

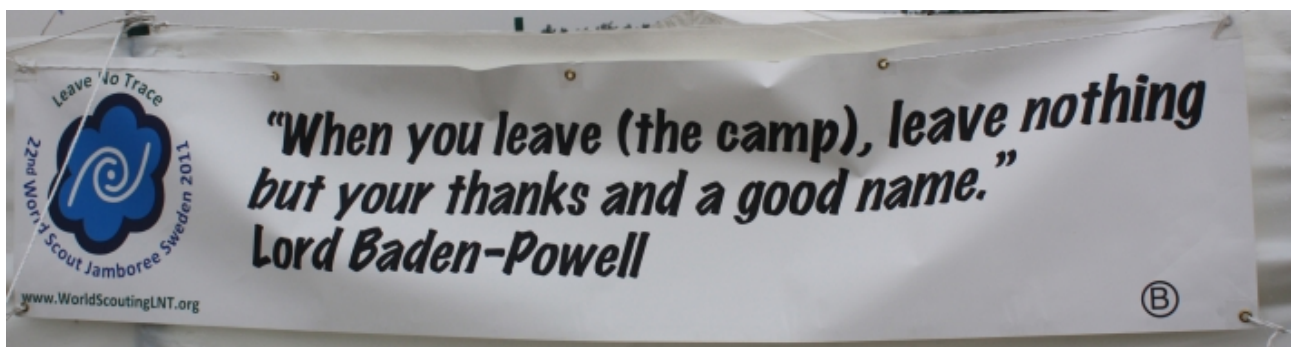


"Most Primitive Scouting Experience"

'Friend to Nature': Environmental Attitudes within the Scout Movement

Undergraduate dissertation by Otava Piha

as part of a degree in Geography at the University of Cambridge



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Introduction

Research question and context

This study describes the environmental attitudes of Australian, Colombian, Indian, Mexican, and Polish scouts who attended the 2011 World Scout Jamboree. It aims to establish whether, how far and on which issues there is a common environmentalist view within the Scout Movement.

As environmental problems become increasingly globalised, need arises for an international group of people to provide practical solutions through a peaceful and fair process. Scouting is an international social movement where people share core values, including respect for the environment, but where cultural diversity and personal opinion are allowed to flourish. Scouts are thus ideally placed to forge the links necessary for the peaceful resolution of environmental conflicts. The first step towards establishing scouts' potential for this is to map the environmental attitudes of internationally oriented scouts, which is the purpose of this study.

If scouts share a common environmentalist philosophy, it could be the result of environmentalist education within scouting or due to scouting itself attracting similar environmentalists. This study cannot distinguish between the two, but it will describe the environmental education provided in scouting, to determine whether a scouting experience increases knowledge of the environmental issues examined. Of particular interest will be divides between nationalities, as this would suggest that place-specific processes are at work shaping environmental attitudes.

A questionnaire was circulated to target countries at the World Scout Jamboree in Sweden in summer 2011. As an international scout camp, the Jamboree was a convenient environment to reach large numbers of scouts from multiple countries. However, Jamboree scouts represent a particular subset of scouts: those who are adventurous, interested in foreign cultures and probably middle-class. This characterisation does not matter for the purposes of this study, because these internationalists are the most likely to form the group of environmental conflict

resolvers. However, the results presented here should not be generalised to the scout population as a whole.

Terminology

Scouts have their own jargon. For simplicity, any member of the scout and guide movement, regardless of age, sex or self-description, is called 'scout' in this study.

Literature review and background research

The first section, 'A history of environmentalism', examines some of the ideas underpinning environmentalism in a historical context; the second section, 'The international Scout Movement' links these ideas to the environmentalist education in scouting.

A history of environmentalism

The mid-nineteenth century marks the beginning of modern environmentalism as an intellectual concern and social programme (Guha, 2000) and of modern international environmental law (Sands, 2003). Guha identifies three ideas in this first wave of environmentalism: the wilderness idea, back-to-the-land and scientific conservation. In the second wave of environmentalism, since the 1960s, these three ideas have resurged, and environmentalism has also forged links with other social movements, such as feminism, socialism and rights-based movements. The nineteenth century environmentalisms and the ways in which they have re-emerged are examined first, after which recently developed environmental philosophies are considered. Environmentalism today is a mixture of all these ideas, has many forms and variable aims, and not all of its principles are mutually compatible.

The wilderness idea and sustainable development

The wilderness idea has the most visible history in the form of game reserves, national parks and other land set aside for natural beauty or resources (Adams, 2001; 2004). Its appeal is still strong; research has found that the majority of people in Western countries prefer a wild landscape, “where one may experience the greatness and forces of nature” or interact with something separate from humans (de Groot and van den Born, 2003:131; Haukeland *et al.*, 2010). However, the idea of 'wilderness' as land untouched by humans creates an unrealistic divide between nature and culture. McKibbin (1990) has claimed that through climate change, humans have modified every place on the planet; this is “the end of nature”. Others believe the

human impact on the environment is now so great that we have entered into a new geological period, the 'Anthropocene' (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000; Steffen *et al.*, 2007). These views represent an extreme; but even moderate accounts point out that 'wilderness' is a social construct and 'empty lands' have usually been inhabited by indigenous people prior to the coming of 'civilization' (Cronon, 1995; Adams, 2004). The wilderness idea also falls short of environmental requirements on another account. Nature protection demands an environmental ethic that considers how we use nature as well as where not to use it (Cronon, 1995). This is the idea of sustainable development, which gained prominence in the 1980s and 1990s. The belief is that environmental protection can be combined with economic activity, in the same space.

Our Common Future, the 1987 report that made sustainable development politically prominent, defines it as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987:43). Beckermann (1994) has criticised the whole concept, claiming that it is vague, impractical and impossible to reject without seeming greedy and careless, making it either logically redundant or morally repugnant. The appeal of sustainable development has rested precisely on this portrayal as a win-win situation and Skolimowski (1995: 70) has argued that it is better to use vague concepts to “muddle through to salvation” than to “go crisply to damnation”. Similarly, Jacobs (1997) has argued that the environment remains a politically marginal topic, but without the vague concept of sustainable development, it would be unapproachable.

Back-to-the-land and a philosophy of simplicity

A romantic bid to return to the countryside, back-to-the-land was a reaction against the negative externalities of urbanisation and industrialisation and a moral critique of the greedy lifestyles of contemporary capitalists (Guha, 2000). The movement was inspired by poets such as Blake and Wordsworth, social critics like Dickens and Engels, and humanists like Gandhi. Back-to-the-land has never been politically or economically prominent, although its modern version is gaining social momentum as part of a wider philosophy of simplicity. One organisation of modern back-to-the-land philosophy is the Transition Network. However, rather than advocating a return to the country, it encourages community-based responses to peak oil and climate change (Transition Network, 2009).

Scientific conservation, technocracy and ecological modernisation

Scientific conservation attempted to rein in the excesses of industrial development and emphasised efficiency (Guha, 2000). Its pillar was rationality and the idea of sustained yield, which later contributed to the concept of sustainable development. The thinking was that humans were dependent on ecosystem services, so the destruction of these services would cause the destruction of human civilization.

Scientific conservation has become influential today in the form of technocracy and ecological modernisation. Technocracy relies on rationality, managerial principles and technological improvement, and its aims are utilitarian (O'Riordan, 1981). Its newest forms include harnessing natural processes for human purposes, like in biotechnology. Ecological modernisation (e.g. Jacobs, 1991; Jackson, 2009) harnesses existing economic principles and mechanisms for environmental protection (Berger *et al.*, 2001). It is technocratic insofar as it relies on economic rationality. Ecological modernisation has huge appeal, because it does not require a large-scale reorganisation of the economy or an overhaul of our current lifestyles.

The making of a mass movement

Environmentalism became a mass movement in the 1960s. Owing to Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), pollution became a major concern, and in 1966 Kenneth Boulding used the term 'Spaceship Earth' to describe the idea of finite resources on Earth. The symbolic imagery of 'Spaceship Earth' is very powerful, and the publication of *The Limits to Growth* by the Club of Rome (Meadows *et al.*, 1972) hurled finite resources into the centre of academic and political debates. Yearley (1996:2) puts it neatly: "The sense that the globe is all there is ... has lately been intensified." Another concern of the 1960s was population growth, with books like Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* (1968) fuelling neo-Malthusian debates. All these issues were treated as isolated problems, with a technocratic fix in sight; for example, the banning of toxic substances, the development of alternative and renewable materials, and the global dissemination of contraception and family planning were considered realistic solutions.

The population question

The population question is a contentious issue, going back to the widely misquoted Thomas Malthus (1798). Malthus wrote that human populations have a tendency to multiply beyond the ecological carrying capacity, leading to suffering and death from population checks like disease and hunger. The controversy arose from Malthus' opinion (which he soon revised) that the 'lower classes' could not be taught restraint in reproduction, and thus excessive population growth could never be averted. However, the argument has now turned on its head: it is the well-off who cannot exercise restraint in their resource use, and therefore it is distasteful to suggest that the world's majority population (the '80 percent who use 20 percent of global natural resources') are the problem. The population question is about environmental justice and the global distribution of wealth. The concern is not really whether there are enough resources for seven billion (or more), but that, if we accept that there are limits to growth, average consumption could be higher if there were fewer people. Academics' aversion to engaging with the population question has been criticised because population growth has very real detrimental effects on living standards and development goals (Campbell *et al.*, 2007). Therefore, clear, logical thinking on the population question must be encouraged, so that the public can avoid prejudice and discrimination based on out-dated neo-Malthusian ideas.

A holistic environmentalism

In the last few decades, the concern with climate change has encouraged environmental debates to become more holistic. Important problems like rainforest deforestation are a result of global economic flows, Western consumerism and the imbalance in power over natural resources, but the effects are mostly felt in tropical countries: directly affecting livelihoods and food security, while the impacts of climate change are also most strongly felt there. Modern environmentalism has from the beginning been a counter-reaction to industrialisation and has therefore engaged with the prevailing economic paradigm, but now it also has to engage with a politics of human rights and equality, in a situation complicated by deep political distrust between North and South.

To deal with such complexity, the environmental movement has become one of values (Jacobs, 1997; Castells, 2004; Dobson, 2007; Hulme, 2009), raising deeper questions about what people

hold dear in a modern society: equality, justice, happiness, health, amenity, and so on. Castells (2004) links the rise of mass environmentalism to the rise of the network society, where opposition to the values and interests that have programmed the global flows of wealth, information and power is rooted in cultural identity, including environmentalist identity. However, this complexity of conceptual frameworks has made environmental issues difficult to approach and thus contributed their political marginalisation (Jacobs, 1997). Exhortations by authors like Newell and Paterson (2010:1) that “in responses to climate change, we have the first instance of societies collectively seeking a dramatic transformation of the entire global economy” are pure fantasy, as national governments across the Western world strive to restart the economic engine of business-as-usual in the ongoing serious economic crisis.

A unifying movement?

It is common to see environmentalism as a unified movement, where internal divisions about methods of action and theories of causation are set aside in the desire to halt the relentless, multiform destruction of the environment (Castells, 2004). Unfortunately, treating the environmental movement as unified is misguided. Castells (2004) presents a classification of the perceived identities, adversaries and goals of environmental movements. Thus the identity of the 'Defence of own space' or NIMBY category is 'the local community' – radically different from, for example, Greenpeace, whose identity is that of international ecowarriors, out to save the world, fighting global structures of power through established political channels and non-violent activism. Crudely speaking, those defending their own space (often for reasons of health or amenity, rather than climate or biodiversity) will not engage with wider, intangible environmental issues, unlike Greenpeace activists who may fail to engage with problems they see as local and therefore less important. Similarly, Yearley (1996) examines how the universalising discourses of environmental movements fail to formulate unifying practical solutions: an 'objective' science-based discourse reveals nothing about our values and therefore cannot determine policy; ecological modernisation fails to differentiate between material preferences; and the discourse of sustainable development cannot suggest practical mechanisms that would also ensure equality.

Despite shared goals and universal discourses, united environmental action is hindered by a profound inequality of power, for

“while pollution, resource depletion, species loss and population hazards illustrate global connections and seem to offer the possibility for people to embrace a global identity, these problems also indicate that global relations are characterized by inequality and – often – by double standards... 'Global' hazards are not necessarily unifying” (Yearley, 1996:60).

Yearley's pessimism may be unnecessarily gloomy. Castells (2004:191) writes

“This is not to say that a new international of good-intentioned, generous citizens has emerged. Yet. As shown in this volume, old and new cleavages of class, gender, ethnicity, religion and territoriality are at work in dividing and subdividing issues, conflicts, and projects. [But new projects of environmental justice] hint at superseding the exhausted social movements of industrial society, to resume, under historically appropriate forms, the old dialectics between domination and resistance, between *realpolitik* and utopia, between cynicism and hope.”

The movement of environmental justice must necessarily be more than just environmental. Environmental justice must engage with the challenge of environmental degradation as well as race/ethnicity, gender, class, poverty, citizenship, human rights and inequalities of power while creating and maintaining a feeling of unity, equality and open-mindedness. Owing to their set of shared values, the international community of scouts would be well-placed to take on such a multifaceted challenge.

The international Scout Movement

As a topic of study, scouting has been largely neglected compared to other global movements. However, as Warren (2009) points out, a few facets of scouting have been extensively explored, such as the early, especially European, history of scouting (e.g. Kerr, 1932; MacDonald, 1993) and the biography of Lord Baden-Powell (B-P), the founder of the movement (e.g. Hillcourt, 1964; Jeal, 1989, 2001). There is also research on a local or national level, but it is mistaken to generalise about scouting as a whole based on a study of British scouting or Thai scouting (Vallory, 2007). Furthermore, researchers need to “get away from B-P” – the movement has evolved for over seventy years after his death (Warren, 2009: xiv). Only a few studies attempt to delimit the idea of a World Scouting and examine its principles and practices. These include Laszlo Nagy's 1967 *Report on World Scouting*, Eduard Vallory's 2007 *Global Citizenship Education*, and *Scouting Frontiers*, edited by Nelson Block and Tammy Proctor, from 2009; all

three studies regard World Scouting as a movement where the values, goals and methods of the World Organisation for the Scout Movement (WOSM) and World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), the largest of the international scouting associations, are brought to bear. The World Scout Jamboree, where this study was conducted, is under the organisational capacity of WOSM, although WAGGGS members may also attend. Therefore the values and principles of World Scouting, outlined below, can be assumed to apply to all study participants. Indeed, this is the only common denominator that can be assumed to apply.

