Saunders, Clare. "Notes." *Environmental Networks and Social Movement Theory*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013. 229–236. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781472544490.0012>>.

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Notes

Chapter 1 Introduction

- 1 Some radical groups call themselves 'disorganizations' to reflect their non-hierarchical and participatory structure. Despite this, the term 'organization' is used throughout to refer to all types of groupings of environmentalists whether formally organized or not.
- 2 See the appendices of the DANGO Project's *NGOs in Britain Handbook* for recent poll results www.ngo.bham.ac.uk/appendix/Green_Membership.htm. The World Values Survey finds 16 per cent of the British claim to be members of environmental organizations, with a population of 50,431,700 this would amount to over 8 million. The British Social Attitudes Survey (2005) found that 5.4 million British people were members of local or national conservation/environmental groups.
- 3 The importance of networks in mobilization is not to be overlooked. Diani (1995) found that 72 per cent of the environmental activists he surveyed in Milan joined environmental organizations through their social networks.
- 4 Chapter 2 opens with further clarification of the woolly and variably used term 'social movement', comparing it with definitions of pressure groups, interest groups, protests, political movements and social movement organizations.
- 5 There is, of course, the more recent trend towards seeing the theories as complementary. This is discussed later in the book.
- 6 Neff Gurney and Tierney (1982) suggest that other responses such as withdrawal, or lowering one's expectations are more likely to be the outcome of frustration than aggression. Others, including Dalton (1996), show evidence which suggests that protest is no more likely among the dissatisfied than those content with the political system.
- 7 To highlight the emphasis that collective behaviour theorists placed on interaction, I have italicized the word 'interaction' in my account.
- 8 According to Mayntz (2004: 237) 'a survey of the relevant empirical and methodological literature soon bogs down in a mire of loose talk and semantic confusion about what "mechanisms" are' (see also Gerring 2007). For some, mechanisms amount to mid-range laws (Bunge 1997). For others, they are less law-like because irregularities in outcomes are thought explainable by diversity in the initial conditions (Darden 2002: 356; Mayntz 2004: 241; Falletti and Lynch 2009) and the ways in which mechanisms can combine (Tilly 2001). For others still, mechanisms are theoretical constructs that allow us to postulate causes (Hedström and Swedburg 1996: 290).
- 9 'Environmental Direct Action Group' is a pseudonym because group participants preferred their organization to remain anonymous.
- 10 Of the surveys, 6 per cent were returned unanswered, some informing me that the organization had folded, others claiming that the organization did not exist at the address to which I mailed surveys. This is expected, given the nature of collective action. As Knoke (1990) suggests, the environmental movement, especially at the grassroots level, is known to experience periodic attrition and renewal as organizations fold when issues are resolved or activists burn out, and new ones take their place. Although it seems low, this response rate

is not drastically lower than the expected average response rate of 50 per cent for surveys of social movement organizations (Klandermans and Smith 2002). If we add to the response rate those organizations that had folded/were not contactable, this does not compare unfavourably with Ansell's (2003) response rate for a similar survey of US environmental organizations (40%). However, not all respondents provided data on their network links. In all, 114 listed their 5 most important links with other environmental organizations at each of the national, London-wide and local (borough) levels.

Chapter 2 Environmental Movements and Networks

- 1 I recognize that generalization does some violence to the particularities of particular accounts. Indeed within schools of thought there is variation within definitions as much as between them.
- 2 See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the meaning of rationality.
- 3 Coxall (2001) for instance notes the important differences between sectional (also known as interest) groups and cause groups. 'A sectional pressure group represents the self-interest of a particular economic or social group in society: examples are the confederation of British Industry, the TUC . . . A cause group is formed to promote a particular cause based on a shared set of attitudes or beliefs' (Coxall 2001: 5). Environmental groups generally fall into the latter category, although NIMBY groups could be conceived of as interest groups.
- 4 WWF is not based in London and therefore is not discussed in depth in this book. However, it did come into conflict with the Environmental Direct Action Group during my period of field research. A conflictual episode is discussed in Chapter 8.
- 5 Do-it-yourself groups seek to bring about social change by themselves and for themselves.
- 6 The debate is a result of a failure to establish a coherent theoretical argument about the characteristics that feminist and women's campaigning should have in order to be called a movement (Nash 2002b). Bashevkin's (1996: 542) interviews with 43 feminists representing the movement in the early 1990s revealed that one-quarter of them 'insisted there *was no* British women's movement, just a multitude of separate fragments working on individual issue campaigns'. However, others strongly argue that 'something that looks like a women's movement does still exist', and although it cannot any longer be called a 'mass movement', there are a 'large collection of single-issue organisations that press for feminist aims in many different accents' (Walter 1998: 44).
- 7 There is still a clash of values in conservationism, especially between pro- and anti-hunting, and urban and rural conservationists. For rural conservationists, brown field sites are a way to save green field sites. For urban conservationists, developing brown field sites precludes their chance of reverting to green space.
- 8 Dalton concluded that the environmental movement is an example of ideologically structured action in practice, but that the effects of ideology on courses of action were much less pronounced than he expected given the overriding influence of political structures and other contingent factors.
- 9 The labels (emboldened) were not displayed in the questionnaire.
- 10 This was recoded from a list of types of action given in question 7 of the questionnaire – see Appendix 2.

