

## CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

### *Understanding the Dynamics and Impacts of the U.S. Environmental Movement*

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May 2, 2007

#### **Abstract**

The environmental movement is critical to structuring societal responses to local and global environmental problems. To understand how this social movement has attempted to transform society requires the development of an interdisciplinary linked model that can connect collective actions by social movements to their political and cultural impacts, and how these changes in turn impact the natural environment. In the paper, we describe a sociopolitical model of the relationship between movement activities, their political and cultural environment, and their resultant policy impacts. There are four key components to this framework: (1) Political Opportunities, (2) Cultural Dynamics, (3) Levels of Resource Mobilization, and (4) Movement Impacts. We provide a more detailed view of each of these components, and illustrate them using examples from our ongoing research. We conclude by argue that this heuristic framework provides a means by which we can begin to view the overall interaction between the different components of social movement theory, and ultimately, the overall relationship between social movements and society.

8,183 words (including references)

Paper prepared for presentation at the conference "*What Do NGOs Want? The Objectives and Strategies of Environmental Groups*" at the University of Michigan, May 4 & 5, 2007

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Acknowledgements: This project was supported by the Aspen Institute Nonprofit Sector Research Fund and the National Science Foundation (SES 0455195).

Nonprofit advocacy organizations provide a critical means by which citizens act together to pursue their common interests. The important role of nongovernmental organizations has been verified by the sociology of social change, which has long studied the mechanisms by which large scale social change has occurred (Skocpol 2003, Barber 1984, Calhoun 1993, Putnam 2000). This scholarship has identified the institutions based in civil society, outside of the dynamics of the market and the state as a key site for the origination of social change (McAdam and Zald 1996, Sztompka 1993). Civil society is constituted by voluntary institutions that exist outside of the direct control of both the market and the state, and is comprised by a number of different organizational forms, most notably social movement organizations. Because these organizations are based in the deliberations of their members, the institutional dynamics defined by market forces and the political power of the state are minimized in their operation. This independence forms the key to the capacity of civil society to serve as a site for the generation of citizen's action (Skocpol 2003). Social movement organizations develop and advocate alternative discourses and practices, and present these social problems and their solutions in the public arena (Habermas 1996:381). This puts social movement organizations at the center of the renewal and transformation of social institutions (Habermas 1996:365, Habermas 1979: 125). Thus institutions based in civil society are seen as a key site for a transformation of political and economic systems.

Social movements have historically exerted influence over collective decisions through democratic debate in the public sphere (Habermas 1962). The role of the public sphere is to serve as an arena which can "subject persons or affairs to public reason, and to make political decisions subject to appeal before the court of public opinion (Habermas 1989: 141)." The public sphere is constituted by open forums, such as university conferences, newspaper editorials, or internet bloggers. In these public forums, debates and discussions can identify problems, develop possible solutions, and create sufficient political pressure to have them addressed by constitutional governments (Habermas 1996:359-360, 1998:248-249). This enables the realization of social learning based on democratic deliberation (Calhoun 1993:392-393).

The capability of a society to learn and respond to changed conditions is thus dependent upon the generation of alternative world views, the open communication of these realities into the general stock of cultural knowledge, and the use of this knowledge in development of our social institutions. To address

ecological problems in our social order requires the development of open communication from a robust civil society in which environmental issues are accurately perceived , these concerns are then effectively presented by representative institutions, and ensuring that these concerns are satisfactorily addressed by the political system. Thus environmental movement organizations are key actors in institutionalizing this process of social change. By mobilizing citizens and providing a competent, legitimate and authentic representation of their needs, environmental movement organizations can be catalysts for the development of change to bring about an ecologically sustainable society.

Thus the environmental movement is critical to structuring societal responses to local and global environmental problems. To understand how this social movement has attempted to transform society requires the development of an interdisciplinary linked model that can connect collective actions by social movements to their political and cultural impacts, and how these changes in turn impact the natural environment. In the paper, we describe a sociopolitical model of the relationship between movement activities, their political and cultural environment, and their resultant policy impacts. Our approach to understanding social movements can be conceptualized by the following diagram. This framework is, of course, a simplification of a number of complex processes. It forms a heuristic device that structures our discussion of how the U.S. environmental movement can be understood from the perspective of sociology.

### **Figure One Here**

As this model shows, there are four key components to this framework. The first component is Political Opportunities. Political opportunities are critical to both the mobilization of the environmental movement and to the movement's influence on the adoption and implementation of environmental policy. Thus political opportunities may have both a direct effect on policy and an indirect effect through facilitating and channeling the environmental movement. Cultural dynamics comprise the second component of the framework. Our focus here is cultural production in the media, and how this impacts both public and elite opinions. Media coverage, and the environmental beliefs of both elites and the public have impacts on both the environmental movement and its activities, as well as on environmental policy. The third component focuses on the mobilization and activities of the environmental movement, including the formation of new environmental movement organizations (EMOs), their strategies and

tactics (including major discourses and frames), and their direct influence attempts. As Figure One illustrates, EMOs influence environmental policy directly through their actions, and indirectly through changes in the focus and levels of cultural activity. Finally, the key variable that the other three components focus on is the nature and extent of government environmental policy. While we recognize that this heuristic framework is not complete, we feel that it provides a means by which we can begin to view the overall interaction between the different components of social movement theory. In this paper, we provide a more detailed view of each of these components, and illustrate them using examples from our ongoing research.

**Political Opportunities:** Social movements and their impacts on public policies are heavily conditioned by the external political and economic situation in which they exist. These external conditions create the political opportunities in which a movement operates. This is defined as “the (perceived) probability that actions will lead to success in achieving a desired outcome” (Goldstone and Tilly 2001: 182; Meyer 2004; Andrews and Edwards 2004). There are four components.

1. *Political Alignments:* Scholars have developed two general approaches to the nature of political opportunities: institutional and political process arguments (Amenta and Young 1999). Institutional analyses focus on the nature of the state - i.e. is it institutionally open or closed to movement activities, or is it a strong or weak state. Because our focus is on the U.S. environmental movement, the nature of the state is relatively unchanging. Hence we focus on the process arguments. One thesis focuses on divided elites. Tilly (1978: 213-14) argues that closely divided and competitive political situations create opportunities for collective action by political challengers. Others argue that it creates a favorable context for political change (McAdam 1982; Jenkins 1985). In the U.S., this stems from divided government, i.e. split party control of the major chambers of the federal government (Jenkins, Jacobs and Agnone 2003), or from a narrower margin of Presidential victory and/or partisan control in Congress (Piven and Cloward 1977; McAdam 1982; Costain 1992).