WOSM's 1998 document *The Essential Characteristics of Scouting* and WAGGGS' Constitution define what World Scouting is (Vallory, 2007). It is an educational movement for young people, aiming to develop individual potential and educate good citizens and peaceful neighbours. The principles are embodied in the Scout Promise and Scout Law, both of which may be revised and reformulated into culturally and historically appropriate forms, as long as the 'scouting spirit' remains unchanged. The method is that of self-education, learning by doing and outdoor life, with personal progress encouraged by a team system and adult support. Importantly, the method does not involve discipline or the uniform; World Scouting has adopted a civic purpose over a military purpose, and the method reflects this (ibid.). The movement must be voluntary, embrace non-discrimination, be independent of government or other institutional control, and be non-partisan, meaning that the movement does not involve itself in a struggle for power or in any political organisation, but will defend its values in public debate. The frequent banning of scouting by oppressive regimes testifies to the movement's power for shaping independent thinkers with liberal values (The Scout Association, 2006). These scouting principles have been applied with very few exceptions (Vallory, 2007).

Environmental education in Scouting

The environment has always been vital in scouting: “A Scout is a friend to animals” formed the 'nature clause' in Baden-Powell's original scout law, and Baden-Powell encouraged scouts to get to know the ways of animals and respect nature (Baden-Powell, 1908). Since then, environmental education has diversified to include more abstract, urban and industrial topics. This is reflected in a 2002 WOSM report, *Scouting and the Environment*, and the World Scout Environment Programme (WOSM, 2012a) which engage with modern environmental issues. The most visible benefit of life in nature is youth's physical development, but the hidden benefits

of intellectual, social, emotional and spiritual development are no less important (WOSM, 2002; Schusler and Krasny, 2010). This study focuses on the intellectual, social and spiritual dimensions of environmental problems and education. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine whether scouts live according to their principles.

WOSM and WAGGGS have a wealth of environmental initiatives. WOSM's World Scout Environment Programme includes a World Scout Environment Badge (WOSM, 2012b) and a Scout of the World Award (WOSM, 2012c). The former emphasises personal environmental responsibility and the linkages of local and global environmental problems, and encourages practical action. The latter award focuses on environment, development and peace. The international dimension and universal values like freedom, tolerance, equality, respect for nature and shared responsibility form the basis of the award, and to earn it, scouts may choose to focus on environmental awareness rather than practical action. Cooperation with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has included UNEP participating in the Global Development Villages at World Scout Jamborees, where it can reach out directly to scouts from the age of 14 (WOSM, 2002). WAGGGS's Biodiversity badge (WAGGGS, 2010) focuses on the protection of the natural world and the Global Action Theme (GAT) Badge (WAGGGS, 2009a) revolves around the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), including one on environmental sustainability.

Most scouts' scouting experience revolves around the national scouting programme, rather than those of WOSM and WAGGGS. Email interviews (appendix 2) with three national scouting organisations (NSOs) explored the environmental aspects of national scouting programmes that the participants of this study would have been exposed to. No response was received from the Mexican or Colombian organisation.

The scout law. Every scout law has a nature clause, although the wording varies; for example in Poland, “A Scout loves nature and tries to get to know it” while in Mexico, “A Scout sees in nature the work of God, and protects animals and plants”. The Colombian scout law includes an encouragement to 'develop' or 'improve' nature.

Religion. The explicit mention of God in the Mexican and Colombian scout laws is interesting, as it explicitly links nature and scouting to a supreme being; the Indian NSO also reported encouraging the protection of nature as a work of God.

Citizenship. Poland and India reported an engagement with environmental citizenship. For example, in Indian scouting, pure water and air are promoted as a right for all. The Polish scouting programme increasingly encourages individual environmentalist behaviour, which can be framed in terms of citizenship responsibilities; their citizenship-related activity may be framed as environmental citizenship.

Badges and activities. NSOs' badges and activities cover a wide range of environmental topics. Often there is an emphasis on certain aspects of environmental action; for example, in India these include tree-planting, recycling, a pollution-free environment and solar energy. In Poland, there is an emphasis on outdoor skills and ecology, in line with their scout law. However, there is often scope for a scout to also study another environmental theme of their choice. Issues of poverty are not dealt with in relation to environmental issues, although they may be addressed by other sections of the scouting programme and through WAGGGS' GAT Badge. NSOs do not engage with the population question, although the GAT Badge may address women's reproduction through the question of women's empowerment. Australian scouting promotes awareness of international environmental problems and how Australians, including scouts, contribute to those problems; but Poland chooses to concentrate on problems at home first. Projects become more ambitious as scouts become older.

Cooperation with local agencies and environmental events. Cooperation is widespread; for example, in Australia there is a badge for those who attend three events with Landcare, a grassroots environmental network of community-based conservation. Environmental events are often tied in with external organisations' events.

Advice for leaders. NSOs produce materials to advise leaders on environmental aspects like the environment programmes and camp site care. In Poland, leaders are advised to leave the camp site in better environmental condition than they found it; in India, the use of plastics is particularly discouraged.

Although the material is plentiful, it is difficult to determine how much exposure to environmental issues scouts generally receive and how transformative the education is. However, it seems reasonable to assume that all scouts have spent some time considering environmental issues, even if the emphasis has been on tangible aspects like habitat disturbance around the camp site or recycling at the scout hall. The WOSM and WAGGGS awards generally include some interconnectedness of environmental issues, poverty, human rights, economics,

politics and environmental justice, which will provide an additional dimension to those scouts who are exposed to them. Considering the national differences in environmental education, it is reasonable to expect national differences in scouts' environmental attitudes – although any convergence of environmental attitudes will be even more interesting.

Methods

Data collection

A questionnaire was circulated at the World Scout Jamboree (WSJ) in Rinkaby, Sweden between 25th July and 8th August 2011. A WSJ is a large international scout camp, which members of WOSM and WAGGGS are eligible to attend. The WSJ 2011 had over 40,000 participants from more than 150 countries.

Sampling and representativeness

The selection of target countries was based on

- The number of adult participants: sufficient to allow 30 questionnaires to be collected, but excluding the very large contingents like the UK, the US and Sweden, as this would lead to highly biased sampling. The samples obtained are not representative of adult scouts as a whole, only of the adult participants of the WSJ. This study does not generalise about scouting in any particular country, but rather examines whether a shared environmentalism has emerged among scouts who engage in international activities.
- Language: a sufficient level of English or Spanish.
- National scouting organisation (NSO; the scouting organisation that is a member of WOSM): countries where the NSO is a federation of several associations were excluded, as the scouts in the different associations would not necessarily share the same educational programme. This excluded for example Spain, where the NSO is a federation of a Catholic scout association and a lay scout association.
- Diversity: the study aimed to reach countries from different parts of the world. However, due to language problems and small contingent sizes from 'developing countries' this was not achieved as fully as desired. Where several countries from the same part of the world fulfilled the above conditions, one was chosen; for example, out of Poland, Slovenia and Hungary, Poland was chosen.

Five countries submitted a sufficient number of questionnaires for analysis. There was insufficient time for chasing responses from other possible study countries. The target was 30 responses per country; this was reached for Australia (30), Poland (31), Mexico (31) and Colombia (30), while India fell slightly short (27). Indians were nevertheless included in the study, but their answers will be less representative than for the other countries.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire (appendix 1) consisted mostly of attitude measurement questions and was based on the widely used New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) by Dunlap and van Liere (1978), and its subsequent revisions (Olsen *et al.*, 1992; Dunlap *et al.*, 2000). However, not all NEP questions were used due to a desire to include items on other aspects of environmentalism as well, and the wording of questions was occasionally simplified or an example added to clarify the meaning, bearing in mind some scouts would be completing the questionnaire in a foreign language. The questions not taken from NEP were formulated to address other aspects of environmentalism, outlined above (pp. 7-12). Respondents were also encouraged to comment on the questions.

Problems with data collection

Time constraints. Restricted by the duration of the Jamboree, the research period was only 15 days, so there was insufficient time to chase more responses from India or other potential study countries.

Language. Language is a perpetual difficulty in studies on scouting (Vallory, 2007; Block and Proctor, 2009). Although the questionnaire was provided in English and Spanish, this left Poles and Indians without a questionnaire in their first language. The possibility of misunderstandings exists, and where these are suspected, the issue is raised.

In a bilingual study, there are inevitable translation problems; the Spanish and English questionnaires were by definition different. However using only English would have limited the

scope of the study significantly.

Piloting. There was no situation comparable to a WSJ in which to pilot the study. A small pilot was conducted at the International Youth Forum Seliger in Russia, but participants in the pilot were neither scouts nor from the same countries as in the eventual study, and their level of English (as a foreign language) was higher than at the Jamboree. In the eventual study it emerged that question 2 (gender) was missed by 10 percent of participants and the instructions for questions 6 and 7 were frequently misunderstood. The former is put down to poor questionnaire design and the latter down to the conjunction of instruction complexity and language problems.

Positionality. It has been said that research by non-scouts fails to adequately understand a movement that is incredibly diverse, has multiple goals, brings together over 30 million people of all ages (WOSM, 2011), functions through hundreds of regional, national and international associations in 161 countries (ibid.), cross-cuts national, cultural, political and religious boundaries, defies any neat explanatory categorisation of social movements (Warren, 2009), and where, as Vallory (2007: 43) puts it, “intuition is much more important than doctrine”. On the other hand, research on scouting by scouts themselves often rests on romantic assumptions based on the researcher's own scouting experience or on an interpretation of scouting ideology that does not match diverse scouting practice (Warren, 2009). As a scout, this criticism applies to me. However, a critical and self-reflexive scout will make better assumptions and therefore more meaningful conclusions than a non-scout who is not familiar with the 'spirit' of scouting.

Analysis

Different statistical tests (Ebdon, 1985) were considered for testing how opinions on environmental questions (strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree) vary in relation to nationality, age and sex. However, the categorical or ordinal nature of the data ruled out any parametric tests and the validity of non-parametric tests was compromised by small sample sizes. Even when categories were collapsed down to three (agreement, undecided, disagreement), Chi-square produced mostly invalid results as the computation produced too many categories with an expected value of less than five. The Mann-Whitney U-test was used to

determine where differences between medians existed, but as frequency distributions can be very different while having a similar median, patterns were also detected by eye from frequency distributions. Usually, data was collapsed into three categories (agreement, undecided, disagreement) to bring out the differences in opinions more starkly.

Because the age and sex distributions within countries were different (see pp. 22-24), any age or sex-related trend could actually reflect a trend among a nationality that is over-represented in that age group or sex. The same logic could, of course, apply to national trends, which could be mediated by age and sex. The magnitude of this effect could be determined using multivariate correlation analysis, but the sample sizes would become too small for the result to be statistically significant. It will be the task of a broader study to explore these relations in more depth.

The questionnaire included some questions whose answers could be assumed to be related, such as statements 5f and 5j and statements 8g and 8j. The extent of a possible correlation is described numerically, but the nature of the data excluded statistical tests.

The programs used were Minitab 16, OpenOffice Calc and Microsoft Excel.

Limitations

The main conceptual limitations to this type of cross-national study are that

- a) the terms used, such as 'nature', 'the environment' and 'sustainable development', are not defined and therefore participants will interpret their meanings differently. However, without a degree of vagueness, it would be impossible to conduct international comparisons; and
- b) the frameworks of environmentalism are generally Western constructions. However, some questions explored principles like responsibility and rights, which form some of the essential characteristics of scouting and are therefore shared between all scouts. Other questions focussed on international environmental politics, so the questions were relevant to all countries, even though the political debates are still largely dominated by Western countries.

The main methodological limitation is that attitude measurement questions are always leading questions. However, due to language limitations, they were deemed more appropriate than open questions. The impact of leading questions can occasionally be seen as contradictions in individual respondents' answers.

Results and discussion

This section analyses how scouts engage with prominent environmental questions identified in the literature review, especially whether and on which questions opinions converge and, if they diverge, whether there is a nationality, age or sex-related trend. After a description of the study population, each question on the questionnaire will be analysed individually and in relation to each other to see if there are general conclusions to be drawn about environmentalism and its variation among scouts who attended the Jamboree. Findings are summarised in the next section.

The study population

Table 1 characterises the study population by nationality, sex, age and faith. Although the questionnaire asked about it, faith was not included in the analysis, as Christians, making up 60% of the study population, were severely over-represented. The second largest group was agnostics, with only 18 respondents (12%). Such small population sizes made statistical analysis very unreliable. The range of faiths was limited by the choice of countries, which were chosen according to criteria mentioned on page 17.

Despite the uneven age categories used, the age distribution suffers from skewed representation: the 31-40 years category, spanning ten years, makes up only 10% of the study population, while the 18-22 years category spans five years and makes up 46%. The Jamboree is a predominantly young people's gathering, which gives a particular flavour to the data obtained.

The age and sex distributions by nationality were also uneven. The Polish contingent was most visibly young: 97% of Polish study participants were aged 18-30. Poles and Mexicans made up 59% of respondents aged 18-22. Australians and Indians made up two-thirds of respondents aged over 40. By sex, the Indians and Colombians emerge as predominantly male, the Mexicans and Australians as predominantly female. As mentioned above, these distributions affect the

interpretation of trends in the data.