Chapter 3 Key Organizations and Campaigns in London's Environmental Network

- 1 Environmental campaigners argue that the planning system is biased in favour of developers. Although planning inspectors can withhold development approval, developers can appeal to the secretary of state. However, should the planning inspector grant outline or full planning permission, objecting members of the public, local authorities, interest groups and statutory agencies have no opportunity for appeal, even if they have a strong case.
- 2 The government proposed in a Green Paper (a consultation document) to remove the rights of local people to attend public inquiries to question the need for large-scale developments such as airports and motorways and to abolish County Structure Plans – two key planning processes the Campaign uses to restrict abuse to the countryside. While the former was revoked, Campaign to Protect Rural England is dismayed to see that County Structure Plans have been scrapped and that energy infrastructure is exempt from planning scrutiny.
- 3 www.greenpeace.org.uk/about/our-vision, last accessed 5 January 2011.
- 4 Note that Rucht (1995) writes about Greenpeace in Germany. Greenpeace UK is very similar in this regard.
- 5 www.wildlondon.org.uk/, last accessed 6 Jan 2011.
- 6 The Capacity Building team worked to integrate national and local campaigning, and to help local groups reach their full potential.
- 7 See Guenther (2009) for a discussion of the ethical controversies around naming or anonymizing research participants.
- 8 NB. The legally binding targets were conditional on their being a minimum number of nations ratifying the protocol. To come into force, enough industrialized countries needed to ratify to account for a total of 55 per cent of their emissions. As Russia has now ratified, the protocol is now legally binding.
- 9 Mr Putin's advisor on Kyoto, Andrei Illarionov claimed that Kyoto would have 'deadly economic consequences' for Russia and that it was 'a death treaty, no matter how strange that seems, because its main purpose is to stifle economic growth and economic activity in countries which assume its responsibilities' (Osborn and Castle 2004).
- 10 Reimann (2000) discusses the 1997 protests in Kyoto.
- 11 This involves choosing a politically motivated target and administering a custard pie to their face.
- 12 The Global Climate Coalition was an industry-based group that opposed action on climate change. In 1997, it sponsored a series of television adverts designed to sway public opinion against the Kyoto agreement. By 2000, most of the heavy-weight corporations that had supported the Coalition had withdrawn.
- 13 A critical mass is an event where a large number of cyclists, skate boarders and roller skaters converge at a given meeting point and move slowly about the streets, blocking traffic and spreading a political message.
- 14 www.yes2wind.com/, last accessed 26 Aug 2011.
- 15 www.cpre.org.uk/campaigns/transport/airport-expansion, last accessed 5 Jan 2011.
- 16 This is not to be confused with the Labour Environment Campaign (SERA) which played a role in drawing to public attention some of the weaknesses of the economic arguments

made in the SERAS report nor with the Southeast Regional Assembly (SERA) which also supported the case for no airport expansion in the Southeast.

- 17 Although the response focused especially on their local airport at Heathrow, many of the points raised were relevant to the overall consultation and a broad approach was taken where possible.
- 18 In the context of Friends of the Earth, arm-chair activists are people who sign up to Campaign Express, which involves receiving a small pack with a short briefing about the issues, pre-written letters/postcards to sign and post, and ideas for quick and simple actions three times a year.
- 19 Greenpeace website, 2011, at www.greenpeace.org.uk/climate/airplot, last accessed 27 Jan 2011.