A second “political ally” thesis argues that the greater the power of political allies, the greater the opportunities for action and its political impact. Studies have focused on the Congressional and Presidential power of the Democratic party (including non-Southern or northern Democrats), which is seen as a movement ally (Rubin et al. 1983; Issac and Christensen 2002; Minkoff 1997; Jenkins, Jacobs

and Agnone 2003). This may, however, be problematic over time (e.g. the progressive era, when Republicans were more supportive of environmental protection), requiring period controls.

Others have focused on private foundations, arguing that they provide critical funding for the creation of new SMOs, especially those with moderate agendas (Jenkins 1989; Minkoff 1997). Since the late 1950s, foundations have provided critical startup funding and currently roughly a quarter of the annual budgets of the major environmental organizations (Godwin and Mitchell 1984: 837; Johnson 1998; Jenkins and Halcli 1998). Brulle (2000: 256) shows that foundation grants were the second largest source of income (between 22 and 29% of total income) for the major environmental EMOs in the mid-1990s. There is, however, debate over the impact of foundation funding with some arguing that it boosts movement action (Zald and McCarthy 1987) and others arguing that it undermines sustained mobilization (Jordan and Maloney 1997; Snow 1992; Dowie 1995). While previous analysis (Brulle 2000, Brulle and Jenkins 2005) shows that most foundation funding goes to moderate environmental EMOs, the impact on action is unclear. Does foundation funding channel movements into centralized and professionalized structures that shun protest and avoid grassroots mobilization? While the majority of environmental EMOs are formally oligarchic, there is no simple relationship between foundation funding and oligarchy (Brulle 2000:256-264). For the most part, funding channels the movement as a whole into moderate and professionalized structures. An example of the impact of financial support on environmental organizations is provided by Dreiling and Wolf (2001) in their analysis of how financial interests influenced the position of environmental organizations on the passage of NAFTA in 1993, and (Reference to come) (2007) who shows how foundation funding converted tropical forest boycott groups into sustainable forestry monitoring organizations.

A third ally are other movements, including third party challengers. In her analysis of the women's movement, Minkoff (1997) shows that the early riser civil rights movement helped mobilize the women's movement and that minority rights organizations have benefited by the growing density of African-American rights organizations (Minkoff 1999). Similarly, civil rights organizing had positive "spill-over" effects on union organizing (Issac and Christiansen 2002). In our analysis of EMO founding, we find that 3<sup>rd</sup> party votes in Presidential elections are a key contributor to the formation of new EMOs,

indicating the mobilization of a significant segment of the population that is alienated from the major political parties.

2. *Opposition Levels:* A compliment to influential allies or external support is the extent of opposition encountered by a social movement. Some advance the thesis that movements respond to political threats, i.e. “the costs that social groups will incur from protest, or that it expects to suffer if it does not take action” (Goldstone and Tilly 2001: 183). Threats are often symbolized by “goadings events” (Lofland 1993) and highly visible repression (Francisco 1995). During the early 1980s, anti-environmental positions taken by the Reagan administration provoked an upsurge of environmental mobilization. Adair (2001) shows that the Three Mile Island disaster and the intransigence of the nuclear power industry and local government provoked anti-nuclear protest in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Van Dyke and Soule (2002) show that patriot/militia organizing increased in response to the political threat of women state legislators and Van Dyke (2002) that Republican Presidents and state governors stimulate student protest. Threats are often measured as the inverse of political opportunities but analytically they are distinct. A more appropriate method is to devise distinctive measures of threats. Boutcher, Jenkins and Van Dyke (2007) show that black protest and the Warren Court as well as northern Democrats in Congress stimulated white supremacist activities in the post-WWII period. We examine the effects of environmental disasters as reported in the mass media as well as anti-environmental stances by the President and Congress.

An additional factor is countermovement mobilization. Countermovements are “networks of individuals and organizations that share many of the same objects of concern as the social movements that they oppose. They make competing claims on the state on matters of policy and politics and vie for attention from the mass media and the broader public” (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996:1632). These types of movements arise in response to social movements for change. The change advocates in effect, create their own opposition. By advocating an alternative discourse and challenging established interests, they create conditions for mobilization of their opposition. Countermovements develop as the change-oriented movement begin to show signs of success by influencing public policy, and threatening established interests (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996:1635-1640). Threatened elites may then respond to by fostering countermovements to oppose and/or contain challenging social movements (Pichardo 1995:

23). As noted by Gale (1986: 207), these countermovements “typically represent economic interests directly challenged by the emergent social movement.” The countermovement organizations that emerge take the form of elite-driven efforts to mobilize economically impacted populations, or populations that share similar interests or ideologies (Gale 1986: 207, Pichardo 1995). The discourse of the countermovement generally takes the form of appeals for the restoration of the “established myths of society (Lo 1982: 119).”

Over the past century, a number of short-lived anti-environmental countermovements have mobilized (Short 1989: ix, Brulle 2000 119-129). These included: (1) demonstrations against the development of the national forests from 1891-1914 (Robbins 1962: 316, Maughan & Nilson 1993:2, Richardson 1962: 36-40, 155), (2) protests over grazing fees in the Stanfield Rebellion (1925-1934), and McCarran Protests (1941-1946) (Cawley 1993, Maughan & Nilson 1993 Clepper 1966: 140, Graf 1990: 166), and (3) the attack on Silent Spring in 1962 (Brulle 2000: 123-124). The nature of the countermovement quantitatively and qualitatively shifted in the late 1970s with the development of the “Sagebrush Rebellion.” (Shabercoff 1993: 164). The agenda remained the same, as previous countermovements, (Graf 1990: 228, Short 1989: 15, Cawley 1993:103). However, in distinction to previous countermovements, this phase resulted in a number of new countermovement organizations (Graf 1990: 243). The Sagebrush Rebellion expanded and gave birth to a larger organized countermovement in the late 1980's know as the "Wise Use Movement" (Cawley 1993: 166, Knox 1990, O'Callaghan 1992, Stapleton 1993, Helvarg 1994:9). This movement continued to expand in the 1990's, and is now a potent political force, which one can gauge by examining the environmental policies of the Bush administration (Brick and Cawley 1996: 7, Canan and Pring 1988, Helvarg 1994, Grumbine 1994, Austin 2002).

3. *Periodic Events*: The final element that influences movements are periodic events that range from major system crises, such as wars and major depressions that throw into question that general pattern of political alignments (Gamson 1975; Olzak and Uhrig 2001, McLaughlin and Khawaja 2000), to more modest one-time changes, such as the changes in charitable contribution laws that require increased foundation payouts (Schiff 1989, Jencks 1987; Ylvisaker 1987; Clotfelter 1989; Clotfelter and Salamon 1986; Odendahl 1989).

**Our Research.** In our research to date, we have focused on two areas. First, we examined the impact of foundation funding on environmental movement organizations. Using foundation funding levels in 2000, we found a unique pattern of foundation funding among different environmental communities.

