, addressed through government regulation, or achieved through business responding to consumer demands for more “environmentally-friendly” products.

Survey Data Collection

Students in the main campus population represented each academic year fairly evenly whereas 83% of students in the FPF program were freshmen. This is not surprising given the nature of the FPF program as an institution for students newly admitted to Cal. Most students from both populations were from suburban hometowns, and the gender split was relatively even (**Table 1**).

Table 1. Survey population demographics. Most students were from suburban hometowns, and the FPF population overwhelmingly consisted of 1st year students

	Main Campus	Fall Program for Freshmen
Year in College		
1 st	37%	83%
2 nd	32%	10%
3 rd	27%	2%
4 th or 5 th	11%	5%
Hometown		
Suburban	63%	60%
Urban	31%	37%
Rural	6%	3%
Gender		
Female	52%	55%
Male	48%	44%
Other	0%	1%

Across the FPF and main campus population, most college students identified the main cause of environmental issues as individual unsustainable behavior or corporations’ desire to make a profit with little concern for the environment (**Figures 3 & 4**). Correlation between the two populations’ responses by academic discipline was very strong, especially for social science and biology students whose correlation coefficients were very close to 1 (**Table 2**).

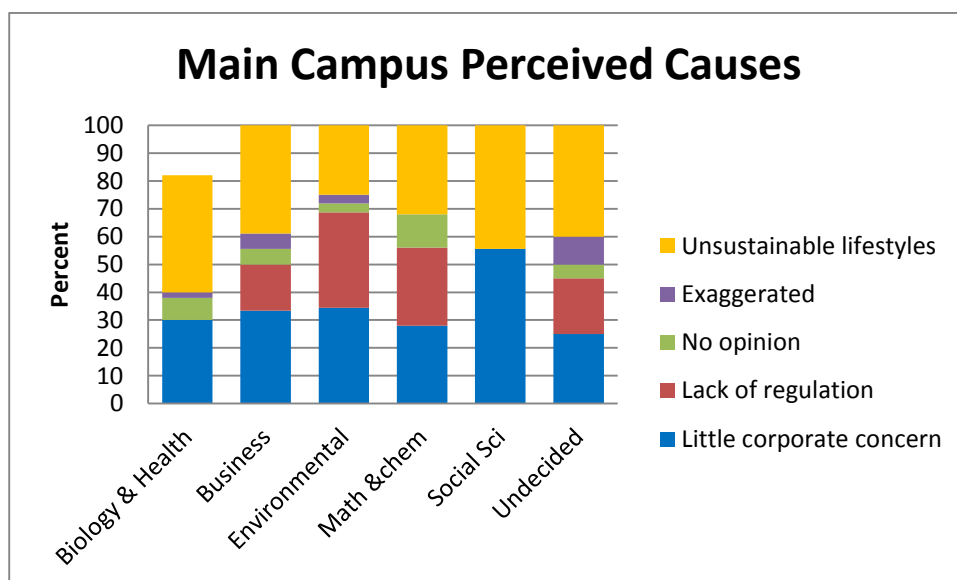


Figure 3. Perceived cause of environmental issues (main campus students)