Table 1: The study population

Characteristic							
Nationality							
Australian	30	By sex		By age			
		Female	14 47%	18-22	8	27%	
		Male	9 30%	23-30	6	20%	
				31-40	4	13%	
				Over 40	11	37%	
Colombian	30	By sex		By age			
		Female	11 37%	18-22	13	43%	
		Male	17 57%	23-30	6	20%	
				31-40	5	17%	
				Over 40	6	20%	
Indian	27	By sex		By age			
		Female	9 33%	18-22	7	26%	
		Male	17 63%	23-30	4	15%	
				31-40	4	15%	
				Over 40	12	44%	
Mexican	31	By sex		By age			
		Female	16 52%	18-22	20	65%	
		Male	13 42%	23-30	4	13%	
				31-40	1	3%	
				Over 40	6	19%	
Polish	31	By sex		By age			
		Female	14 45%	18-22	20	65%	
		Male	14 45%	23-30	10	32%	
				31-40	1	3%	
				Over 40	0	0%	
Sex							
Female	64	43%					
Male	70	47%					

Age		
18-22	68	46%
23-30	30	20%
31-40	15	10%
Over 40	35	24%
Faith		
Christianity	89	60%
Agnosticism	18	12%
Hinduism	15	10%
Atheism	9	6%
Islam	3	2%
Buddhism	1	0.6%
Judaism	1	0.6%
Other	11	7%
Total	149	
respondents		

Blanks are excluded from the table; therefore the percentages for sex, age and faith distributions do not necessarily add up to 100%.

Environmental attitudes

Tables 2a to 2j list the statements and their numbers as they appear in the discussion. Percentage values given in the text for agreement or disagreement with a statement include both 'strongly (dis)agree' and '(dis)agree'. The full break-down is given in appendix 3. Where results between countries, age groups or sexes are said to be 'different' or 'differ significantly', the results of U-tests indicated a statistically significant difference at the 95% confidence level.

The state of the environment

Table 2a: The state of the environment

Statement or question	
5h	Human activities cannot upset the balance of nature
5i	The so-called “ecological crisis” facing humankind is greatly exaggerated
5l	Nature is vulnerable and needs protection
5n	Humans must reverse or heal the damage already done to nature
5o	Humans have the power to heal nature as well as destroy it
8a	Humans are severely abusing the environment
6	What do you think are the most serious global environmental problems at the present time? Please choose three and number them so that '1' is the most serious, '2' is the second most serious and '3' is the third most serious.
7	What do you think are the most serious environmental problems in your country at the present time? Please choose three and number them so that '1' is the most serious, '2' is the second most serious and '3' the third most serious.

These questions set the baseline for environmental protection by establishing whether respondents believe there is an environmental problem and which issues are the most serious. 93% of respondents agreed that nature is vulnerable and needs protection (5l) and 59% strongly believed so. Belief that humans are severely abusing the environment (8a) was also strong, with overall agreement at 85% and disagreement at only 3%. There were no age or sex-related trends, but U-tests revealed significant differences between Australians and Colombians, Australians and Indians, and Poles and Indians. Australians and Poles were those with higher rates of disagreement and indecision, and 60% of those who disagreed with statement 8a were Australian.

There was also strong agreement that humans both should and could heal the damage they have done to nature. However, belief in the ability of humans to correct for the destruction already caused (5o) was weaker than the belief in our responsibility to do so (5n); 71% believed in the former, compared to 85% for the latter. Interestingly, belief in the ability of humans to correct for damage done was highest in the 23-30 and 31-40 age groups, 87% in each, which was a statistically significant difference with the youngest, 18-22 age group, with only 62% of respondents believing so.

The other two statements divided opinion. More respondents disagreed (46%) than agreed (31%) that any ecological crisis is greatly exaggerated (5i, figure 1), but the pattern varied by country. The Australians, Indians and Mexicans were divided amongst themselves, while the Polish sat on the fence with 65% of their answers 'undecided'. The Colombians differed from everyone else; 80% of Colombians disagreed with the statement. Although the W-value was not significant, the two older age groups had significantly fewer 'undecided' answers (under 9%) than the two younger age groups (over 29%). The diversity of answers suggests that respondents' opinions are shaped by conditions internal to their communities and specific to their life histories, with the state of the local environment, exposure to media messages of the ecological crisis, or some other factor driving opinion (see Hulme, 2009).

5i: "The so-called "ecological crisis" is greatly exaggerated"

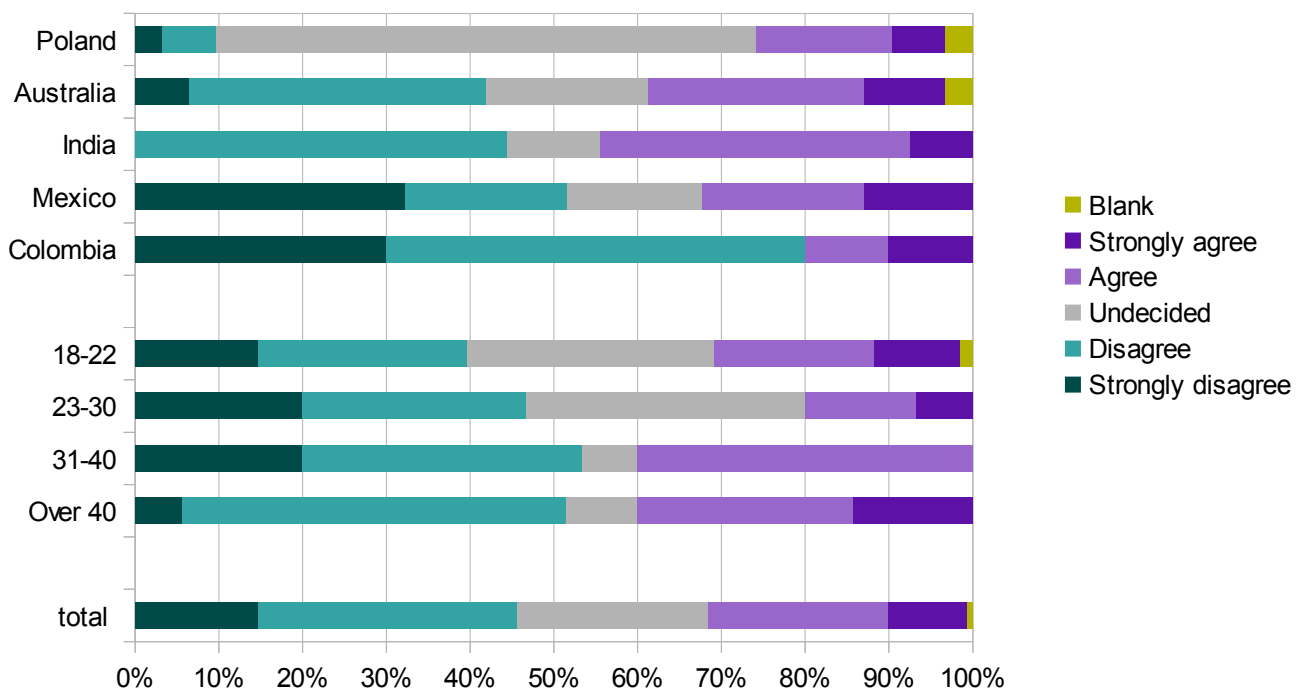


Figure 1: 5i: "The so-called "ecological crisis" is greatly exaggerated."

U-tests indicated statistically significant differences between Colombians and the other nationalities.

For statement 5h, "Human activities cannot upset the balance of nature" (figure 2), Australians had the highest rate of disagreement (77%), and Colombians the highest rates of agreement

(73%). Indians mostly disagreed (52%), Mexicans mostly agreed (58%). Poles tended towards agreement (48%), but with significant levels of indecision (19%). Again, local environmental and economic conditions and personal factors should explain the diversity of answers.

Australians, for example, are highly aware of their history of introduction of European species and the consequent extinction of Australian endemics, and perhaps this situation, unparalleled in the other countries, prompts the majority of Australians to disagree with the statement. Also, males mostly agreed that humans cannot upset the balance of nature (59% agreed; 30% disagreed), while females tended to disagree (42% agreed; 49% disagreed); a statistically significant difference. This finding gives some support to ecofeminist theories, although there is no reason to assume that the difference is biologically conditioned. Some ecofeminists (e.g. Shiva, 1989, 1994) have suggested that (due to their reproductive role) females are brought up to social roles of caring and empathy; and the attitude of care prevalent in modern environmental movements would therefore attract women (for critiques see e.g. Agarwal, 1992; Jackson, 1993). However, the obvious bimodal split in women's opinion shows that there is nothing deterministic about the women-nature relationship. While education and social norms undoubtedly play a role in shaping environmental attitudes, there are many women who have the attitude predominant among men, and many men who agree with the predominant 'female' attitude.

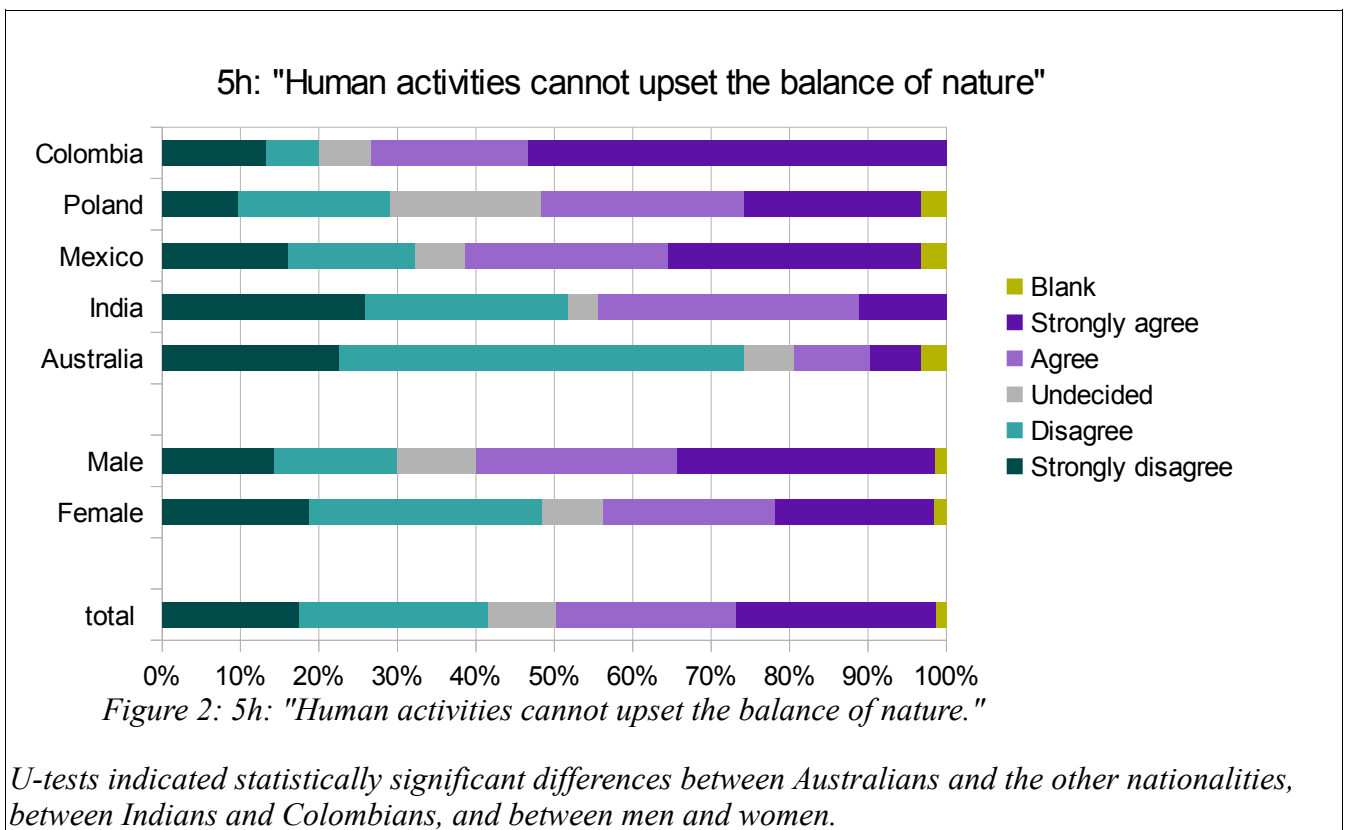


Table 3a: Most serious global environmental problems

Attribute	The 'top 3' – environmental problems with the most mentions as being among the most serious			Most often ranked as single most serious problem
Overall (137)	Climate change (61)	Water pollution (56)	Excessive consumption (54)	Climate change (29)
Australia (29)	Population growth (13)	Loss of biodiversity; excessive consumption (12)		Water pollution; climate change; loss of biodiversity (5)
Colombia (26)	Water pollution; climate change (11)		Excessive consumption (9)	Water pollution; climate change (5)
India (23)	Climate change (16)	Population growth (12)	Water pollution; deforestation (9)	Climate change (5)
Mexico (28)	Water pollution; climate change (16)		Excessive consumption (13)	Climate change (9)
Poland (31)	Excessive consumption (13)	Deforestation (12)	Population growth (11)	Deforestation (6)
18-22 (65)	Excessive consumption (28)	Climate change (23)	Population growth (22)	Climate change (14)
23-30 (28)	Water pollution; climate change (17)		Population growth (10)	Water pollution; climate change (6)
31-40 (11)	Climate change (7)	Water pollution; soil deterioration; population growth (4)		* (numbers too small to be meaningful)
Over 40 (33)	Water pollution (15)	Climate change; excessive consumption (14)		Climate change (7)
Female (58)	Climate change (27)	Water pollution; excessive consumption (22)		Climate change (15)
Male (66)	Water pollution; climate change (28)		Excessive consumption (26)	Water pollution; climate change (12)

The terms used (e.g. 'excessive consumption') have been shortened for reading convenience. For the full wording, refer to the questionnaire in appendix 1. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of respondents who answered the question from each group (Attribute column) or the number of times the problem was mentioned (other cells).

Questions 6 and 7 asked respondents to rank the three most serious environmental problems globally and in their own country. The 'top 3' global environmental problems by number of mentions (irrespective of whether ranked first, second or third most serious) and the problem most often ranked as the single biggest problem, by country, age and sex, are shown in table 3a. Global warming or climate change, the pollution of water resources and the excessive consumption of natural resources became the overall 'top 3'; climate change got the most mentions as the single most pressing environmental problem. Interestingly, and unlike for the other countries, climate change did not rank among the global 'top 3' among Australians and Poles, who have higher carbon dioxide emissions per capita (World Bank, 2012). One Australian respondent said in discussion, “Carbon dioxide is not a problem – just plant trees!” She justified Australia's high emissions in terms of necessity: “in Australia, we need to fly and drive.” For her, environmental problems were about the everyday and tangible: waste, food and air pollution – the issues she could have an impact on.