#### **Table I Here**

As this table shows, the overwhelming majority of foundation funding to the environmental movement goes to the moderate organizations that use the traditional discourses of conservation, preservation, and mainstream liberal environmentalism. Most are professional movement organizations with at most a “paper” membership of direct mail contributors who lack participatory mechanisms. The role of the so-called members is to be donors, not participants who actively guide organization programs and activities. Decision making is concentrated in the hands of the staff and board, who are largely self-selecting and autonomous from member control. Although the total pool of environmental funding has grown rapidly almost fivefold per decade since the 1970s, it has been concentrated on a relatively small number of large EMOs involved in political advocacy work. It thus bypasses some of the most vital and innovative sectors of the environmental movement. Instead of investing in the environmental justice, deep ecology, ecofeminist, and ecotheological wings of the movement, foundations have focused their efforts on the environmental mainstream, making them more prominent and visible in the movement. The alternative foundations and public charities are the only foundations that significantly fund the more innovative and radical environmental discourses.

The impact of this funding has been to channel the environmental movement into more moderate discourses and conventional forms of action. While there are notable cases of foundations attempting to directly control movement activities, the general pattern is a more indirect process of creating incentives for specific discourses, styles of organization, and tactics, thereby drawing the movement into the institutional system. A typical case is the conversion of the tropical forest products boycott organizations into sustainable forest products monitoring (Reference to come). Under pressure from the boycott, Home Depot and other forest product marketers met with Pew Foundation officials and boycott leaders to develop a new system for monitoring the sustainability of tropical forest production. Pew then worked with other foundations to legitimize this new system of monitoring, bringing a disruptive boycott to a close and instituting a new system of tropical forest production. In general, little environmental funding goes to

participatory membership associations, meaning that instead of being governed by citizens, the environmental movement has become increasingly controlled by foundations that represent large corporate wealth and rationalized power in the American political economy. Critics argue that this blunts the potential impact of movements, promotes nonparticipatory civic organizations and limits the range of viewpoints represented in the public arena (Skocpol 1999; Brulle 2000).

Second, we have examined the effects of environmental mobilization, public opinion and partisan power on pro-environmental legislation in Congress. Most work on public policy deals with the passage of legislation, either measured by simple rollcall counts (e.g. Burstein and Freudenberg 1979; McAdam and Su 2002) or the passage of major legislation (Piven and Cloward 1977; Santoro 2---). But since environmental legislation represents an longstanding area of concern, we focus on the percent of pro-environmental victories as scored by the League of Conservation Voters Scorecard. Figures 2 and 3 show the victory rate for the House of Representatives and the Senate for 1970-2003.

#### **Figures 2 & 3 Here**

Our statistical analyses show that the major factors that influence these environmental victory rates are: (1) favorable public opinion in terms of both net public support for greater environmental spending and the overall salience of environmental protection; (2) Congressional lobbying by the leading "Gang of 10" EMOs; and (3) negatively suggesting a backlash effect, environmental protest and intra-movement strategy debates. The latter two factors are more important in the House than the Senate, reflecting the formers greater responsiveness to public pressure. In both chambers, a larger number of northern Democrats favors environmental victories. This shows that both political allies, movement mobilization and general public opinion influence public policy.

**New Work: Cultural Activities.** The second component of the heuristic framework for understanding the dynamics and impacts of the U.S. environmental movement focuses on the dynamics between cultural ideas and social movements. Social change involves struggles in both the political and cultural arenas. The analysis of the POS examines the impacts of political institutions on EMOs and environmental policy. However, to understand the influence of norms and beliefs requires a consideration of culture and its impacts.

One of the key ideas of sociology based in a cultural perspective is that social order is based on a general acceptance of a common definition of the situation. The definition of the situation takes the form of the taken-for-granted social assumptions that govern our daily interactions. These belief systems form a distinct worldview that guides our social life within institutions. Accordingly, one can see institutions as culturally created social systems. From this viewpoint, the maintenance and change of cultural systems is an important component in the analysis of social change (Bourdieu 1985:729). This allows us to see the symbolic dynamics of the political community as being based on the interaction between the dominant worldview, and challenges by alternatives. The process of social change involves conflicts over which ideas are legitimate. This struggle takes the form of a “war of position”, where the different alliances face off against each other in elections and in other cultural and political confrontations (Touraine 1977:25-26). Thus social change involves both the creation and advocacy of alternative worldviews (Rochon 1998:8).

There are two areas of this interaction that are crucial to understand the impact of cultural beliefs on social movements. The first area is the development and change of the discursive frames of the environmental movement. The environmental movement is made up of a number of different communities, each based on a particular world view. Sociologists label these different world views as “discursive frames.” A discursive frame is the set of cultural viewpoints that informs the practices of a community of social movement organizations. Each discursive frame provides a cultural viewpoint from which the environmental organization acts. This discursive frame defines the goals and purposes of the organization, and provides guidance for the actions of the organization.

For example the Wilderness Society belongs to the discursive community defined by the discourse of Preservation. This discursive frame focuses on the preservation of intact ecological systems and protection of biodiversity. Oriented by this viewpoint, the Wilderness Society seeks to create and maintain wilderness areas, and to ensure the long-term ecological diversity in these areas. Conversely, the Center for Health, Environment and Justice is informed by the discursive frame of Environmental Health. It seeks to protect the health of urban area residents by eliminating toxic chemicals from their environment. So while these two organizations both have an environmental focus, their discursive frames are distinct.

The U.S. environmental movement is comprised of several distinct communities, each based on a unique discursive frame. Thus to understand this movement, it is important to recognize its multiple foci based on unique discursive frames. There are eleven major discursive frames that define the environmental movement in the U.S. These discursive frames are described in Table II.

#### **Table II Here**

In our research, we have developed an extensive data set of national environmental organizations. Each of the organizations has been coded into a specific discursive frame based on a review of its official goals, publications, and web site. The number of organizations in each discursive frame is shown in Figure Four.

#### **Figure Four Here**

As this graph shows, the largest number of EMOs are found in the long established discursive frames of Reform Environmentalism, Preservation, and Conservation. Together, these three discursive frames represent 78% of the environmental movement. All of the other discursive frames represent 5% or less of the total organizations. Thus, although a great deal of attention is given to the newer discursive frames in the academic literature, the environmental movement continues to be concentrated in these more conventional and long lived discursive frames.

However, as Snow (2004:402 ) notes: "Framing cannot be adequately understood apart from the broader enveloping contexts in which those processes are embedded." This highlights the need to examine the "cultural contexts in which movements grow, flourish and wither (Williams 2004: 95)," which defines the second type of cultural analysis. Social movement arise within a cultural milieu that can facilitate or hinder movement emergence, and affect movement success. This "channeling power of culture (Williams 2004:95)," and its impact on social movements is only recently being explored (Benford and Snow 2000). In his analysis, Rochon (1998) ties cultural innovation to small communities of critical thinkers, what he calls "critical communities". These communities, such as universities and research institutes, develop alternative worldviews. Social movements then form around these alternative perspectives, and advocate them to the wider public. The then promulgate through the wider culture via the media and political activity. If successful, the social movement then impacts the overall cultural

beliefs of the society (Earl 2004). Thus there should be a linkage between cultural innovations, social movement creation, and eventual cultural shifts.