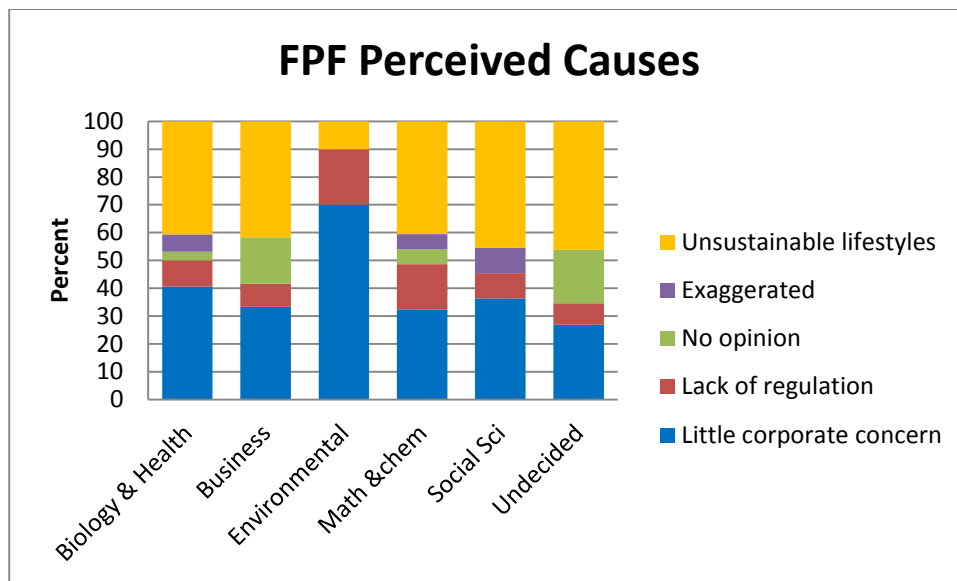


Figure 4. Perceived cause of environmental issues (FPF students)

Table 2. Correlation coefficient between FPF and main campus students’ perceived cause of environmental issues. A coefficient of 1 = perfect correlation.

	Correlation Coefficient Between Two Populations
Biology & Health	0.918
Business	0.897
Environmental	0.725
Math & Chemistry	0.837
Social Science	0.935
Undecided	0.784

The breakdown of selected causes by each academic discipline was strongly correlated across both FPF and main campus students. However, if we look at the correlation between the two populations by particular response, we see a more nuanced story where students from the FPF and main campus population tend to follow similar trends except for the cause, “Corporations desire to make a profit with little concern for the environment” (Table 3).

Table 3. Correlation coefficient between FPF and main campus students by selected response. Correlation was strong for government and individual cause, but not for corporate cause (coefficient=1 signifies perfect correlation)

Correlation Coefficient Between Two Populations	
Corporations desire to make profit	0.116
Government’s failure to regulate	0.761
Unsustainable individual lifestyles	0.858

For this cause, there is a large gap between the 70% of FPF environmental students versus the 34% of main campus environmental students who selected the corporate cause. Lack of adequate government regulation was not as strongly perceived to be the major cause of environmental issues for most students, and FPF students especially did not perceive this cause to be nearly as important as irresponsible corporations or unsustainable individuals (**Figure 4**). The exception to this trend are the environmental students across both populations who saw lack of government regulation as a fairly important cause of environmental problems and main campus environmental students perceived it to be the second greatest cause after irresponsible behavior by corporations. Students were offered the option of indicating that they had no opinion or that environmental issues are exaggerated and hence their causes are irrelevant, but less than 8% of FPF and main campus students had no opinion and only one student from the FPF population and three students from the main campus population believed that environmental issues are exaggerated.

In terms of long-term solutions to environmental problems, the scenarios that students envisioned depended on the issue at hand. The most popular solution for toxic waste spills across all majors in the FPF population was “Government incentives & mandates to reduce fossil fuel use” (**Tables 4**). Two groups of main campus students- environmental and math & chemistry students- preferred the individual solution of “Individuals should become less oil-dependent.” For the issue of greenhouse gas emissions from transportation, nearly all students advocated for individuals to adopt lifestyles less dependent on cars and airplanes but main campus social science students and FPF environmental students envisioned city planning projects and reduced US subsidies to oil companies as better solutions, respectively. For the third issue of increasing amount of waste sent to landfills, students framed the solution as individuals need to stop generating so much waste themselves, or that corporations need to reduce their packaging. The former solution was envisioned by both populations of biology & health and undecided students,

and the latter solution was preferred by both groups of environmental students. Business, math & chemistry, and social science students were split (**Table 4**).

Table 4. Perceived solutions to environmental issues. Main campus in black font, FPF in green

	Biology & Health	Business	Environmental	Math & Chemistry	Social Science	Undecided
Environmental Problem						
Toxic Waste	Government Government	Government, Government	Individual, Government	Individual, Government	Government , Government	Government , Government
Greenhouse emissions	Individual, Individual	Individual, Individual	Individual, Government (2)	Individual, Individual	Government (1), Individual	Individual, Individual
Waste sent to landfills	Individual, Individual	Individual, corporation	Corporation, corporation	Corporation, Individual	Individual & Corporation, Individual	Individual, Individual

In terms of politics, I found no correlation between students’ political identification and how they perceived the role of the government in solving environmental issues. Whether students indentified as liberal or conservative bore no relationship to whether they advocated for more government regulation.