Excessive consumption of natural resources was among the global 'top 3' for all countries except India. Excessive consumption can be regarded as one cause of environmental problems, including climate change, and scouts themselves can directly have an impact through their own consumption patterns. Therefore, it is not surprising that the issue is mentioned often. The issue is especially important among the 18-22-year-olds, 43% of whom mentioned it. As these are scouts who have grown up at the time of consumerist culture, the prominence of excessive consumption as an environmental problem is interesting. It could be seen as a counter-reaction towards the culture these scouts grew up in or see around them (see Castells, 2004). As environmentalism and scouting both encourage the formation of certain personal and societal values that conflict with prevalent culture (such as responsibility towards the natural environment), contact with the latter or both movements may have initiated this counter-reaction (for environmentalism see Jacobs, 1997; Dobson, 2007; Hulme, 2009; for scouting see WOSM, 1998; Vallory, 2007; Block and Proctor, 2009). The age pattern could, of course, be mediated by nationality, but it is impossible to verify this from the data, as population sizes become too small for multivariate analysis.

Table 3b: Most serious environmental problems nationally

Attribute	The 'top 3' – environmental problems with the most mentions as being among the most pressing			Most often ranked as single most serious problem
Overall (139)	Water pollution (67)	Resource extraction (46)	Soil deterioration (45)	Water pollution (23)
Australia (29)	Soil deterioration; resource extraction (15)	Water pollution; excessive consumption (11)		Resource extraction (6)
Colombia (27)	Water pollution (15)	Soil deterioration (13)	Resource extraction (9)	Water pollution; soil deterioration; resource extraction (5)
India (24)	Population growth (20)	Water pollution (12)	Climate change (9)	Population growth (8)
Mexico (28)	Water pollution (15)	Air pollution; climate change; resource extraction; excessive consumption (10)		Water pollution (8)
Poland (31)	Water pollution; air pollution (14)	Excessive consumption; excessive waste (12)		Water pollution (5)

The terms used (e.g. 'excessive consumption') have been shortened for reading convenience. For the full wording, refer to the questionnaire in appendix 1. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of respondents who answered the question from each group (Attribute column) or the number of times the problem was mentioned (other cells).

Within their own countries, every nationality reported the pollution of water resources among the top three environmental problems (table 3b), with Poland, Mexico and Colombia also ranking it the single biggest issue. Interestingly, it is regarded a prominent national and international problem by all countries, irrespective of the abundance of water or of the economic share of the agricultural and industrial sectors, the worst water polluters. One Colombian respondent said he would never drink tap water, even in the capital Bogota, as “the main river [in Bogota] is so polluted that the water doesn't flow... it's as bad as the Ganges”. Another respondent replied that water is so abundant in Colombia that the government “doesn't care about one polluted river”. Another noteworthy issue is the emergence of resource extraction, which received the least mentions as a globally serious problem, yet features prominently as a

national problem. It is also interesting that, despite the emphasis of the Indian scouting programme on tree plantation, deforestation did not feature in their national 'top 3'. The patterns around population growth will be examined below under 'The population question'.

Spaceship Earth

Table 2b: Spaceship Earth

Statement	
5f	The earth has plenty of natural resources if we just learn how to develop them
5j	The earth is like a spaceship with very limited room and resources

Over 85% of Colombian, Mexican, Indian and Polish respondents agreed that the Earth has plenty of resources, if we only learnt how to develop them (5f). However, less than 70% of Australians agreed; significantly differing from the others. Confusingly, 60% of respondents agreed with statement 5j, the opposite of 5f. Of the 129 respondents who agreed with 5f and 89 respondents who agreed with 5j, 75 also agreed with the other statement; in other words, half of all respondents seemingly contradicted themselves. The contradiction may reflect: a) a tendency to agree with statements if unsure, especially with leading questions; b) an absence of pre-formed opinion concerning limited resources, possibly having not engaged with the question previously; or c) a view that as we do not know how to develop all possible resources, the Earth is currently to all extents and purposes like a spaceship; but this limitation could be removed in the future. Over 75% of Colombians and over 60% of Indians agreed with both statements, contributing the most to the contradiction. The questions might be formulated too abstractly for the practical orientation of scouting. This is not to say that scouts cannot think in abstract, but rather that when scouts engage with questions of environmental problems, they do so from a practical point of view, especially as the research context, on a scout camp, may have reinforced a practical orientation.

The population question

Table 2c: The population question

Statement or question	
5b	We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support
6	What do you think are the most serious global environmental problems at the present time? Please choose three and number them so that '1' is the most serious, '2' is the second most serious and '3' is the third most serious.
7	What do you think are the most serious environmental problems in your country at the present time? Please choose three and number them so that '1' is the most serious, '2' is the second most serious and '3' the third most serious.

Engagement with this thorny issue is limited in scouting. Considering this, indecision about statement 5b, “we are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support”, was surprisingly low, 17%. However, there was considerable variation between nationalities (figure 3): of Poles, 45% were undecided; of the Indians, only 4%. Indians had the highest rate of agreement, 74%, followed by Colombians (70%), Mexicans (64%), Australians (63%) and finally Poles (29%). The Polish distribution was different from that of Indians, Colombians and Mexicans, owing to its low rate of agreement and high rate of indecision.

5b: "We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support"

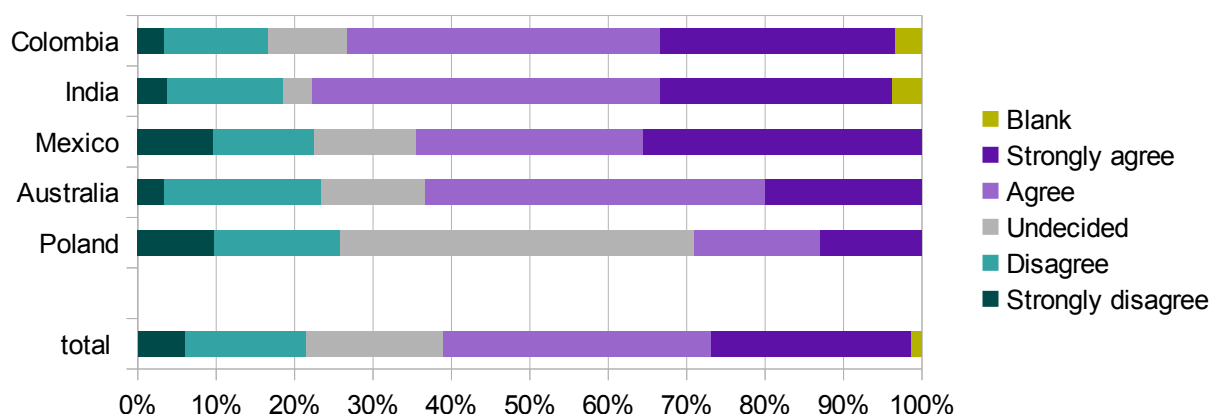


Figure 3: 5b: "We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support."

U-tests indicated statistically significant differences between Poles and Colombians, Poles and Indians, and Poles and Mexicans.

Although population growth was not among the global 'top 3' of environmental problems overall (table 3a), it was mentioned by 35% of respondents and features in the 'top 3' of Australians, Indians and Poles. Its appearance in the Polish 'top 3' is interesting, considering the Poles' low rate of agreement with statement 5b; indeed, closer analysis revealed that most of those Poles who mentioned population growth in question 6 disagreed with or were undecided about statement 5b. This contradiction might suggest that while Poles consider the survival of an even larger human population to be feasible, population growth is considered a problem in relation to the lower average living standard a larger population can afford within ecological carrying capacity (see p. 12). More than half of all Indians respondents mentioned population growth as a global problem, compared to just over one in five Colombians and Mexicans. It is significant in every age group, being mentioned by 34-36% of respondents. Unsurprisingly, India is the only country where population growth appears in the 'top 3' of national environmental problems; 87% of Indian respondents mentioned it.

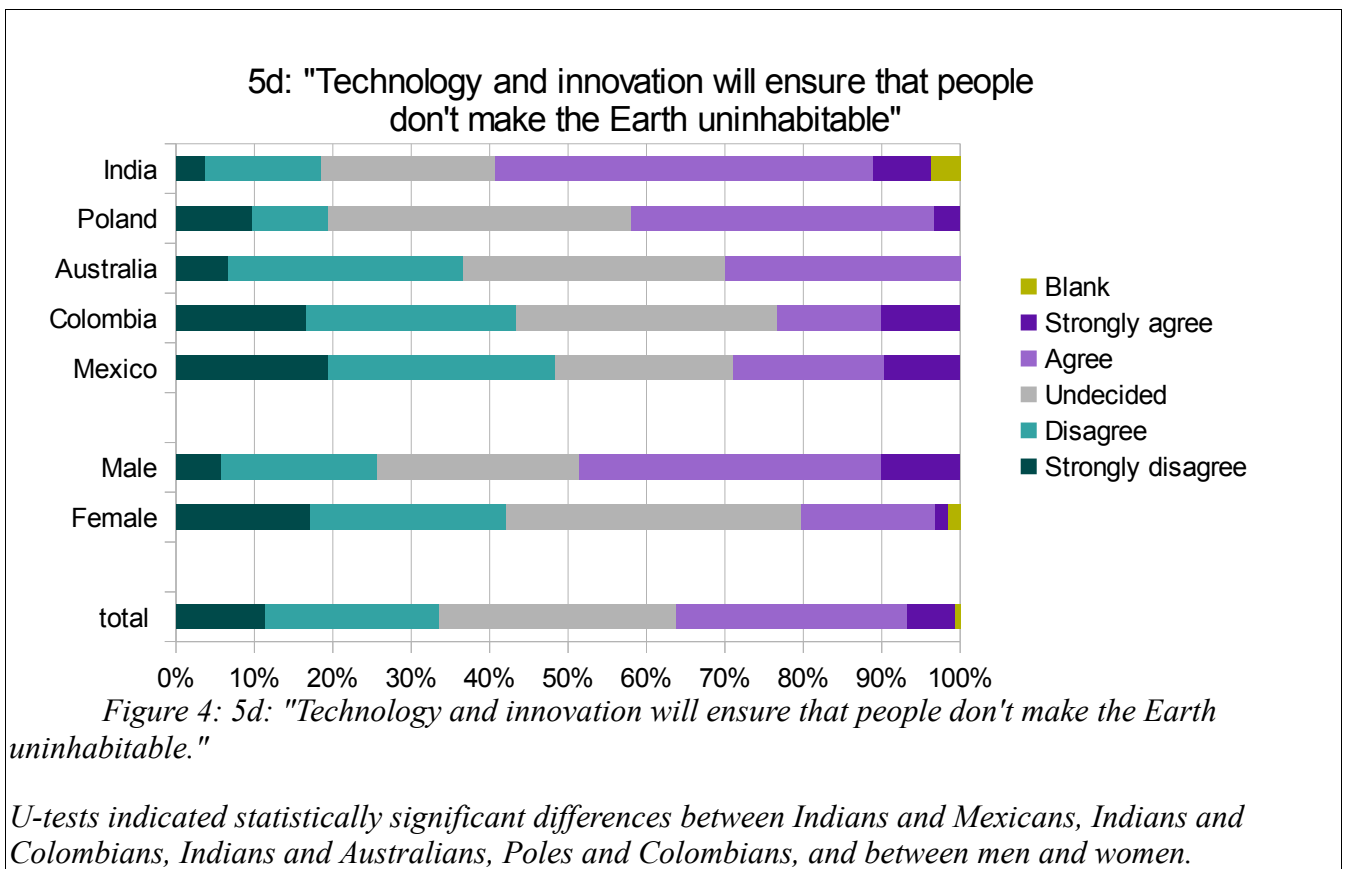
The results suggest that while population growth is generally seen as an environmental problem, there is considerable controversy around this issue. This controversy manifests itself in the diversity of opinions and priorities within countries and also as indecision.

Technocracy

<i>Table 2d: Technocracy</i>	
Statement	
5d	Technology and innovation will ensure that people don't make the Earth uninhabitable
5m	Humans will eventually learn enough about how nature works to be able to control it
8i	Changes in our culture or the attitude of people towards the environment are necessary to achieve sustainable development
8m	The developing nations should adopt clean technology from the developed nations for their development

Almost universal agreement (85%) that developing countries should adopt clean technology from developed countries (8m) suggests a strong belief that existing clean technology should be used. However, respondents were divided about statement 5d, “ Technology and innovation will

ensure that people don't make the Earth uninhabitable”, with 30% of respondents undecided, 33% disagreeing and 36% agreeing with the statement (figure 4). Disagreement was strongest among the Mexicans (48%) and Colombians (43%) and agreement was strongest among the Indians (56%). Female respondents were more likely to disagree than male respondents (42 and 26% respectively), had higher uncertainty (38 and 26% undecided, respectively) and lower rates of agreement (19 and 49%, respectively); the difference was statistically significant. As with statement 5h, a philosophy of caution that rejects technocracy, seems more widespread among women.



Opinion was mixed on whether humans will eventually learn enough about nature to be able to control it (5m, figure 5). Agreement was driven especially by Indians (78%), and to a lesser extent by Colombians (67%) and Mexicans (58%), while Australians and Poles were divided among themselves. The differences between Australians and the three former countries, and between Poles and Indians, were significant. Agreement was also stronger in the two older age groups (over 70%), significantly differing from the two younger age groups. This age-related

trend could be driven by certain nationalities, especially Indians, but due to small sample sizes it is impossible to determine whether the such an effect would have occurred due to chance.