In our research, we have conducted an analysis of the relationships between cultural production and EMO formation. For cultural production in the area of the environment, we compiled counts of library books in environmental subheads of the Library of Congress. We coupled this with data regarding the foundings of environmental organizations (contained in our recently completed EMO time series database). The results of this plot are shown below.

#### **Figure Five Here**

The tight relationship between the founding of environmental EMOs and publication of environmental books suggests the validity of the cultural innovation - movement formation process forwarded by Rochon (1998). Intellectuals and writers in “critical communities” create cultural innovations, measured by the increase in environmentally related books being published. The response of activists is to form more environmental EMOs.

One of other research activities is to examine media coverage and its impacts on public opinion. Currently we are gathering data in this area, and cannot present any definitive results. However, we can illustrate how we can begin to measure media impacts using the response to the recently released and widely viewed documentary “An Inconvenient Truth” starring Al Gore in May 2006. This movie played throughout the nation, and attracted a wide audience. Has this movie had any impact on public opinion? Preliminary results show very little change. Every month, the Gallup poll asks individuals what they consider to be the “most important problem” facing the nation. Over the past ten years, the environment has consistently been mentioned by only 1%-2% of the respondents. In the seven months since May 2006, there has been no significant change in this pattern. If we look at television coverage, there has been a slight but short-term increase in attention to global warming. The coverage of global warming on the nightly newscasts from 1980 up through October 2006 is shown in Figure Six. While there has been some increase of coverage in 2006, the decline in October 2006 suggests the coverage may follow a short term rise to prominence, and subsequent decline as other issues replace global warming stories. This ‘issue-attention cycle’ may prove to be similar to previous cycles around notable events in 1997-98 and 2001.

### Figure 6 Here

Media-activism has a complex relationship to grassroots mobilization. Media coverage may signal elite attention to an issue, thereby encouraging mass optimism about the potential impact of grassroots organizing. This phenomena has been a key process in the organizing successes of the civil rights, women's, and peace movements. But this positive media link only works where there is independent sustained grassroots organizing, which is largely not the case for the environmental movement. At most, media coverage may produce better understanding of the issue, but not widespread political mobilization of the environmental movement.

**Environmental Movement Activities:** The third component of the framework focuses on the activities of EMOs. Sociologists commonly focus on four areas.

1. *Size (Members, Staff, Financial Resources)* The first area of analysis is based on the long standing perspective of Resource Mobilization. Making the "weak" assumption that there are always sufficient grievances to justify collective action (Jenkins and Perrow 1977) or the "strong" assumption that movement entrepreneurs will manufacture sufficient collective grievances to justify mobilization (Zald and McCarthy 1987), the core proposition is that the greater the supply of material resources, group organization and political opportunities, the greater the collective action (Tilly 1978; Gamson 1975; Jenkins 1983; Zald and McCarthy 1987).

2. *Governance, Membership, and Professionalization:* The second area focus regarding EMOs is how social movements are organized. Typically, social movement organizations are seen as a "bottom-up" grass-roots organization, based in face-to-face social interactions (e.g. Hayes 1986: 134-35; Cohen 1985, Habermas 1996). On the other hand, Ellefson (1992: 307) argues that "interest groups are in reality almost always dominated by staff, elected officials, and a small cadre of very active members." Brulle (2000) also found that despite some democratic organizations existing in the environmental movement, the majority are formal oligarchies with constitutions providing for self-selecting boards and lacking formal participatory mechanisms. These type of organizations have been labeled as "professional social movement organizations (Zald and McCarthy 1987), "astro turf" organizations (Cigler and Loomis 1995) or "protest businesses" (Jordan and Maloney 1997), in which the professional staff dominates the organization and members are treated simply as financial contributors.

Some contend that these forces have created “a new civic America largely run by advocates and managers without members” (Skocpol 1999: 462; see also Putnam 2000; Fiorina and Skocpol 1999). The environmental movement is often singled out for this professionalization trend. This poses the question of foundation channeling of social movements (Jenkins 1987, 1989, 1998; Jenkins and Eckert 1986; Jenkins and Halcli 1999) and the possible blunting of the political impact of the environmental movement.

3. *Density & Survival Rates:* Social movement organizations also act in an environment with other movement organizations. Thus they are impacted by the density of competing organizations (Hannan and Freeman 1977; Olzak and Uhrig 2001). The core organizational ecology thesis is that as the number of organizations initially increases, the legitimacy of the movement increases, thus facilitating SMO formation. With time, however, competition for scarce resources increases, especially for organizations that depend on personal networks for mobilizing or confront a stable or declining niche, and this slows the rate of new SMO formation and reduces the survival probabilities of existing organizations (Gray and Lowery 1995; Minkoff 1994; Sandell 2001).

4. *Strategies and Tactics:* Social movement organizations employ a wide range of tactics in pursuit of their aims, ranging from institutional tactics, such as lobbying, educational campaigns, or litigation, to expressive and direct actions, such as strikes, protests, or other confrontational activities. However, there is a pattern among different types of EMOs, in which each organization generally relies on a set of activities and frequently is characterized by the dominant approach that it takes when attempting to promote change (Rochon 1988, Wilson 1973). These various forms of activities used by challenging groups in a given historical period tactics constitute a repertoire of action of the social movement (Tilly 1978). Initial analyses show that there is a convergence in the current environmental movement regarding adoption of tactics to bring about social change, with a vast majority focusing on parliamentary and educational strategies (i.e. working through existing market, legislative and bureaucratic processes, and educating the populace through publications and materials), and less than 10% relying on protest activities. In addition, discursive frame has been shown to have a significant influence on the adoption of various tactics. Organizations with the discursive frames of Deep Ecology and Environmental Justice are primarily responsible for the handful of protest activities in the

environmental movement (Brulle 2000: 246, Carmin and Balser 2002). Further empirical research is needed in this area to fully understand the different tactics used by EMOs, and how their impact varies.

One example from our research shows the growth in EMOs. We have compiled founding data for national EMOs for the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century. The results of this data are shown below in Figure Seven.

**Figure Seven Here**

As this data shows, the growth of the environmental movement started in the early 1960s, primarily among preservationist organizations. This was followed by the explosive growth in reform environmentalist groups in the late 1960s. However, contrary to conventional wisdom, the environmental movement has not declined. There has been a substantial increase in organizations, both within the mainstream discursive frames of reform environmentalism and preservation, and in the discursive frames combined under the rubric "Alternative Discourses." In other research, we have conducted analyses of the relative impacts of competition and cultural production on the growth of the environmental movement. These analyses, which will be forthcoming shortly, show that both organizational competition and cultural production levels have highly significant impacts on the founding of EMOs.