Interviews

In my focus group interviews, students were invited to discuss any environmental issues they wished to and I prompted them to describe the nature of their selected issue in terms of its causes and possible solutions. One student in each of the two separate focus group interviews brought up the issue of fracking. The other two issues chosen were: (1) free trade, and (2) soil degradation from large-scale agriculture. When I asked the student who chose free trade to discuss how it is an environmental issue, much of her explanation described the people whose livelihoods are impacted by free trade. I observed that other students framed environmental issues as social issues as well. The four interviewed students each recognized the multidimensional nature of environmental issues- for example: the student who discussed fracking was personally adamantly opposed to fracking, but explained that for tar sands workers in Alberta, there are few other employment opportunities. She concluded that for the

U.S to move away from “dirty fuels”, the government must stop its subsidies to the fossil fuel industry and help bring cleaner jobs to areas where there are no other employment options.

When describing the causes of these issues, focus group participants highlighted the importance of the “unsustainable” American lifestyle similar to the survey participants. In addition, focus group participants emphasized that the cause of environmental issues cannot be attributed to a single actor but rather each actor I described (corporations, government, and individuals) are players in a larger culture that relies on destruction of the environment to achieve maximum economic production. These students claimed that corporations and government must be part of the solution, not just individual behavior change.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study show that most UC Berkeley students believe that an unsustainable level of consumption by American individuals underlies the environmental issues of toxic spills, accumulating fossil fuel emissions, and increasing amount of waste sent to landfills. Although nearly all surveyed students perceive that the “American lifestyle” is a major cause of these environmental issues, students have varying conceptions of how solutions should be implemented to solve these issues. Students in environmental majors believe that solutions should be implemented “downstream” of production at the individual consumer level i.e. consuming less, purchasing “greener” products, and reducing trips by car. The most students believe that the solution must be affected “upstream” of production at the level of government i.e. regulation on corporations. Fewer students, but particularly students whose major was “undeclared” at the time of the survey believe that corporations can voluntarily shift to cleaner technology and less wasteful practices in response to market pressures without intervention by government or individual lifestyle changes. The attention students paid to individual unsustainable lifestyles and the fact that over 80% of my survey participants claim to “regularly perform environmentally responsible behavior” shows that they have taken up the message of mainstream environmentalism which urges individual to adopt pro-environmental behavior such as installing low-flow shower heads, reusing bags and containers, avoiding disposable ware, and minimizing car trips (Dietz et al 2009). The extent to which this pro-environmental behavior adopted solely at the individual level has an effect on reducing fossil fuel emissions, toxic spills, and waste sent to landfills is uncertain. Political identification did not correlate strongly with students’ perception of the role of government in causing or solving

environmental issues: even students who identified as libertarian advocated for more government regulation to reduce the environmental externalities from corporations. Overall, students identified the root cause of environmental issues as unsustainable levels of consumption and believed that the solution will involve individual behavior change but also the government must play a large role in reversing many of the externalities. These unsustainable lifestyles are a product of the dominant economic model of maximum production, and students' focus on individual behavior change as a solution reflects the neoliberal paradigm, which encourages people to understand their societal role as an individual consumer. A minority of students expressed frustrations about this paradox, and their views will be discussed alongside the majority of student responses.