5m: "Humans will eventually learn enough about nature to be able to control it"

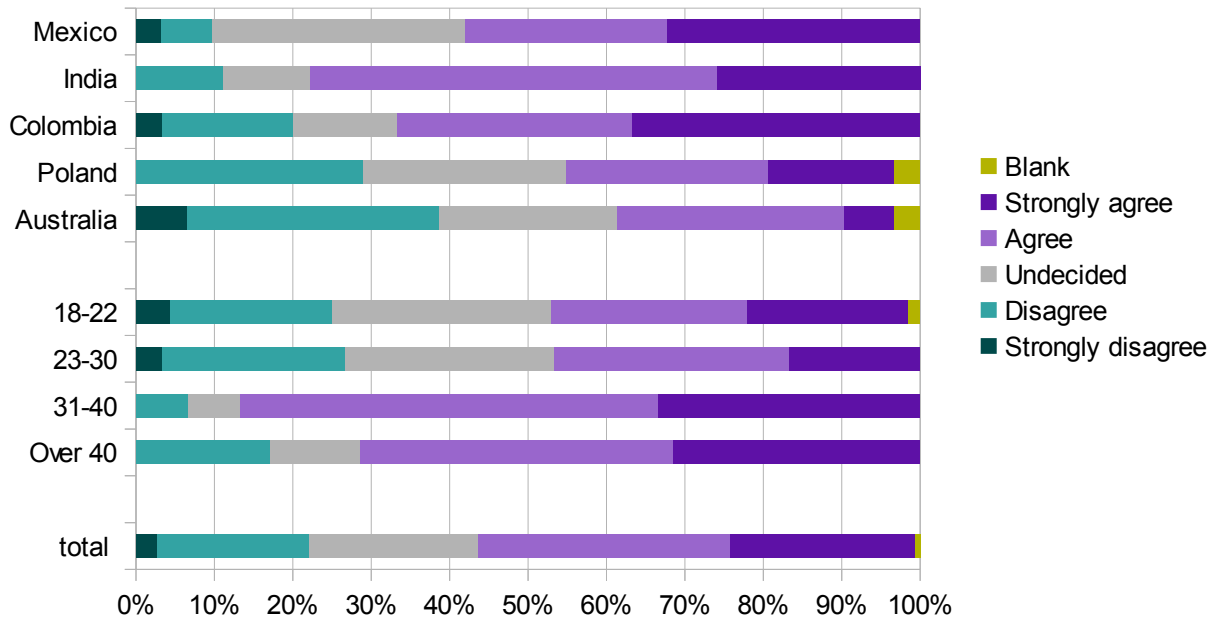


Figure 5: 5m: "Humans will eventually learn enough about nature to be able to control it."

U-tests indicated statistically significant differences between Australians and Mexicans, Australians and Indians, Australians and Colombians, Poles and Indians, age groups 18-22 and 31-40, age groups 18-22 and over 40, and age groups 23-30 and 31-40.

There was almost universal agreement (87%) that cultural or attitude change is necessary to achieve sustainable development (8i). Only three people (2%) disagreed with the statement, and only the Polish had a large proportion of undecided respondents (35%). The topic should be explored further to find out what sort of cultural or attitude change scouts envisage, and how this fits with the rest of the environmentalist project.

Sustainable development

Statement	
8b	Economic growth and environmental protection cannot be achieved at the same time
8e	Human welfare is more important than protecting the environment
8h	In the future, we will find a way to develop without harming the environment
8n	Sustainable development will happen without government interference in the economic system. For example, carbon emissions will become reduced without carbon credits or a carbon tax

Australians, Mexicans and Colombians mostly believed in the theoretical compatibility of economic growth and environmental protection, disagreeing with statement 8b. The Polish and the Indians were divided amongst themselves, although a higher proportion disagreed than agreed. U-tests confirmed the existence of the two groups; medians differed significantly between the groups, but were similar within them. As the Polish and the Indians are the two nationalities completing the questionnaire in a foreign language, the pattern could reflect a misunderstanding of the question. Attitudes towards the future (8h) were strongly optimistic, only five respondents (3%) believed that economic growth will always come at the expense of the environment.

A high proportion of respondents (31%) were undecided about whether government interference in the economy is necessary to achieve sustainable development (8n). Australians, 60% of whom believed interference to be necessary, significantly differed from the other nationalities, who were divided among themselves. To clarify the meaning, the statement included the example of a carbon tax as a governmental lever, which might have directed opinion. For example in Australia, the government was debating a carbon tax at the time of the Jamboree, so awareness of potential governmental levers would have been high among Australians. Interestingly, controversies surrounding the proposed tax did not deter Australians from favouring government interference (see below pp. 39-42).

All countries showed overall disagreement with statement 8e, “Human welfare is more important than protecting the environment” although there was also substantial agreement,

ranging from 10% among Mexicans to 33% among Indians. It has been, somewhat simplistically, said that environmentalism is a 'luxury' afforded to the middle-classes by high living standards. As Jamborees are expensive events to attend, most participants will be middle-class, so the disagreement with 8e could reflect this 'luxury'. One Australian respondent even explicitly acknowledged this:

“As I live in a developed country my ideals have not been influenced by either hunger or homelessness or internal war. Therefore my views on [whether to put] my life (or my family) before nature are quite idealistic as I am positive hunger and death at a young age would put a vastly different aspect on my thoughts.”

For the majority, 'development' does not take priority over 'sustainable', but there is evidence of some complexity surrounding this question.

The right to self-government

Table 2f: The right to self-government

Statement	
8c	Developing nations today should try to avoid destroying their environment in the way developed nations did during the Industrial Revolution
8g	The developed countries should guide developing countries to sustainable development
8j	Developing countries should be allowed to find their own solutions to environmental problems
8o	The developing countries cannot be asked to protect the environment before the developed countries have reduced their consumption

Strong agreement (81%) that developing nations should try to avoid destroying their environment like developed nations did during the Industrial Revolution (8c), probably reflects the belief that economic development and environmental protection should be compatible (8b, 8h) as well as a genuine concern for the environment, as expressed in the comments of one Mexican respondent. At the same time, respondents disagreed about whether this avoidance of environmental destruction should be voluntary (8o). The starkest differences were between Australians and Mexicans on the one hand and Indians on the other. The former mostly believed that developing countries *can* be asked to protect their environment before developed countries have reduced their consumption, while the latter – probably affected by the state of their

booming economy – mostly believed that developed countries cannot make demands before their own house is in order. However, one Indian respondent criticised the Kioto Protocol system of carbon credits saying that “there needs to be a global involvement to give every aspect of life an economic and sustainable development”; in other words, all development should be forced to be sustainable and, in effect, statement 8o would become redundant. Poles and Colombians were divided amongst themselves.

All nationalities overwhelmingly agreed that “developed countries should guide developing countries to sustainable development” (8g); yet, apart from the Australians, they also strongly agreed that “developing countries should be allowed to find their own solutions to environmental problems” (8j). Half of respondents (74 out of 149) agreed with both statements (no one disagreed with both), seemingly contradicting themselves. The contradiction could indicate that respondents believe developing countries should be given a choice but they should choose to be guided by developed countries. In his comments, one Mexican respondent interpreted the word 'guide' as 'help', in effect transforming the statement into a plea for developed countries to give developing countries the funds or technology they need for sustainable development. It is also possible that scouts have simply not engaged with the question of developed-developing country relations, in scouts or elsewhere, and are therefore led by the questions.

The division of environmental responsibility

Table 2g: The division of environmental responsibility

Statement	
8d	The interests of business are so powerful that it is impossible to protect the environment
8f	Every one of us as an individual has an equal responsibility for the protection of the environment
8k	Governments should interfere in the economic system so that environmentally friendly practice will become cheaper than environmentally destructive practice
8l	An individual cannot do anything that will make a difference to the environment
8p	The government of my country is not doing enough to tackle environmental problems
8q	Businesses should concentrate on promoting economic growth, not on environmental protection

Only five respondents (3%) disagreed with statement 8f, that all individuals have an equal responsibility to protect the environment, while 93% agreed – the highest percentage of any statement. This attitude fits well with the spirit of scouting, where individual agency and a responsibility towards others are highly regarded (Baden-Powell, 1908; WOSM 1998). However, disagreement that individuals are powerless in the face of environmental destruction (8l) was less united; 97% of Australians disagreed, but only 52-68% of the other nationalities did.

Only 7% of respondents believed governments should not interfere in the economic system to environmentalist ends (8k), while 73% thought they should. Scouts believed in the need for interference irrespective of whether they believed economic mechanisms would deliver environmental protection without government interference (8n): of those who wanted government interference, 38% believed it was also necessary while 34% believed it was not; the rest were undecided. Indians were the most pro-interference (96%); enough so to significantly differ from the others. This is interesting but perhaps not surprising, as the Indian state has been very interventionist since independence and (consequently) the economy has boomed (Willis, 2005).

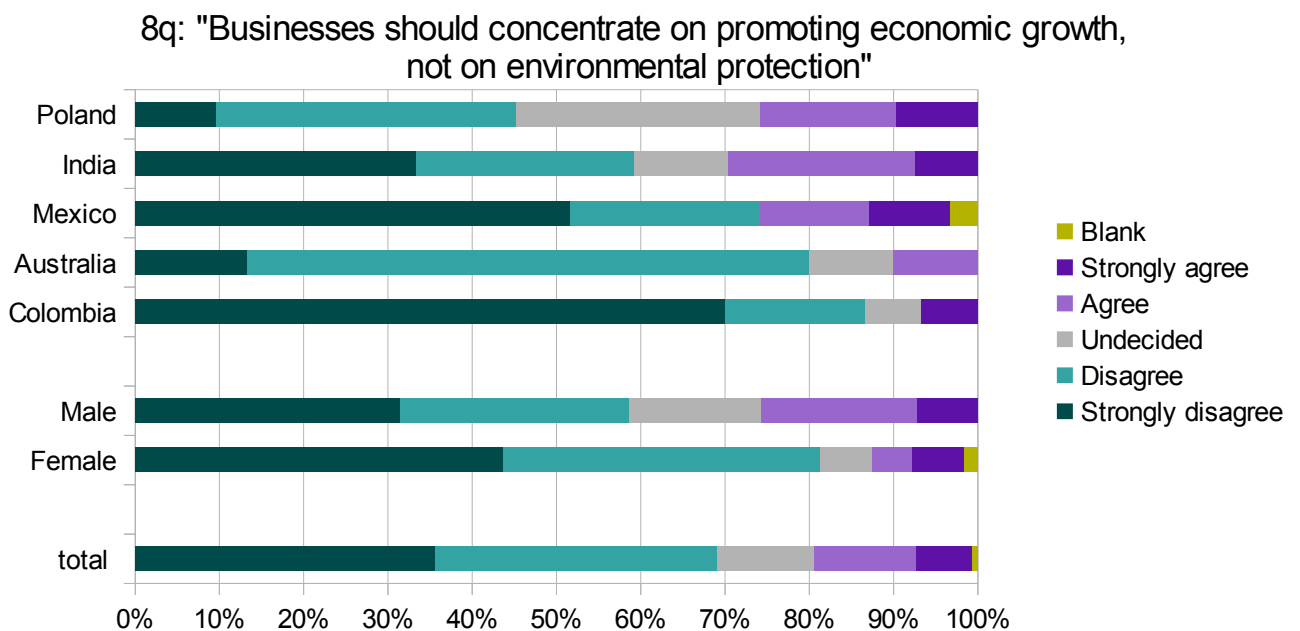
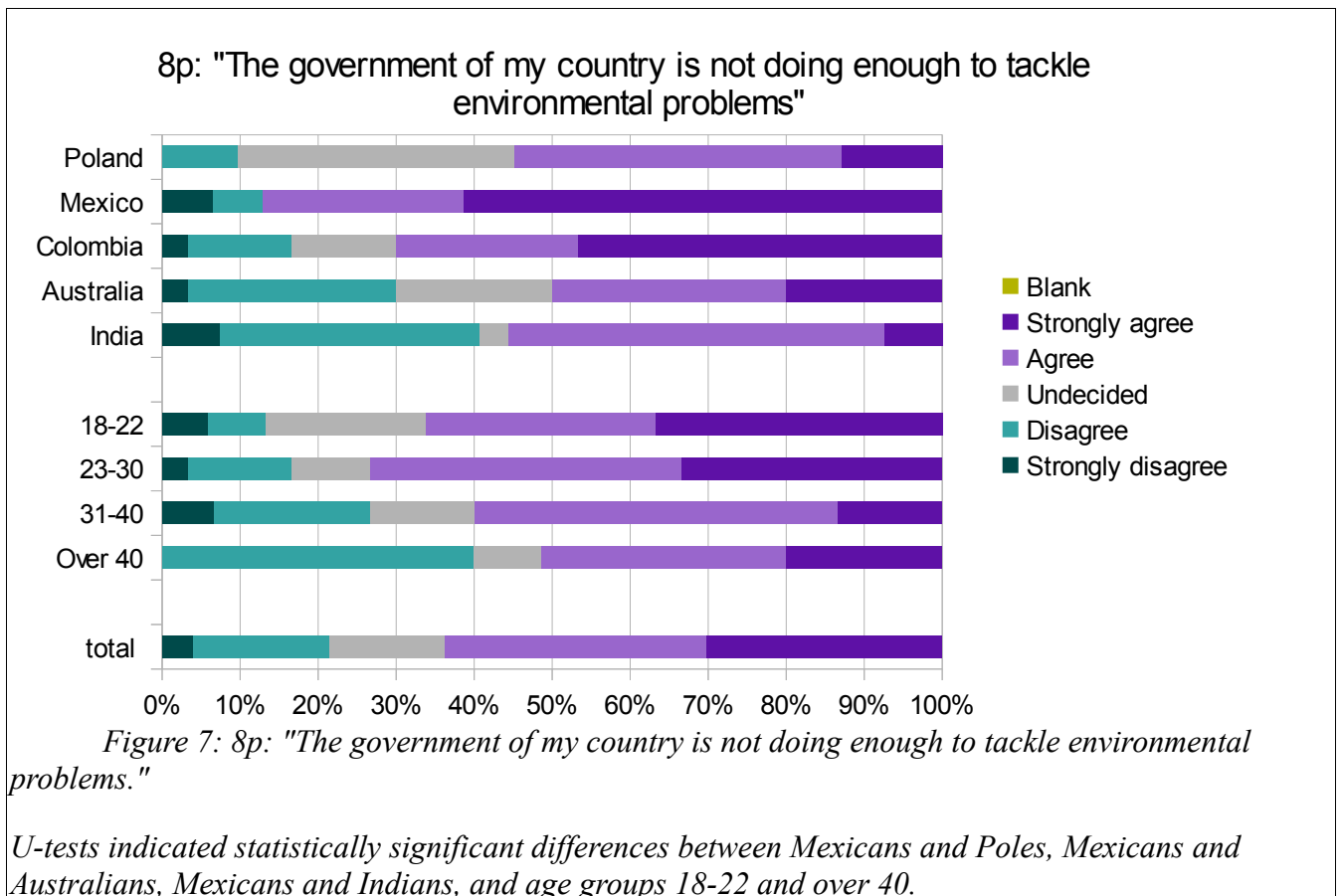


Figure 6: 8q: "Businesses should concentrate on promoting economic growth, not on environmental protection."