**Policy Impacts:** The final component of the framework addresses the policy impacts of the environmental movement. The impacts of any social movements is hard to ascertain, and it is necessary to control for not only the direct impact of the movement itself, but also the impact of external trends, such as the Political Opportunity Structure, not directly related to the movement itself (Tilly 1999). In a recent preliminary analysis of the impact of the environmental movement, Rucht (1999) argues there is a relationship between the strength of environmental movement activities and protection of the movement. However, this analysis, in his words "has only scratched the surface of a complex web of interrelations in environmental politics (Rucht 1999:223

Additionally, while there have been a large number of analyses of movement impacts on political and economic activities, the underlying problems addressed by the environmental movement have been largely neglected. . While there is a strong rationale for examining legislative and corporate actions (Amenta and Young 1999), impact analyses are incomplete without some attention to the actual goals advanced by the movement. Environmentalists not only want to know whether their efforts have influenced hearings and legislation but if they are contributing to the reduction of environmental problems.

The channeling thesis and related arguments about symbolic politics (Edelman 1971) cannot be fully assessed without seeing whether environmental mobilization translates into the actual reduction of environmental problems. To measure actual impacts, we are gathering a number of measures of environmental conditions. One of them, illustrated below in Figure Eight, shows the trends in overall

#### **Figure Eight Here**

ambient air pollution as measured by the Criteria Pollutants Data collected by the EPA. Measures such as this are needed to link the analysis of EMOs, the POS, and cultural dynamics, to their ultimate environmental impacts. Together, we feel that this combined heuristic model can provide valuable insights into the analysis of the environmental movement.

#### **Future Research Directions**

In this paper, we have outlined a heuristic model that we are currently using to conduct our ongoing research activities. However, this model is only a partial step toward the development of a more comprehensive approach. To understand the full range of interactions between the natural environment and society, we need to move toward a multi-disciplinary model. One such framework is shown below in Figure Nine. This figure illustrates our current thinking about the different components that need to be integrated. This is not by any means a fully flushed out framework, but merely a starting point for a more developed conversation.

#### **Figure Nine Here**

Not only do we need to incorporate the insights of the disciplines of political science and sociology, but also those of economics, communications, and business. From the economists, we need to develop a model of how government actions can lead to changes in economic practices. Communications specialists can address how cultural dynamics both mediates between the public and its perception of environmental problems, and also how media impacts both government and EMO actions. Additionally, we need to integrate the insights and knowledge of both the engineering and natural sciences to provide us with links between economic activities and their impacts on environmental conditions. The discipline of ecological economics can be especially useful in providing us with maps on material withdrawals of natural resources from the environment into the economy, and the redeposit of waste materials from the economy back into the natural environment. Finally, we need to call upon the

disciplines of Public Health and Demographics to provide us with the impacts of changing environmental conditions on human populations, and how this then influences political and cultural processes.

Taken together, the understanding of environment and society interactions is perhaps the most challenging intellectual problem we face. However, we need to press forward with developing this type of understanding so we can formulate actions to ensure both our survival and the survival of all of the species that we share this planet with.

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### Foundation Grants by Discourse of Recipient Organization - 2000

Discursive Frame	Amount of Grants (\$ in Millions)	Distribution of Grant by Amount	Number of Grants	Distribution of Grants by Number
Wildlife Management	\$4.34	2.7%	39	2.4%
Conservation	\$19.64	12.5%	177	10.8%
Preservation	\$42.97	27.3%	456	27.9%
Reform Environmentalism	\$61.46	39.1%	547	33.5%
Environmental Justice	\$2.79	1.8%	79	4.8%
Deep Ecology	\$1.84	1.1%	84	5.1%
Ecofeminism	\$2.26	1.4%	13	.8%
Ecotheology	\$1.89	1.2%	21	1.3%
Undetermined	\$20.06	12.8%	219	13.4%

Source: Brulle, Robert J, and Jenkins, J. Craig. 2005. "Foundations and the Environmental Movement: Priorities, Strategies, and Impact" in Faber, Daniel and McCarthy, Debra, *Foundations for Social Change: Critical Perspectives on Philanthropy and Popular Movements* Rowman & Littlefield

**Table I**

## **Worldviews Of The Proper Relationship Between Nature And Society In The U.S.**

**Wise Use** The natural environment is unproductive and valueless without development. Hence the exploitation and development of abundant natural resources for economic development contributes directly to human welfare.

**Wildlife Management** The scientific management of ecosystems can ensure stable populations of wildlife. This wildlife population can be seen as a crop from which excess populations can be sustainably harvested in accordance with the ecological limitations of a given area. This excess wildlife population can be used for human recreation in sport hunting.

**Conservation** Natural resources should be technically managed from a utilitarian perspective to realize the greatest good for the greatest number of people over the longest period of time.

**Preservation** Nature is an important component in supporting both the physical and spiritual life of humans. Hence the continued existence of wilderness and wildlife, undisturbed by human action is necessary.

**Reform Environmentalism** Human health is linked to ecosystem conditions. To maintain a healthy human society, ecologically responsible actions are necessary. These actions can be developed and implemented through the use of natural sciences.

**Deep Ecology** The richness and diversity of all life on earth has intrinsic value, and so human life is privileged only to the extent of satisfying vital needs. Maintenance the diversity of life on earth mandates a decrease in human impacts on the natural environment, and substantial increases in the wilderness areas of the globe.

**Environmental Justice** Ecological problems occur because of the structure of society and the imperatives this structure creates for the continued exploitation of nature. Hence, the resolution of environmental problems requires fundamental social change.

**Environmental Health** Human health is the outcome of a number of interactions with physical, chemical, biological and social factors in the natural environment. Additionally, human health is directly impacted by toxic substances and pollution. To ensure community health requires a livable and healthy community, with adequate social services, and elimination of exposures to toxic or polluting substances.

**Ecofeminism** Ecosystem abuse is rooted in androcentric concepts & institutions. Relations of complementarity rather than superiority between culture/nature, human/nonhuman, and male/female are needed to resolve the conflict between the human and natural worlds.

**Ecospiritualism** Nature is God's creation, and humanity has a moral obligation to keep and tend the Creation. Hence, natural and unpolluted ecosystems and biodiversity needs to be preserved.