Chapter 4 The Role of Resources in Relationships

- 1 The work of Oberschall (1973) and some of the work of Zald and his colleagues (Zald and Ash 1966; Zald 1976) placed the approach on the starting blocks prior to Gamson.
- 2 Olson's original theses sought to explain participation in the trade union movement. Others have regarded it as a more general theory about participation in collective action.
- 3 'Rational' organizations prioritize on the basis of instrumental rationality.
- 4 Oberschall's (1973) emphasis on components of solidarity (e.g. 'moral commitment, trust, friendships . . .') in his definition of a resource features little if at all in the work of most resource mobilization theorists including his own.
- 5 Rosenthal et al. (1985) found this in the New York women's movement.
- 6 Bosso (1995: 107) suggests that the word 'member' is a misnomer for many professional or semi-professional environmental organizations because 'members' frequently do little more than pay an annual subscription. Instead, he prefers to use the term 'supporter'. It is also a misnomer because some environmental organizations do not have mass memberships.
- 7 Rawcliffe (1998) shows how environmental organization budgets have increased, for example Friends of the Earth's budget rose from £306,285 in 1985 to £3,839,325 by 1995.
- 8 This statement cannot be said with such conviction since 2002, because Greenpeace has reinvigorated its connection with the grassroots and now has a busy 'active supporters unit' (Torrance in interview 2003).
- 9 Barkan [1986] found reformists had similar complaints about radicals in the southern civil rights movement.
- 10 Similarly, in the 1980s, Greenpeace was accused of stealing the limelight from Friends of the Earth on whales, and the seal pelt issue from International Federation for Animal Welfare (Pearce 1991: 25, 28).
- 11 There are many other similar examples of conflict between radical activists and local campaigners, including that which North (1998) found on the Save Our Solsbury roads protest and the case of Crystal Palace; there the local campaigners proclaimed that they would not condone illegal protest (Saunders 2007c). Yet on other protests, good relations were established with locals, as suggested by Cathles (2000). Locals may have given their support in some cases out of desperation – in which case perceived political opportunity structures is potentially a more applicable theory than resource mobilization theory.

- 12 Although some may view the League Against Cruel Sports to be an animal rights organization, it answered all the boundary questions in the affirmative. It was considered to be an environmental organization because of its emphasis on the protection of animals in their natural setting as part of its campaign against blood sports.
- 13 While it would have been a more rigorous exercise to have listed all pairs of potentially competitive organizations and to have compared this list with cases where competition actually exists in order to determine whether niche overlap led to competition, this approach could not be used because only 8 of 114 organizations listed their competitive relationships in the questionnaire.
- 14 A DL list is a text-based format for entering network data in UCInet. Essentially, it is a list of organizations and the network links that they mention. For instance if Campaign to Protect Rural England lists Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, Wildlife and Countryside Link and WWF as four out of five top links, the following partnerships would be listed:

 Campaign to Protect Rural England Friends of the Earth
 Campaign to Protect Rural England Greenpeace
 Campaign to Protect Rural England WildlifeCountrySideLink
 Campaign to Protect Rural England WWF

 The same would be done for each organization's elected choices. UCInet converts data inputted in this format into a socio-matrix (Borgatti et al. 1999).
- 15 It may be that the lists of local collaborators or information providers/receivers are too numerous or too difficult to rank. Anheier (1987: 579), for example, warns of the bias that 'power and size differentials' are likely to yield as 'smaller organisations tend to be well aware of informal and cooperative relations with larger organizations, but not vice versa'.
- 16 Three network relations are combined for this analysis (information provided, information received and collaboration) for each local, regional and national organization with a maximum of five organizations listed for each spatial dimension. National organizations could list local organizations from the southeast and the northwest, whereas local environmental organizations were only given the opportunity to list network relations to others in the same locale.
- 17 National and regional organizations could list a maximum of 20 organizations – 5 each of local (southeast), local (northwest), regional and national. Local organizations could only list 15 because they were not asked about their links to local organizations in a different locality. Thus, southeast organizations listed a maximum of five each of local (southeast), regional and national organizations. To make them equally weighted to local organizations scores, the total number of regional and national ties were each multiplied by 0.75.
- 18 London Wildlife Trust has in the past been routinely awarded £125,000 per year by the Association of London Grants. In June 2003, this support was withdrawn partly because the new grant application process required organizations to apply for funding whereas in the past applications were renewed annually. This fact was reportedly poorly communicated to civil society groups. Apparently money had still been set aside for London Wildlife Trust in July 2003, but by December, no money was available. Thus it appears likely that there was no Association of London Grants money available for London Wildlife Trust between 2003 and 2007.

Chapter 5 Political Structures, Political Contingencies and Environmental Networks

- 1 The questionnaire also asked about relationships with the Greater London Authority, however it was rarely noted as a foci for environmental campaigns.

- 2 By British exceptionalism, Rootes (1992) was referring to the (then) exceptionally moderate character of British environmental organizations in comparison to other Western democracies.
- 3 The Carbon Plan suggests that emissions from travel can be reduced by a shift to electric cars rather than by reducing demand for private motor car travel.
- 4 The language they all spoke was that of sustainable development, a term sufficiently flexible to allow for it to be twisted in favour of economic development by business and government (cf. Sachs 1991).
- 5 For reference, a more recent MORI poll asking this question – in December 2010 – found a reduction to 64 per cent. See www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/poll.aspx?oltemId=2442 for the trend data. Website last accessed 23 August 2011.
- 6 Note that Poloni-Staudinger (2009) looked at only 33 UK groups and excluded radical organizations.
- 7 www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/2773/ReutersIpsos-MORI-April-2011-Political-Monitor.aspx, last accessed 5 August 2011.
- 8 Note that these results also mix environmental organizations from across London boroughs. Therefore, it matters little for networking how many of the organizations get on with their own borough because it is frequently a different borough from their alters'. Overall, it appears that relationships with local borough councils only seem to make a difference for organizations that campaign at a purely local level.
- 9 By 2003, 12 local authorities had signed up. These are Cornwall, Somerset, South Somerset, South Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Cumbria, Warwickshire, Rydale, South Hams, York, East Riding and the Lake District National Parks Authority
- 10 Zero Waste is the idea that all rubbish be ultimately reused, recycled or composted so that landfill sites and incinerators along with their associated environmental problems become a thing of the past. The Green Party suggest a target of 2020 for Zero Waste to become a reality.
- 11 Note that this quote was given before the Department of Energy and Climate Change was constituted.