U-tests indicated statistically significant differences between Poland and Australia, Poland and Colombia, India and Colombia, and between men and women.

Views on the responsibility of businesses (8q, figure 6) were not as united. 69% of scouts believed businesses to have a responsibility towards the environment, while 19% believed they should concentrate on economic growth, not environmental protection. The pattern by country is complex. However, the pattern by sex is clear: 81% of women gave businesses responsibility, compared to 58% of men; a statistically significant difference.



Scouts were divided on whether their respective governments were doing enough to tackle environmental problems (8p, figure 7). In every country, at least half of respondents believed their governments should do more; but there were especially high levels of dissatisfaction with the Mexican government. One Australian respondent commented that the government was doing the wrong things, as the controversial carbon tax gave

“no incentives or rewards for people to change their habits or who already conserve energy etc. because it is the right thing to do as a good steward of this earth ... Previous schemes to encourage conservation, e.g. house insulation, solar panels, water tanks, was [sic] poorly implemented and managed and has cost more money fixing up the mistakes than was allocated

to the programme.”

There was a clear age-related trend: levels of satisfaction with the government's current actions were highest in the 'over 40' age group and decreased with age.

Scouts were also divided about whether the “interests of business are so powerful that it is impossible to protect the environment” (8d). 47% of respondents disagreed, while 40% agreed with the statement. The split was close to equal in all countries, across all age groups and between the sexes. This statement was the one that most clearly divided opinion in the study.

The intrinsic value of nature

<i>Table 2h: The intrinsic value of nature</i>	
Statement	
5c	Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs
5g	Plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist
5k	We have to spend time in nature to be able to value it

Only 7% of scouts disagreed that plants and animals have an equal right with humans to exist (5g). Although there were no statistically significant differences, 70% of disagreement was by the Polish, which might be due to environmental debates taking place in Poland at the time. One respondent said that environmentalists in Poland were too extreme; if the construction of a bridge would threaten an endemic “bug”, they would oppose it, when without the bridge, humans needed to drive a longer way round to get to, for example, hospital in an emergency. The environmentalists would value the survival of the rare bug over human life. Such controversies, locally absent elsewhere, might have influenced Polish opinion. This also manifested with question 5c, about humans' right to modify nature. Although opinion was much more divided overall than for statement 5g, the Polish had the highest proportion of respondents who believed humans to have the right to modify nature to suit their own needs (49%); different from Mexicans and Colombians, over 65% of whom opposed such a right.

In line with scouting spirit, scouts were strongly of the opinion that valuing nature comes from

spending time there (5k). 88% of respondents agreed, with no patterns by nationality, age or sex. The strength of this opinion is interesting; Sandell (1991) has observed that time spent in nature does not necessarily lead to its appreciation, as the protective bubble of 'civilization' follows people, including scouts, to the camp. However, Sandell does not comment on whether contact with nature is a necessary condition for valuing it. If future generations increasingly lose contact with nature, it could mean that nature will become less highly valued and therefore less well protected, or that the reasons why nature is valued and protected will change.

The spiritual connection with nature

<i>Table 2i: The spiritual connection with nature</i>	
Statement	
5a	Nature was created by God or gods
5e	Nature is a spiritual place.

Statements 5a and 5e reveal the spiritual value that nature carries for scouts. The majority of scouts in all countries believed that nature was created by God or gods (5a), except in Australia, where disagreement dominated. Agreement was also weaker in the two younger age groups than the two older ones. Nevertheless, in Australia as in the other countries, and across all ages and both sexes, nature is seen as a spiritual place (5e); 81% of respondents agreed. Some stereotypically scouting activities, such as the magical camp fire, almost certainly contribute to such an understanding, although in-depth interviews would be needed to verify such a hypothesis.

Environment and peace

<i>Table 2j: Environment and peace</i>	
Statement	
8r	Resource scarcity will eventually lead to a Third World War.

Opinion was divided on whether resource scarcity would lead to a World War (figure 8). Colombians and Mexicans were the most optimistic, over 50% of them disagreeing with the

statement. A third of Australians and Poles were undecided, a third agreed and a third disagreed, so there was high intra-national divergence in opinion. Those over 40 were the least optimistic; 37% anticipated a World War; while the age group 23-30, of whom only 13% agreed with the question, were the most optimistic.

8r: "Resource scarcity will eventually lead to a Third World War"

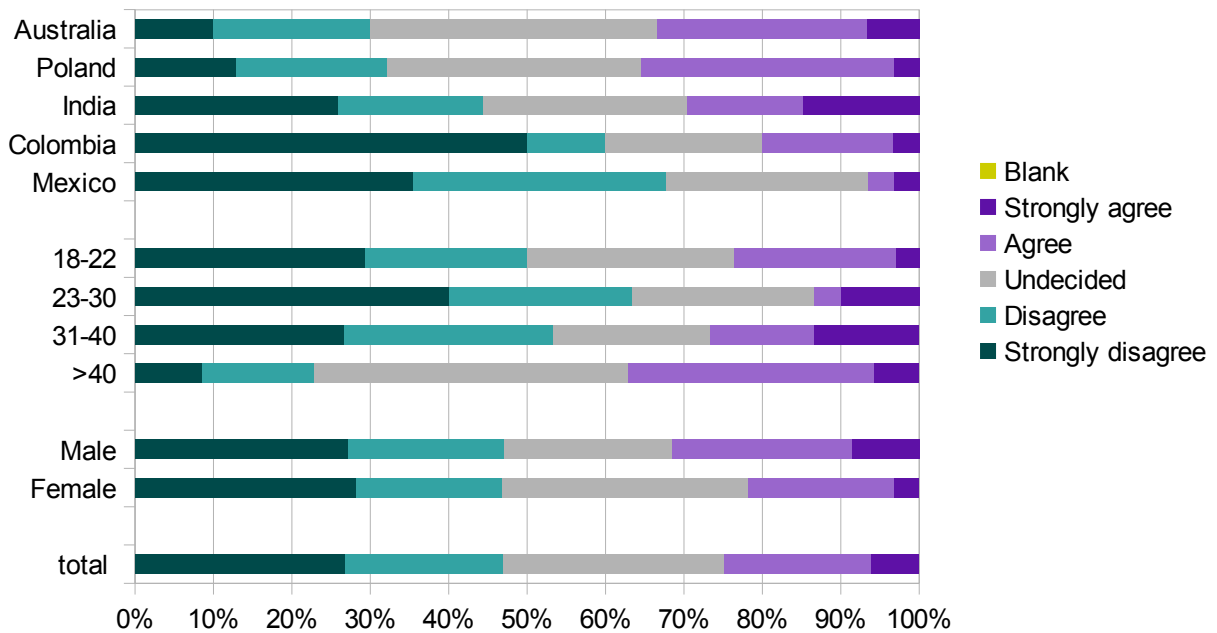


Figure 8: 8r: "Resource scarcity will eventually lead to a Third World War."

U-tests indicated statistically significant differences between Australians and Mexicans, Australians and Colombians, Poles and Mexicans, Poles and Colombians, Indians and Mexicans, age groups 18-22 and over 40, and age groups 23-30 and over 40.

Conclusion

This study surveyed 149 scouts from five countries in order to describe environmental attitudes among scouts and draw out instances where opinions converged across national, age and sex boundaries, and where and how they diverged. The issues examined were drawn from global environmentalist debates and the specific environmental education provided in scouting. Nine areas of environmentalist debate were identified (see tables 2a to 2j).

Questions can generally be divided into four groups: questions that almost everyone agreed on; questions that divided opinion between and within countries (these two are interrelated); questions that generated contradictions; and questions that had sex-related trends.

Questions almost everyone agreed on

These arose mostly from an enduring set of principles drawn up by Baden-Powell (1908; WOSM, 1998). Out of the ten areas of environmentalist debate, only the population question and peace had no aspects on which opinion converged. In the other eight areas, over 80 percent of scouts agreed, and under 10 percent disagreed, that: spending time in nature is critical for appreciating its value, especially as nature also holds significant spiritual value; that plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist; that nature is vulnerable and needs protection, especially as humans are causing severe damage; that all individuals have an equal responsibility towards the environment; and that humans have a responsibility to heal the environmental damage they have caused. These opinions can be seen to reflect Baden-Powell's principle of respect for and continual learning about the natural environment, and the principle of taking responsibility, both for one's own actions and for the collective actions of society.

Scouts also generally agreed on a few measures concerning practical aspects of environmental protection. These included that cultural or attitude change is necessary to achieve sustainable development; that governments should interfere with economics to environmentalist ends; that developing countries should avoid causing environmental destruction; and that developing countries should let developed countries guide them to sustainability and adopt clean technology from them. While this indicates some faith in technocracy and ecological modernisation, scouts

recognise that these cannot be the whole solution.

Questions that divided opinion

Where opinion diverged between countries, it also always diverged within at least one country, often in unexpected ways. For example, Australians strongly diverged from Colombians on the question of the balance of nature, and both of these countries were fairly united in their views: 77% of Australians believed humans could upset the balance of nature; 73% of Colombians believed they could not. However, within the other countries, disagreement was internal; especially Indians were almost equally divided between agreement and disagreement with the statement. Again, almost every area of environmentalist debate included a question that divided opinion both between and within countries. These included whether any 'ecological crisis' was exaggerated; whether humans would eventually learn to control nature; whether combining economic growth and environmental protection was possible; whether developing countries could be asked to reduce their consumption before developed countries had done so; whether individuals were powerless in the face of environmental destruction; whether businesses had a responsibility towards the environment; whether population growth was an environmental problem; and whether resource scarcity would lead to a Third World War.

In addition, a few questions divided opinion within all countries, so no divergence between countries emerged. These questions included whether technology and innovation will ensure the Earth remains inhabitable; whether human welfare is more important than the well-being of the environment; whether governments are taking enough environmental measures; whether economic mechanisms will deliver environmental protection without government interference; and whether business interests are so powerful it is impossible to protect the environment.

A few of these questions also produced an age-related divergence, although due to the uneven representation of age groups within nationalities, the trends could be related to differences between nationalities. Examples of age-related trends include that older age groups were more likely to be satisfied with the actions of their governments towards the environment and that older age groups had stronger belief that humans would eventually learn to control nature than younger age groups.

These questions that divided opinion are ones that the scouting education frequently does not address and that divide environmental movements in general: attitudes towards technocracy, ecological modernisation, humans' power over nature, and environmental justice. Thus scouts cannot be said to conform to the ideas of any one environmental movement.

Questions that generated contradictions

Contradictions probably arose when scouts were led by the questions, or if they had not spent enough time pondering about their attitude to an issue. Contradictions arose about whether the Earth has plentiful or very limited resources; whether developed countries should guide developing countries to sustainable development or whether developing countries should be allowed to find their own solutions; and whether humans have the right to modify nature in the interests of human welfare or whether plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist. The latter of these are difficult moral questions about rights, and perhaps contradictions should be expected to arise among people who are not professional philosophers.

Questions with sex-related trends

This issue is flagged because it is particularly interesting. Three questions produced stark differences between the sexes: whether human activities could upset the balance of nature, whether technology and innovation would ensure the Earth would not become uninhabitable, and whether businesses had a responsibility towards the environment. Females were more likely to reject technocracy and to ascribe responsibility to humans and to businesses. As this same approach is the dominant approach of modern international environmentalist movements, the findings suggest that the environmentalist movements are more closely linked with women than men. This observation is the basic assumption of ecofeminism, but does not provide any support for ecofeminist explanations of the trend.

A unified environmentalism? An empirical contribution

This study demonstrates that environmentalism among scouts is not unified. Although scouting education rests on shared principles, specific environmental programmes and activities differ between national scouting organisations. Thus, while scouts share some basic environmental principles, more complex questions frequently divide opinion. The frequent division of opinion along lines of nationality suggests that specific, national scouting environments and local environmental debates shape opinion, but divisions within countries and along lines of age or sex suggest that other, complex factors are also at play. Scouts are thus subject to the same divisive pressures as environmental movements at large. Perhaps scouting's main contribution to environmentalism is and should be through raising awareness, encouraging independent thought and building environments for constructive discussion and conflict resolution.

Appendix 1: The questionnaire

Dear fellow Scouts and Guides

This questionnaire researches how Scouts and Guides from different countries see nature and environmental protection. Participation is voluntary and open anyone who is at least 18 years old. All answers will be treated anonymously and confidentially.

Thank you for agreeing to take part.

1. In which country are you a Scout or Guide? _____

2. Gender: female / male

3. Age group: 18-22 23-30 31-40 over 40

4. Which faith do you feel you belong to?

- Buddhism Hinduism Judaism Agnosticism
 Christianity Islam Atheism Other: _____

5. These statements are about nature and the relationship of people with nature. How far do you agree? Please tick the relevant box.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a	Nature was created by God or gods					
b	We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support					
c	Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs					
d	Technology and innovation will ensure that people don't make the Earth uninhabitable.					
e	Nature is a spiritual place.					
f	The earth has plenty of natural resources if we just learn how to develop them					
g	Plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist					
h	Human activities can not upset the balance of nature					
i	The so-called "ecological crisis" facing humankind is greatly exaggerated					
j	The earth is like a spaceship with very limited room and resources					
k	We have to spend time in nature to be able to value it					
l	Nature is vulnerable and needs protection					
m	Humans will eventually learn enough about how nature works to be able to control it					
n	Humans must reverse or heal the damage already done to nature					
o	Humans have the power to heal nature as well as destroy it					

6. What do you think are the most serious **global** environmental problems at the present time? Please pick **three** and number them so that '1' is the most serious, '2' is the second most serious and '3' is the third most serious.