## **Table II**

## Framework for the Analysis of the Dynamics and Impacts of the U.S. Environmental Movement

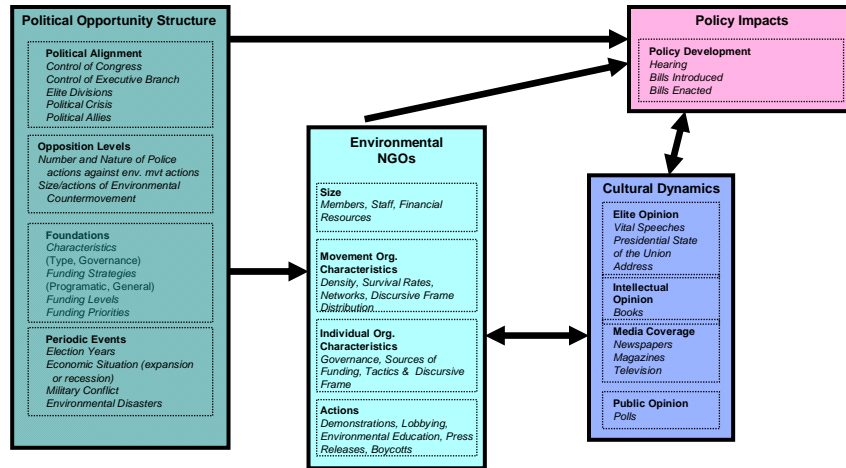


Figure One

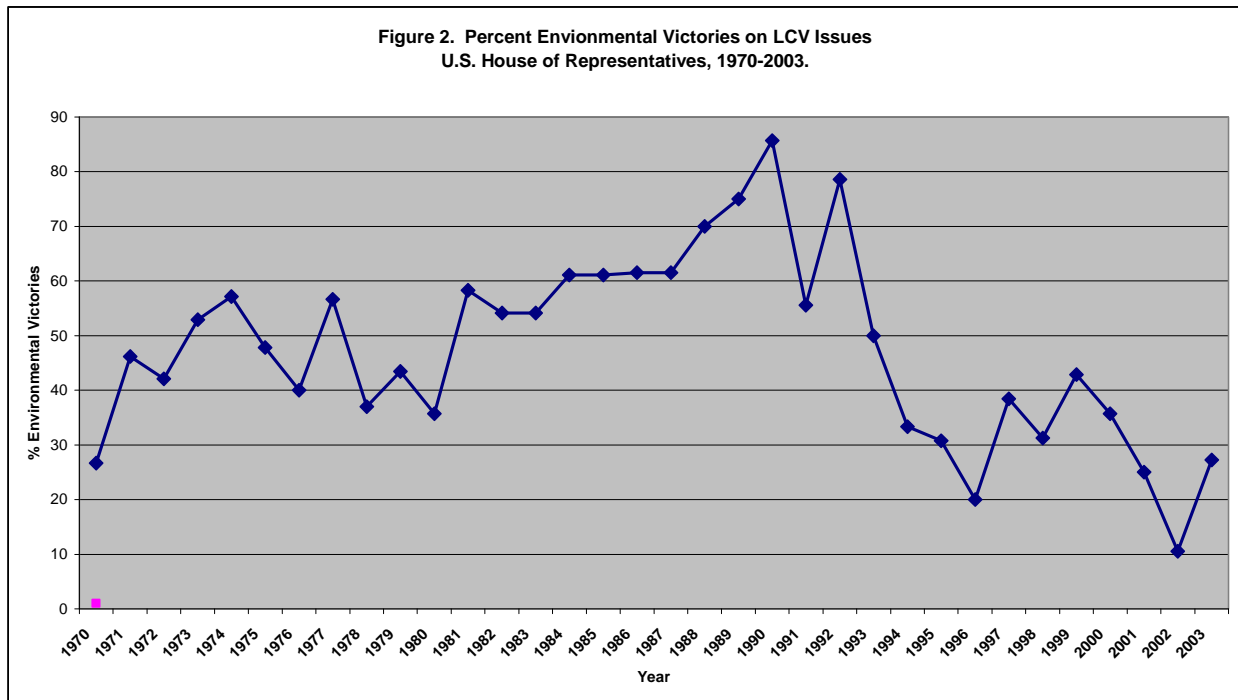
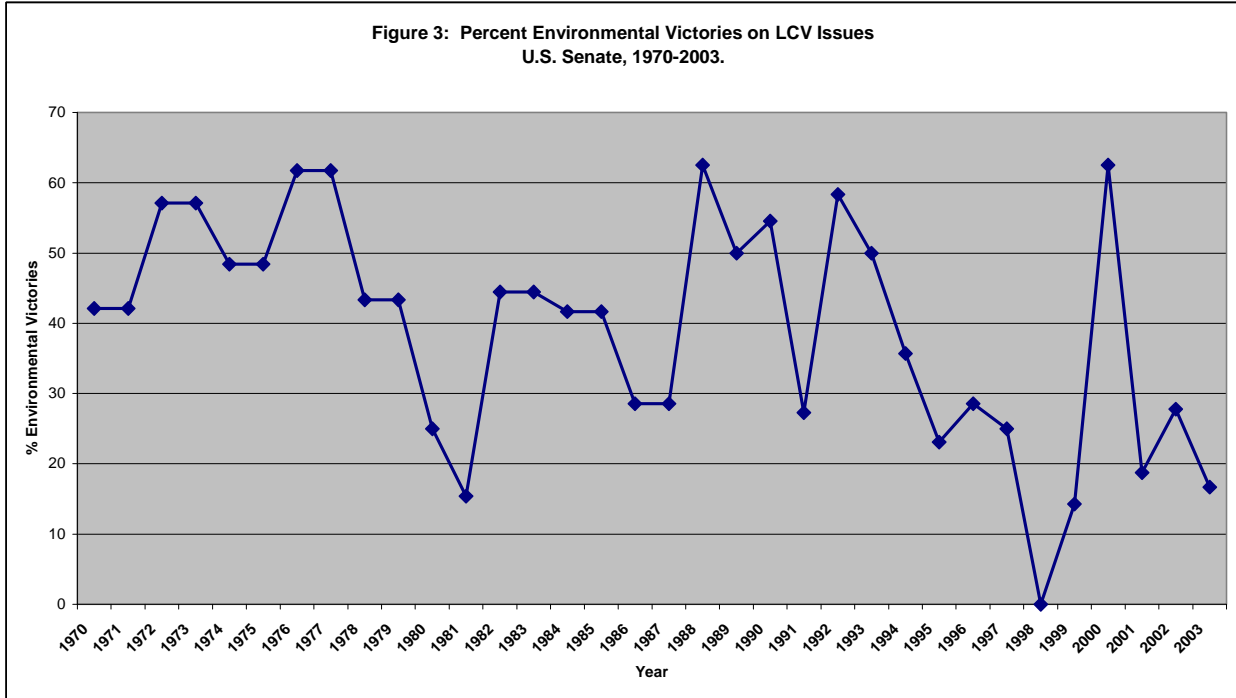
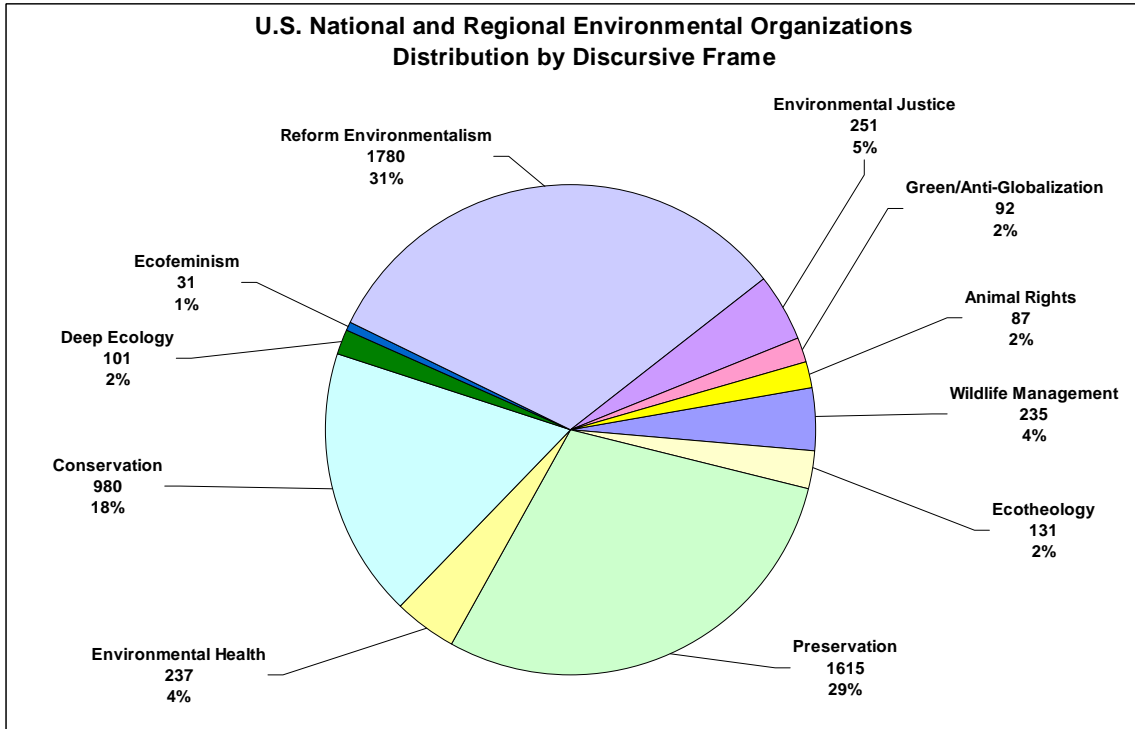