Chapter 6 Environmental Networks and New Social Movement Theory

- 1 By anti-progress, I mean expressing aversion to the illusion of 'progress', which is a belief in the benefits of ever-increasing consumption, regardless of its social and environmental consequences.
- 2 Tarrow's notion of the demise of movements is perhaps overly pessimistic. Also, it is by no means inevitable that all movements will tread the institutional path. Many movement organizations form with the explicit aim of remaining a-institutional. Some movements have parts that fully institutionalize, while other components remain or even become increasingly independent from formal political institutions.
- 3 Protest event analysis – using data from the mainstream media as an indicator of the extent and type of protest – is not a very reliable tool for understanding environmental protest. This is especially the case because newspapers no longer routinely report on protest. For

example, in the six weeks preceding and six weeks following the December 2009 National Climate Change march there was no reportage of that demonstration in the *Guardian*, *Telegraph*, *Mirror* and *Sun* combined.

- 4 One could also argue that Rucht's inclusion of strategic/instrumental ends-oriented NIMBY groups meant that he found weak proof of NSM dynamics by virtue of casting the net too widely.
- 5 Rochon's (1990: 118) empirical work on the peace movement – a supposed new social movement – also demonstrates the gap between theory and practice. He shows how the peace movement chose to engage in political negotiations having the effect of suppressing the movement's broader cultural critique.
- 6 For consistency, this type of society will be referred to as 'contemporary society'.
- 7 This figure comes from data collected as part of the Caught in the Act of protest project, coordinated by Bert Klandermans, VU University, Amsterdam. See www.protestsurvey.eu datastore for more information. Last accessed 21 October 2012.
- 8 This reference used to be on the RTS homepage, www.rts.gn.apc.org/. It no longer appears there.
- 9 See www.artnotoil.org.uk/bpweekofaction for details. Last accessed 21 May 2012.
- 10 Crossley (2003) calls these types of protests 'anti-corporate'.
- 11 Brokerage was calculated using Freeman's (1979) concept of betweenness. The top seven normalized betweenness scores all exceed 10, setting them apart as the most important brokers; the next highest score was less than four.

Chapter 7 Collective Identity and Solidarity: Unity or Factionalism?

- 1 I even took a survey along to a group meeting at which there was consensus to refuse to complete it.
- 2 These organizations can have activist or fund-raising groups but the majority of 'subscribers' are just 'cheque-book' supporters – that is, they do nothing beyond making a direct debit donation.
- 3 Sennett (1998, chapter 7), for example, notes how people actively seek a community in response to the pressures of contemporary society (that he calls 'new capitalism').
- 4 This is a term appropriated by Thornton (1995) in the context of subcultural youth movements – but most especially the dance culture. It refers to being 'hip' and 'in the know' as well as conforming to a certain lifestyle code, and is equally applicable to the environmentalist subculture.
- 5 This type of hierarchical decision-making is being phased out in an attempt to make Friends of the Earth more accountable to local groups.
- 6 This involves not only purchasing goods free of animal products, but striving to survive for free by reclaiming food from supermarket skips and other outlets. One activist I met acquired a sack full of cold baked potatoes that formed a squatted household's staple diet for nearly a week.
- 7 In reality, even Kyoto involves other a multitude of other issues – social justice, development, equity and genetically modified organisms to name a few.

Chapter 8 Towards a Synthetic Analytical Framework for Understanding Interaction in Environmental Networks

- 1 While they avoid compartmentalization of social movements by looking beyond them to contentious politics more broadly, I avoid it by talking not of environmental movements, but of broader environmental networks.
- 2 Note that conflict could also be latent rather than visible and open. Political organizations often develop a 'mobilisation of bias', which involves 'exploitation of certain kinds of conflict and the suppression of others' (Schattschneider 1960: 71). Environmental organizations are not immune to this as they each favour certain forms of knowledge over others. Radicals, for example, are more likely to draw on anarchist principles, whereas more reformist groups will rely more heavily on rational scientific arguments.