<input type="checkbox"/> pollution of water resources (oceans, lakes or rivers)	<input type="checkbox"/> destruction of the environment from mining, oil drilling or other resource extraction
<input type="checkbox"/> air pollution	<input type="checkbox"/> population growth or large population size
<input type="checkbox"/> global warming or global climate change	<input type="checkbox"/> melting of glaciers, ice sheets or permafrost
<input type="checkbox"/> extinction of species or loss of biodiversity	<input type="checkbox"/> excessive consumption of natural resources
<input type="checkbox"/> deforestation	<input type="checkbox"/> excessive waste
<input type="checkbox"/> soil erosion, soil pollution, loss of fertility of the soil or the deterioration of agricultural land	<input type="checkbox"/> other: _____

7. What do you think are the most serious environmental problems **in your country** at the present time? Please pick **three** and number them so that '1' is the most serious, '2' is the second most serious and '3' the third most serious.

<input type="checkbox"/> pollution of water resources (oceans, lakes or rivers)	<input type="checkbox"/> destruction of the environment from mining, oil drilling or other resource extraction
<input type="checkbox"/> air pollution	<input type="checkbox"/> population growth or large population size
<input type="checkbox"/> global warming or global climate change	<input type="checkbox"/> melting of glaciers, ice sheets or permafrost
<input type="checkbox"/> extinction of species or loss of biodiversity	<input type="checkbox"/> excessive consumption of natural resources
<input type="checkbox"/> deforestation	<input type="checkbox"/> excessive waste
<input type="checkbox"/> soil erosion, soil pollution, loss of fertility of the soil or the deterioration of agricultural land	<input type="checkbox"/> other: _____

8. The following statements relate to the protection of the environment. How far do you agree? Please tick the relevant box.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a Humans are severely abusing the environment					
b Economic growth and environmental protection cannot be achieved at the same time					
c Developing nations today should try to avoid destroying their environment in the way developed nations did during the Industrial Revolution					
d The interests of business are so powerful that it is impossible to protect the environment					
e Human welfare is more important than protecting the environment					

		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
f	Every one of us as an individual has an equal responsibility for the protection of the environment					
g	The developed countries should guide developing countries to sustainable development					
h	In the future, we will find a way to develop without harming the environment					
i	Changes in our culture or the attitude of people towards the environment are necessary to achieve sustainable development					
j	Developing countries should be allowed to find their own solutions to environmental problems					
k	Governments should interfere in the economic system so that environmentally friendly practice will become cheaper than environmentally destructive practice					
l	An individual cannot do anything that will make a difference to the environment					
m	The developing nations should adopt clean technology from the developed nations for their development					
n	Sustainable development will happen without government interference in the economic system. For example, carbon emissions will become reduced without carbon credits or a carbon tax					
o	The developing countries cannot be asked to protect the environment before the developed countries have reduced their consumption					
p	The government of my country is not doing enough to tackle environmental problems					
q	Businesses should concentrate on promoting economic growth, not on environmental protection					
r	Resource scarcity will eventually lead to a Third World War					

9. What, if anything, does your Scout Law or Guide Law say about nature, the environment or the use of natural resources?

If you wish to, you can use the reverse side of this page for comments on any of the questions.

Appendix 2: The interview

My research

I'm doing some research for my dissertation for a Bachelor's degree in Geography at Cambridge University. The title is 'Friend to Nature: Environmental Attitudes within the Scout Movement'; it examines environmental attitudes among adult scouts (guides, leaders, rovers... For simplicity I will call them all just scouts).

The bulk of my fieldwork I did among the IST members at the WSJ in Sweden last summer. My questionnaire consisted mostly of attitude measurement questions ('how far do you agree with the statement...'). Five countries took part: Australia, Poland, Mexico, Colombia and India.

The reason behind asking for information about the scouting programme is to determine what environmental issues scouting engages with, whether the attitudes scouts are consistent with the scouting programme, and therefore whether scouting has possibly taught them certain environmental attitudes.

Questions

The Scout Law

What does the <insert nationality> Scout Law say about nature, the environment or the use of natural resources? (I asked this on the questionnaire and want to compare the answers respondents gave with the official answer.)

Badges and awards

What are the most popular badges, awards or other exercises relating to the environment in the <insert nationality> scouting programme (3 examples will be enough, but you may give as many as you like if you feel they are central to scouts' environmental education)? What age group are they aimed at? What are the requirements for obtaining these awards?

Events specifically related to the environment

What kind of environmental events does the <insert nationality> scouting programme encourage (local conservation, fundraisers, events with information, engaging the wider public)? What environmental issues do national events engage with?

Advice for leaders

What advice on environmental impacts are leaders given for organising local scouting events like camps, hikes and meetings?

What advice is given on regional and national events like Jamborees?

Which of these issues does the scouting programme encourage scouts to learn about and engage with? ('Yes' – the programme mentions the topic; 'no' – the programme doesn't mention the topic.) If you wish you can give further details whether this is in the context of a badge, an event, an instruction, or another context, and what the specific message given is.

1. The environment around the camp site or scout hall
2. Ecology (studying animals and plants)
3. The urban environment (pollution, green spaces, litter, etc.)
4. Waste and recycling (in personal daily life / in scouting contexts / in other contexts)
5. Transport (personal / for scouting events / in other contexts)
6. What entities other than scouts and individuals (NGOs, businesses, the government) are doing about the environment
7. Technological solutions to environmental problems (e.g. sewage treatment plants, renewable energy farms)
8. The environmental condition in other countries (ecology, environmental problems)
9. Sustainable development
10. Population (growth) and poverty (globally)
11. Global aspects of environmental problems (global trade, global flows of waste, international NGOs, international treaties and other cooperation)
12. How <insert country> and <insert nationality> (the scouts themselves) may contribute to environmental problems in other countries (through, for example, water pollution)

Links

Does the scouting programme explicitly draw links between issues like

1. the environment and religion/spirituality (for example, is there religious instruction to those who want it about nature as the creation of gods/God and what this means for the protection of nature?)
2. the environment and citizenship (for example, do you tell your scouts that clean air and

water are rights and planting trees is a responsibility, as a citizen of <insert country>?)

3. the environment and peace (for example, do you take part in the Scout of the World Award, and if so, how many <insert nationality> have taken part to date or take part every year?)

The frequency distribution (%) of answers to attitude measurement questions, by nationality, age and sex.

Each column adds up to 100%.

Nationalities are Australian, Polish, Mexican, Colombian and Indian.

Statement 5a

Population	By nationality					By age group				By sex		
	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	34.9	16.7	29.0	38.7	36.7	55.6	26.5	20.0	66.7	51.4	35.9	32.9
Agree	22.8	16.7	29.0	29.0	23.3	14.8	23.5	23.3	6.7	28.6	25.0	21.4
Undecided	18.1	26.7	19.4	12.9	23.3	7.4	25.0	20.0	13.3	5.7	18.8	20.0
Disagree	14.1	16.7	12.9	12.9	13.3	14.8	16.2	26.7	6.7	2.9	15.6	11.4
Strongly disagree	8.7	23.3	9.7	3.2	3.3	3.7	8.8	10.0	6.7	5.7	4.7	11.4
Blank	1.3	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.7	0.0	2.9

Statement 5b

Population	By nationality					By age group				By sex		By nationality					By age group				By sex			
	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	25.5	20.0	12.9	35.5	30.0	29.6	23.5	36.7	20.0	20.0	23.4	25.7	6.0	0.0	9.7	6.5	0.0	14.8	5.9	3.3	13.3	5.7	6.3	4.3
Agree	34.2	43.3	16.1	29.0	40.0	44.4	32.4	33.3	26.7	42.9	29.7	38.6	22.8	33.3	38.7	3.2	23.3	14.8	19.1	23.3	26.7	28.6	14.1	32.9
Undecided	17.4	13.3	45.2	12.9	10.0	3.7	25.0	16.7	20.0	2.9	20.3	15.7	16.1	23.3	12.9	22.6	10.0	11.1	20.6	13.3	13.3	11.4	18.8	11.4
Disagree	15.4	20.0	16.1	12.9	13.3	14.8	13.2	6.7	13.3	28.6	14.1	15.7	34.9	36.7	32.3	41.9	36.7	25.9	27.9	43.3	46.7	37.1	37.5	34.3
Strongly disagree	6.0	3.3	9.7	9.7	3.3	3.7	5.9	6.7	13.3	2.9	10.9	2.9	19.5	6.7	6.5	25.8	30.0	29.6	26.5	16.7	0.0	14.3	21.9	17.1
Blank	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	3.7	0.0	0.0	6.7	2.9	1.6	1.4	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	1.6	0.0

Statement 5d

Population	By nationality					By age group				By sex		By nationality					By age group				By sex			
	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	6.0	0.0	3.2	9.7	10.0	7.4	2.9	6.7	13.3	8.6	1.6	10.0	43.6	23.3	22.6	51.6	70.0	51.9	45.6	40.0	53.3	40.0	40.6	47.1
Agree	29.5	30.0	38.7	19.4	13.3	48.1	32.4	33.3	40.0	17.1	17.2	38.6	37.6	53.3	41.9	38.7	20.0	33.3	29.4	43.3	40.0	48.6	45.3	32.9
Undecided	30.2	33.3	38.7	22.6	33.3	22.2	32.4	26.7	20.0	34.3	37.5	25.7	10.1	13.3	25.8	6.5	3.3	0.0	17.6	10.0	0.0	0.0	10.9	7.1
Disagree	22.1	30.0	9.7	29.0	26.7	14.8	19.1	16.7	26.7	31.4	25.0	20.0	4.0	6.7	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.7	4.4	3.3	0.0	5.7	3.1	5.7
Strongly disagree	11.4	6.7	9.7	19.4	16.7	3.7	13.2	16.7	0.0	5.7	17.2	5.7	4.0	3.3	6.5	0.0	3.3	7.4	2.9	3.3	6.7	2.9	0.0	5.7
Blank	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	1.6	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	1.4

Statement 5f

Population	By nationality					By age group				By sex		By nationality					By age group				By sex			
	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	53.0	23.3	48.4	67.7	66.7	59.3	55.9	46.7	60.0	51.4	53.1	54.3	62.4	43.3	32.3	87.1	90.0	59.3	60.3	66.7	66.7	60.0	64.1	62.9
Agree	33.6	43.3	38.7	25.8	26.7	33.3	33.8	40.0	20.0	34.3	37.5	32.9	25.5	36.7	38.7	12.9	10.0	29.6	29.4	20.0	13.3	28.6	25.0	27.1
Undecided	4.0	6.7	6.5	3.2	3.3	0.0	5.9	3.3	0.0	2.9	3.1	2.9	5.4	13.3	9.7	0.0	0.0	3.7	7.4	3.3	6.7	2.9	4.7	7.1
Disagree	6.7	20.0	6.5	3.2	3.3	0.0	2.9	10.0	13.3	5.7	4.7	8.6	4.7	6.7	16.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	6.7	6.7	5.7	4.7	2.9
Strongly disagree	2.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	1.5	0.0	6.7	2.9	1.6	0.0	2.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	7.4	0.0	3.3	6.7	2.9	1.6	0.0
Blank	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Statement	5h												5i											
	By nationality						By age group				By sex		By nationality						By age group				By sex	
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	25.5	6.7	22.6	32.3	53.3	11.1	18.0	7.0	6.0	7.0	13.0	23.0	9.4	10.0	6.5	12.9	10.0	7.4	10.3	6.7	0.0	14.3	9.4	8.6
Agree	22.8	10.0	25.8	25.8	20.0	33.3	14.0	6.0	1.0	13.0	14.0	18.0	21.5	26.7	16.1	19.4	10.0	37.0	19.1	13.3	40.0	25.7	21.9	21.4
Undecided	8.7	6.7	19.4	6.5	6.7	3.7	9.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	5.0	7.0	22.8	20.0	64.5	16.1	0.0	11.1	29.4	33.3	6.7	8.6	25.0	20.0
Disagree	24.2	53.3	19.4	16.1	6.7	25.9	12.0	9.0	5.0	10.0	19.0	11.0	30.9	36.7	6.5	19.4	50.0	44.4	25.0	26.7	33.3	45.7	28.1	32.9
Strongly disagree	17.4	23.3	9.7	16.1	13.3	25.9	14.0	6.0	0.0	5.0	12.0	10.0	14.8	6.7	3.2	32.3	30.0	0.0	14.7	20.0	20.0	5.7	14.1	17.1
Blank	1.3	3.3	3.2	3.2	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	3.3	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0

Statement	5j												5k											
	By nationality						By age group				By sex		By nationality						By age group				By sex	
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	24.8	20.0	9.7	16.1	50.0	29.6	17.6	23.3	26.7	37.1	23.4	24.3	50.3	36.7	32.3	61.3	70.0	51.9	51.5	43.3	46.7	57.1	50.0	51.4
Agree	34.9	40.0	29.0	35.5	33.3	37.0	35.3	36.7	53.3	25.7	25.0	42.9	37.6	43.3	51.6	25.8	23.3	44.4	32.4	46.7	40.0	37.1	37.5	40.0
Undecided	13.4	16.7	19.4	16.1	10.0	3.7	16.2	13.3	6.7	11.4	20.3	8.6	4.0	10.0	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	3.3	0.0	2.9	1.6	4.3
Disagree	18.8	16.7	29.0	19.4	3.3	25.9	17.6	20.0	13.3	22.9	20.3	17.1	6.7	6.7	6.5	12.9	3.3	3.7	8.8	3.3	13.3	2.9	9.4	2.9
Strongly disagree	8.1	6.7	12.9	12.9	3.3	3.7	13.2	6.7	0.0	2.9	10.9	7.1	1.3	3.3	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	1.5	3.3	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.4
Blank	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Statement	5l												5m											
	By nationality						By age group				By sex		By nationality						By age group				By sex	
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	59.1	33.3	41.9	80.6	76.7	63.0	54.4	63.3	46.7	71.4	60.9	60.0	23.5	6.7	16.1	32.3	36.7	25.9	20.6	16.7	33.3	31.4	23.4	24.3
Agree	33.6	63.3	45.2	12.9	13.3	33.3	32.4	36.7	46.7	28.6	34.4	31.4	32.2	30.0	25.8	25.8	30.0	51.9	25.0	30.0	53.3	40.0	32.8	30.0
Undecided	4.0	0.0	9.7	3.2	6.7	0.0	8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	4.3	21.5	23.3	25.8	32.3	13.3	11.1	27.9	26.7	6.7	11.4	20.3	24.3
Disagree	2.0	3.3	3.2	3.2	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.9	19.5	33.3	29.0	6.5	16.7	11.1	20.6	23.3	6.7	17.1	17.2	20.0
Strongly disagree	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	6.7	0.0	3.2	3.3	0.0	4.4	3.3	0.0	0.0	4.7	1.4
Blank	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.7	3.3	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0