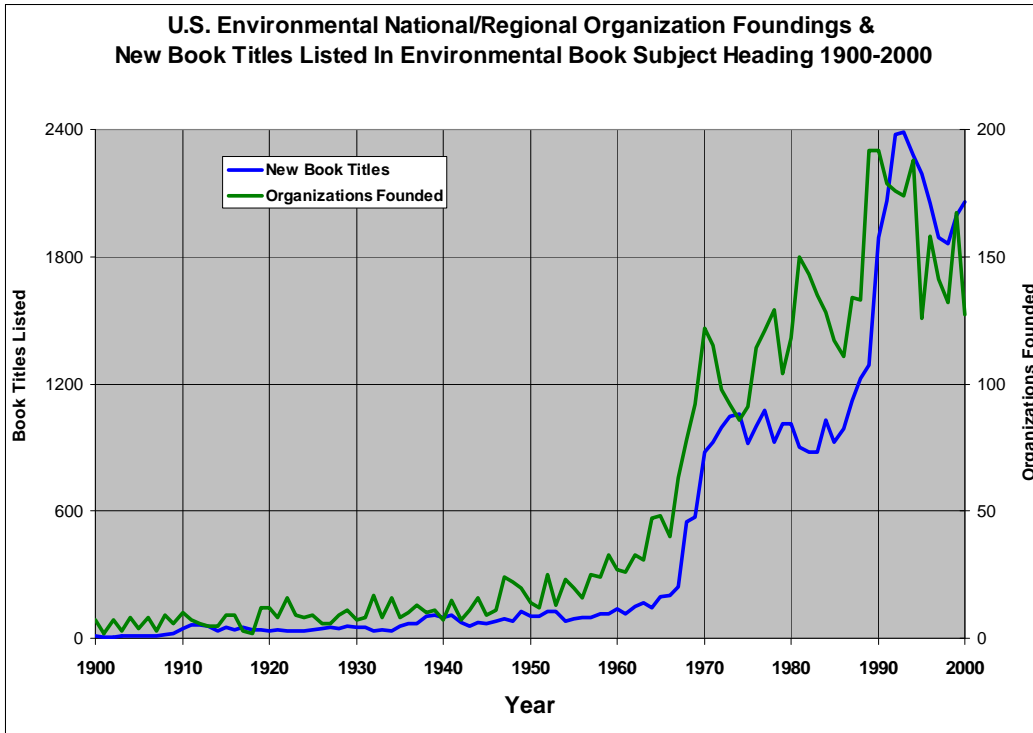
Figure Two



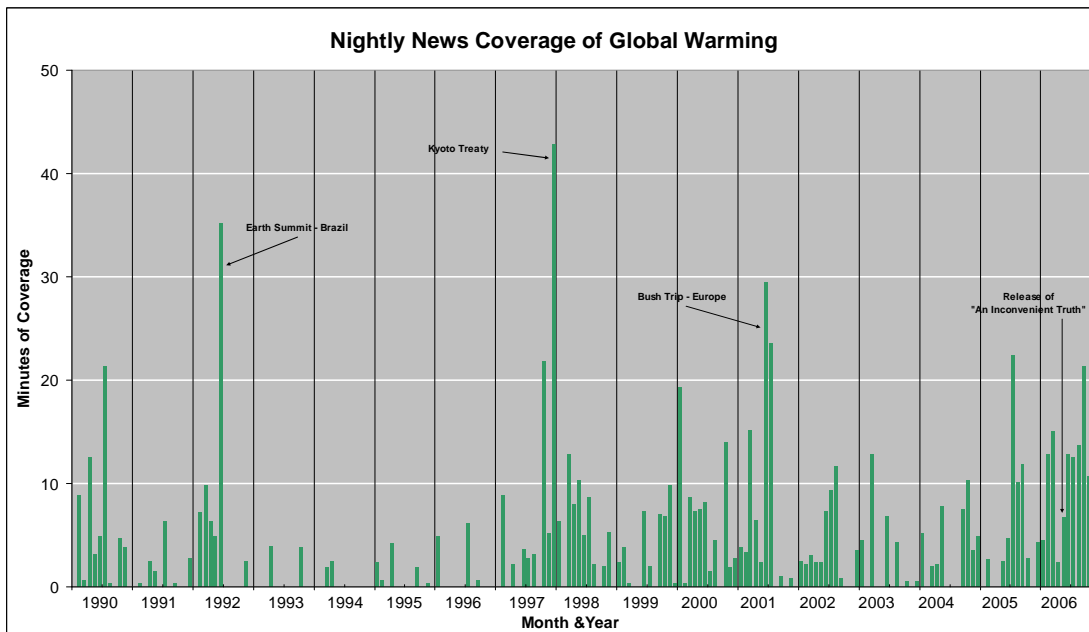
**Figure Three**



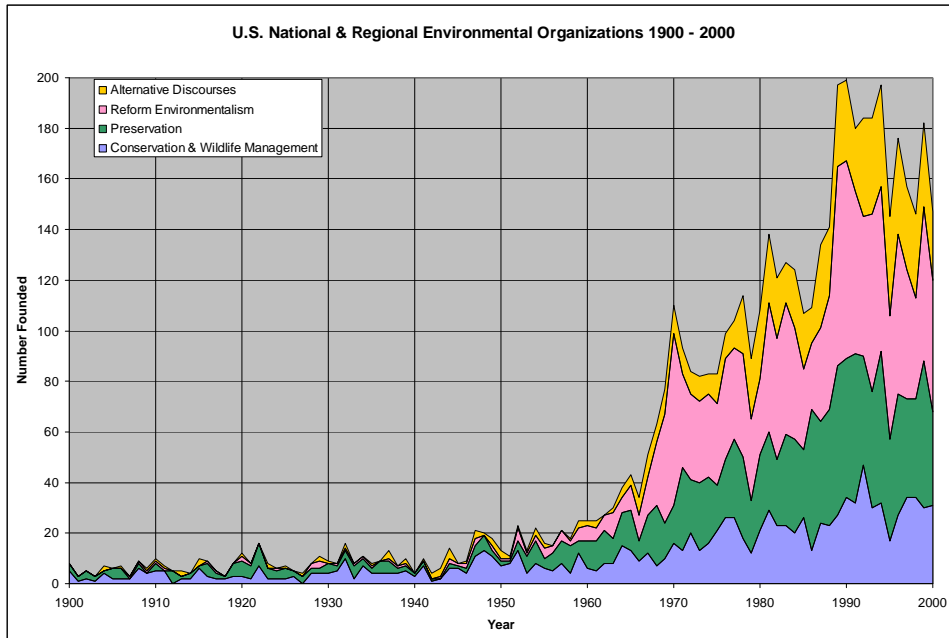
**Figure Four**



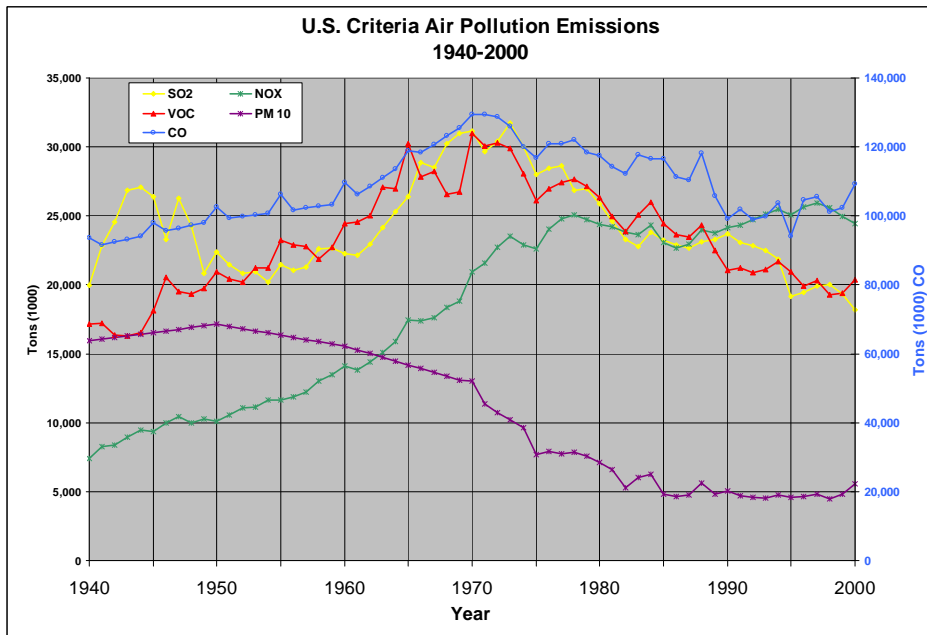