Framing environmental issues

Across the board, students from every academic discipline recognized that unsustainable American lifestyles are harming the environment and depleting natural resources. Whether students perceived this to a problem because if we run out of oil we will have no fuel to get around, for example, or because destruction of the Earth is inherently wrong, was revealed in the short answer survey responses and focus group interviews. For example, one student expressed that the root cause of environmental issues is, "Blindness by most people at the affect this has on the Earth", which suggests concern over the destruction of Earth itself. On the other hand, another student expressed that, "[the cause of increasing fossil fuel emissions is that] reduced carbon emission cars are not widely accessible/available enough yet to people but I think they have the potential to be, and once they become common place will be able to dramatically reduce carbon emissions". In this case, it is unknown if the student is concerned over the environmental destruction required to mine for oil, but it is clear that they believe that the solution to using less fossil fuel is to switch to improved technology without necessarily changing driving habits. Environmentalism takes many forms: for some, environmentalism is associated with altruistic concern for non-human beings (Stern et al, 1993), and for others, environmentalism takes the form of ensuring natural resources for human consumption through preservation, cap-and-trade carbon schemes, and water rights. How students value the human-environment relationship is important because this understanding lays the foundation for how we can move forward on solving environmental issues. The distinction between "nature" and "man" is centuries old but hardly clear (Williams 1980), and my results show that most students think of nature and society as separate constructs, where

society is the active agent. Why we should solve environmental issues and who should do the solving varied greatly across my survey sample based on the different assumptions students have regarding the human-nature relationship.

The Role of Government in Environmental Issues: Causes and Solutions

My data suggest that main campus students are more leery of the government's capacity to address environmental issues than are transfer students (Fall Program for Freshmen population). This could be explained by the fact that the main campus population was older (only 37% freshmen versus 83% freshmen in the FPF population), and had thus spent more years taking classes at Cal that possibly taught them how government policies are not always effective. I remember taking a course my junior year which dealt a great blow to my faith in government's ability to address climate change. Across the board, FPF students of any major favored the government over corporations or individuals as the principal actor capable of remedying environmental issues. Only half of the majors in the main campus population ranked the government as most capable of solving environmental issues. Additionally- whereas most FPF students blamed the cause of environmental issues on unsustainable individuals and irresponsible corporations, the main campus students included the government's lack of sufficient regulation on corporations as a principle cause of environmental issues. It is interesting to note this discrepancy: main campus students believe that if government did a better job of regulating corporations, we wouldn't face the environmental issues we see today- however few if any of these students recommended future government regulation as a solution. Students' political views did not seem to correlate with their perceptions about the role of government in solving or causing environmental issues. Students identified as somewhat or very liberal favored government and individual solutions over technical solutions, however students who identify as somewhat conservative actually supported government solutions more so than somewhat liberal students. Libertarian students were not well represented in my survey, but their identified solutions were tied between government and individual measures.

The Role of Neoliberalization in Environmental Issues

The solution of fixing individual behavior aligns with our current capitalist paradigm where individuals are responsible for their own behavior and government intervention is

frowned upon other than in the domain of promoting economic growth. If the most effective solutions involve reorienting our society's values away from maximizing economic growth through maximum production (Nordhaus & Schellenberger 2007), then we need solutions beyond finding cleaner technology, which was a very popular solution among my survey participants. In particular, the contemporary focus on consumption is a product of the ideological hegemony of neoliberalism which defines the individual's agency through their consumption practices.

Limitations and Future Directions

The value of my study may be mostly limited by my study design. The three environmental issues I chose for students to focus on are very much related to consumption which may explain why students pointed to unsustainable lifestyles as the cause of these issues. Students may offer different solutions to different environmental issues.

Additionally I was not able to ask all of the follow-up questions I wanted to pose to my survey and focus group population. If I could ask more follow-up questions, I would ask surveyed students a question that I asked my interviewees- "Is a "green economy" possible, and what would it look like?" to see if the old divide between "protecting the planet" and "supporting the economy" still exists, or if students have a more nuanced understanding of this divide. I would also ask students, "How many students do you think agree with your views about environmental issues?" to see what students view as the dominant discourse. To address these points, researchers who wish to further explore this topic should offer survey participants a greater range of topics that are not so blatantly linked to consumption, and include additional survey questions regarding the validity and plausibility of a green economy.

Conclusion

College students explain environmental issues very differently depending on their academic major, year in college, and political identification. For many students, environmental issues are so entwined with social issues that the two are inseparable. Future environmental policy leaders may want to use alternative frames for environmental issues to fit with the increasing amount of people who do not favor the term "environmentalist", and who see

destruction of the environment as a result of our mode of production, and international power dynamics, not unsustainable lifestyles by individuals.

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