Statement	5n												5o											
	By nationality						By age group				By sex		By nationality						By age group				By sex	
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	50.3	23.3	29.0	61.3	86.7	51.9	50.0	46.7	60.0	51.4	50.0	52.9	37.6	20.0	19.4	54.8	56.7	37.0	30.9	43.3	53.3	40.0	37.5	38.6
Agree	34.2	56.7	41.9	32.3	6.7	33.3	32.4	40.0	26.7	37.1	37.5	30.0	33.6	56.7	41.9	16.1	23.3	29.6	30.9	43.3	33.3	31.4	31.3	37.1
Undecided	12.1	16.7	25.8	3.2	6.7	7.4	14.7	6.7	13.3	8.6	12.5	11.4	10.7	13.3	19.4	12.9	3.3	3.7	14.7	10.0	6.7	5.7	9.4	5.7
Disagree	0.7	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.7	6.7	16.1	6.5	6.7	18.5	13.2	3.3	6.7	14.3	12.5	11.4
Strongly disagree	2.0	3.3	0.0	3.2	0.0	3.7	2.9	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	6.7	3.3	3.2	9.7	10.0	7.4	10.3	0.0	0.0	5.7	9.4	5.7
Blank	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	1.4	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	1.4

Statement	8a												8b											
	By nationality					By age group				By sex			By nationality					By age group				By sex		
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	43.0	13.3	25.8	74.2	60.0	40.7	45.6	46.7	40.0	34.3	43.6	23.3	5.4	0.0	3.2	3.2	10.0	11.1	4.4	3.3	20.0	2.9	3.1	5.7
Agree	41.6	53.3	48.4	22.6	30.0	55.6	36.8	40.0	46.7	51.4	37.6	53.3	18.1	13.3	32.3	6.5	6.7	33.3	13.2	26.7	6.7	22.9	14.1	20.0
Undecided	10.1	20.0	22.6	0.0	3.3	3.7	11.8	6.7	0.0	14.3	10.1	13.3	16.1	16.7	19.4	12.9	16.7	14.8	23.5	13.3	20.0	2.9	15.6	17.1
Disagree	3.4	10.0	3.2	0.0	3.3	0.0	2.9	6.7	6.7	0.0	4.0	6.7	37.6	60.0	35.5	35.5	20.0	37.0	30.9	30.0	33.3	60.0	46.9	32.9
Strongly disagree	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	3.3	20.8	6.7	9.7	38.7	43.3	3.7	25.0	26.7	13.3	11.4	17.2	24.3
Blank	2.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.3	0.0	2.9	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.3	0.0	2.9	0.0	6.7	0.0	3.1	0.0

Statement	8c												8d											
	By nationality					By age group				By sex			By nationality					By age group				By sex		
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	36.2	13.3	32.3	45.2	53.3	37.0	35.3	43.3	26.7	37.1	34.4	37.1	10.7	3.3	16.1	16.1	3.3	14.8	13.2	6.7	6.7	8.6	9.4	12.9
Agree	45.0	70.0	38.7	38.7	30.0	48.1	38.2	40.0	46.7	60.0	46.9	44.3	28.9	30.0	35.5	22.6	16.7	40.7	23.5	26.7	40.0	37.1	25.0	31.4
Undecided	11.4	10.0	19.4	9.7	13.3	3.7	14.7	13.3	20.0	0.0	12.5	11.4	10.7	10.0	9.7	9.7	16.7	7.4	14.7	6.7	6.7	8.6	12.5	10.0
Disagree	3.4	3.3	6.5	3.2	0.0	3.7	5.9	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.1	4.3	32.9	50.0	32.3	32.3	30.0	18.5	29.4	40.0	26.7	37.1	37.5	28.6
Strongly disagree	1.3	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.3	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.4	14.1	3.3	6.5	19.4	33.3	7.4	17.6	16.7	13.3	5.7	14.1	15.7
Blank	2.7	3.3	3.2	0.0	0.0	7.4	2.9	3.3	6.7	0.0	1.6	1.4	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	1.5	3.3	6.7	2.9	1.6	1.4

Statement	8e												8f											
	By nationality					By age group				By sex			By nationality					By age group				By sex		
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	7.4	0.0	3.2	9.7	10.0	14.8	4.4	10.0	26.7	2.9	6.3	7.1	69.8	36.7	67.7	74.2	93.3	77.8	72.1	63.3	60.0	74.3	73.4	70.0
Agree	12.8	23.3	16.1	0.0	6.7	18.5	13.2	6.7	13.3	17.1	12.5	14.3	23.5	53.3	25.8	19.4	3.3	14.8	20.6	26.7	33.3	22.9	20.3	21.4
Undecided	18.1	23.3	19.4	19.4	16.7	11.1	17.6	23.3	13.3	14.3	12.5	21.4	2.7	6.7	0.0	3.2	3.3	0.0	4.4	0.0	6.7	0.0	3.1	2.9
Disagree	36.9	40.0	45.2	35.5	26.7	37.0	32.4	36.7	26.7	51.4	39.1	38.6	2.7	3.3	3.2	0.0	0.0	7.4	0.0	10.0	0.0	2.9	1.6	4.3
Strongly disagree	22.8	10.0	16.1	35.5	40.0	11.1	30.9	20.0	13.3	14.3	28.1	18.6	0.7	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
Blank	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.4	1.5	3.3	6.7	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0

Statement	8g											8h												
	By nationality					By age group					By sex		By nationality					By age group					By sex	
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	51.7	43.3	38.7	48.4	60.0	70.4	51.5	50.0	60.0	48.6	54.7	48.6	29.5	20.0	22.6	35.5	43.3	25.9	23.5	26.7	33.3	42.9	29.7	28.6
Agree	36.2	53.3	45.2	45.2	23.3	11.1	38.2	33.3	26.7	40.0	32.8	37.1	41.6	36.7	51.6	38.7	23.3	59.3	42.6	46.7	53.3	31.4	39.1	45.7
Undecided	7.4	3.3	12.9	6.5	13.3	0.0	8.8	10.0	13.3	0.0	10.9	5.7	24.2	36.7	22.6	19.4	33.3	7.4	29.4	16.7	6.7	25.7	25.0	22.9
Disagree	4.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	3.3	14.8	1.5	6.7	0.0	8.6	1.6	7.1	3.4	6.7	3.2	3.2	0.0	3.7	2.9	10.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	2.9
Strongly disagree	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Blank	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	3.7	1.5	0.0	6.7	0.0	1.6	0.0

Statement	8i											8j												
	By nationality					By age group					By sex		By nationality					By age group					By sex	
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	46.3	33.3	25.8	64.5	73.3	33.3	51.5	46.7	20.0	45.7	45.3	45.7	21.5	3.3	16.1	22.6	40.0	25.9	20.6	26.7	20.0	20.0	20.3	20.0
Agree	40.9	60.0	38.7	32.3	23.3	51.9	32.4	43.3	66.7	45.7	45.3	38.6	36.2	30.0	48.4	41.9	20.0	40.7	38.2	36.7	46.7	28.6	39.1	37.1
Undecided	10.7	3.3	35.5	3.2	3.3	7.4	16.2	6.7	6.7	5.7	9.4	12.9	16.8	20.0	19.4	19.4	10.0	14.8	22.1	6.7	20.0	14.3	14.1	18.6
Disagree	2.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.4	0.0	3.3	6.7	2.9	0.0	2.9	21.5	46.7	16.1	12.9	23.3	7.4	14.7	26.7	0.0	37.1	21.9	21.4
Strongly disagree	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	3.2	6.7	7.4	4.4	0.0	13.3	0.0	3.1	2.9
Blank	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0

Statement	8k											8l												
	By nationality					By age group					By sex		By nationality					By age group					By sex	
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	33.6	26.7	25.8	29.0	40.0	48.1	29.4	36.7	40.0	37.1	26.6	35.7	10.7	3.3	6.5	12.9	6.7	25.9	7.4	10.0	26.7	11.4	4.7	14.3
Agree	38.9	40.0	48.4	35.5	23.3	48.1	33.8	43.3	46.7	40.0	45.3	35.7	12.1	0.0	12.9	19.4	13.3	14.8	11.8	13.3	13.3	11.4	12.5	11.4
Undecided	19.5	20.0	16.1	25.8	30.0	3.7	26.5	16.7	13.3	11.4	23.4	17.1	8.1	0.0	12.9	16.1	10.0	0.0	14.7	3.3	0.0	2.9	12.5	4.3
Disagree	4.0	6.7	3.2	6.5	3.3	0.0	4.4	0.0	0.0	8.6	0.0	7.1	36.9	63.3	41.9	16.1	26.7	37.0	35.3	33.3	20.0	51.4	39.1	38.6
Strongly disagree	3.4	6.7	6.5	3.2	0.0	0.0	4.4	3.3	0.0	2.9	3.1	4.3	31.5	33.3	25.8	35.5	40.0	22.2	30.9	40.0	40.0	20.0	31.3	30.0
Blank	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	1.4

Statement	8m						8n																	
	By nationality			By age group			By sex		By nationality			By age group			By sex									
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	42.3	13.3	22.6	64.5	70.0	40.7	47.1	46.7	33.3	31.4	37.5	47.1	10.7	6.7	0.0	16.1	16.7	14.8	10.3	16.7	0.0	11.4	12.5	10.0
Agree	43.0	70.0	54.8	19.4	26.7	44.4	35.3	50.0	46.7	51.4	46.9	38.6	22.1	3.3	29.0	32.3	16.7	29.6	26.5	13.3	26.7	20.0	20.3	24.3
Undecided	10.1	10.0	19.4	6.5	3.3	11.1	13.2	3.3	13.3	8.6	9.4	10.0	30.9	30.0	48.4	25.8	30.0	18.5	33.8	30.0	20.0	31.4	37.5	28.6
Disagree	4.0	6.7	3.2	6.5	0.0	3.7	2.9	0.0	6.7	8.6	4.7	4.3	25.5	50.0	16.1	12.9	16.7	33.3	22.1	26.7	26.7	28.6	21.9	22.9
Strongly disagree	0.7	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	10.1	10.0	6.5	9.7	20.0	3.7	7.4	13.3	26.7	5.7	7.8	14.3
Blank	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0

Statement	8o						8p																	
	By nationality			By age group			By sex		By nationality			By age group			By sex									
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	10.1	0.0	9.7	16.1	16.7	7.4	14.7	6.7	6.7	5.7	10.9	8.6	30.2	20.0	12.9	61.3	46.7	7.4	36.8	33.3	13.3	20.0	32.8	28.6
Agree	26.8	20.0	25.8	16.1	26.7	48.1	26.5	23.3	33.3	28.6	18.8	32.9	33.6	30.0	41.9	25.8	23.3	48.1	29.4	40.0	46.7	31.4	37.5	27.1
Undecided	23.5	30.0	35.5	16.1	16.7	18.5	22.1	30.0	20.0	22.9	26.6	20.0	14.8	20.0	35.5	0.0	13.3	3.7	20.6	10.0	13.3	8.6	14.1	15.7
Disagree	30.2	46.7	25.8	38.7	20.0	18.5	26.5	33.3	20.0	37.1	37.5	25.7	17.4	26.7	9.7	6.5	13.3	33.3	7.4	13.3	20.0	40.0	10.9	24.3
Strongly disagree	8.7	3.3	3.2	12.9	16.7	7.4	8.8	6.7	20.0	5.7	4.7	12.9	4.0	3.3	0.0	6.5	3.3	7.4	5.9	3.3	6.7	0.0	4.7	4.3
Blank	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Statement	8q						8r																	
	By nationality			By age group			By sex		By nationality			By age group			By sex									
Population	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M	total	AUS	POL	MEX	COL	IND	18-22	23-30	31-40	>40	F	M
Strongly agree	6.7	0.0	9.7	9.7	6.7	7.4	8.8	3.3	13.3	2.9	6.3	7.1	26.8	10.0	12.9	35.5	50.0	25.9	29.4	40.0	26.7	8.6	28.1	27.1
Agree	12.1	10.0	16.1	12.9	0.0	22.2	5.9	20.0	20.0	14.3	4.7	18.6	20.1	20.0	19.4	32.3	10.0	18.5	20.6	23.3	26.7	14.3	18.8	20.0
Undecided	11.4	10.0	29.0	0.0	6.7	11.1	17.6	3.3	0.0	11.4	6.3	15.7	28.2	36.7	32.3	25.8	20.0	25.9	26.5	23.3	20.0	40.0	31.3	21.4
Disagree	33.6	66.7	35.5	22.6	16.7	25.9	32.4	36.7	26.7	34.3	37.5	27.1	18.8	26.7	32.3	3.2	16.7	14.8	20.6	3.3	13.3	31.4	18.8	22.9
Strongly disagree	35.6	13.3	9.7	51.6	70.0	33.3	33.8	36.7	40.0	37.1	43.8	31.4	6.0	6.7	3.2	3.2	3.3	14.8	2.9	10.0	13.3	5.7	3.1	8.6
Blank	0.7	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

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