**Figure Five**



**Figure Six**



**Figure Seven**



**Figure Eight**

## Long Term Research Objective – Analysis of Environment & Society Interactions

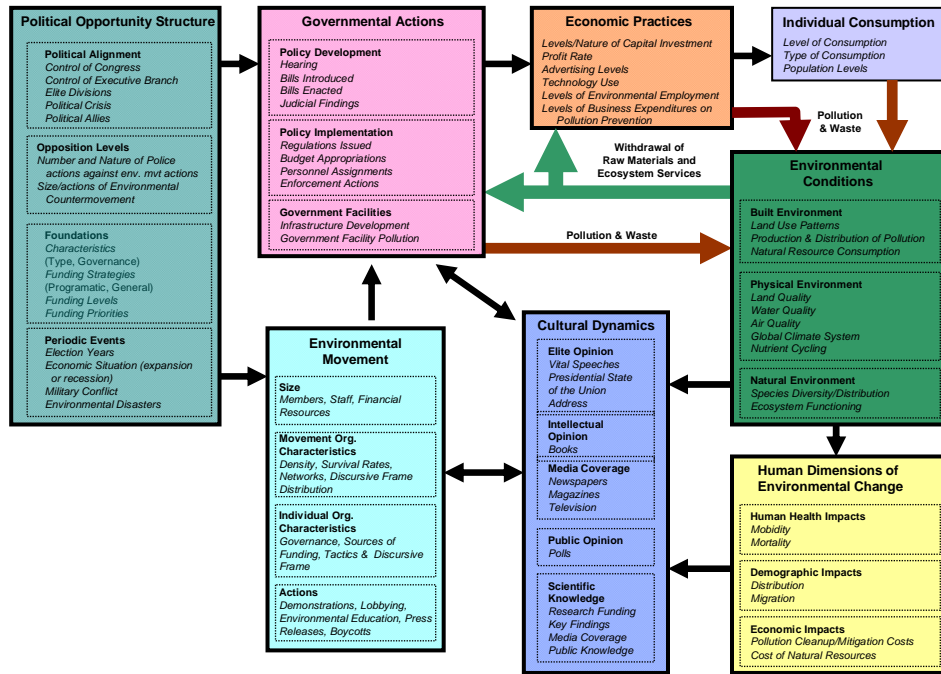


Figure Nine