TOWARDS A CLASSIFICATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS

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A Conservation Sciences and Marketing Advertising and
Public Relations inter-departmental project

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Preface

The project is a joint venture between the Department of Conservation Sciences and the Department of Marketing Advertising and Public Relations. It aims to strengthen teaching input to relevant University courses and to provide research opportunities.

Conservation Sciences has knowledge and expertise on environmental matters as a science and as a technology while Marketing Advertising and Public Relations has those attributes with regard to group behaviours. It was thought that a synergy would result by combining contributions from the two areas. Indeed a look at the literature reveals that others have proceeded us in this view. Johnston (1989;199) asserted that understanding and solving environmental problems, "requires much more than a scientific appreciation of environmental processes. It demands an understanding of how societies work, and how collective action within those societies is both organised and constrained."

Work on the project has concentrated on searching for and reviewing a wide range of literature about environmental groups and pressure politics. Our interests and knowledge led to the focus on groups: but we noted that in current political studies there is also the same concentration - so much so as to suggest that pluralism is the contemporary paradigm for political studies research. This emphasis on group activity means that this project does not, <u>by its own choice</u> concentrate on other equally valid research topics, such as "environmentalism" as a concept or, differently, as an ideology; the social movement it has given rise to; the approach of political parties and of government departments. These topics are alluded to and the literature reveals some of the relationships they have with groups but they are never centre stage in this project.

We preface our literature review with a reply to some of the questions raised at the inter-departmental seminar of November 2nd 1994 where the authors presented a draft of this paper. One of the questions at the seminar centred on our choice of a group focus: the paragraph above is our reply.

Below are two other questions which we want to treat discretely in this preface.
<u>Why classify environmental groups? Why 'map' them?.</u>
A first response is " why not." Classification of data is a first response by natural scientists and also by students of political activity to the heap of data which presents itself when analysis begins. It is hard to conceive of any journey of intellectual discovery which does not start with classification.

Burrow in his introduction to the Pelican edition of Origin of Species (1968, 29) recounted about Darwin "when he was still little more than an amateur undergraduate beetle-collector, that he first realised 'that science consists in grouping facts so that general laws or conclusions may be draw from them. ' " Shimwell (1971, 42) argued that " For the human race, classification is a natural and inherent, intuitive process: to create some semblance of order from an otherwise disorderly matrix by the pigeon-holing and categorisation of the matrix entities." Lerner and Libby (1976, 16) remind that Linnaeus "devised the currently used system of classification of living things." Also, in a speculative sense, it is hard to imagine that Marx or Freud, the two other giants of intellectual investigation of the 19th and early 20th centuries alongside Darwin, could have got their work off the ground without classification.

A more active response to the question "why classify groups?" (and to put that classification in the domain of political studies) starts with the observation that the question is often raised by natural scientists who are ignorant or dismissive about the analysis of political activity. Natural scientists can forget that political studies researchers face the same challenge of classifying the heap of data thrown up by research as they themselves do in their own work in the experimental sciences. The need to be "scientific" (establishing validity and allowing replication) faces all researchers but being "scientific" is immeasurably more difficult in the social sciences than the experimental sciences. The data in the former is inter-personal and intra-personal. If the "scientific" challenge is greater for political studies researchers, they need access to the same research methods as are employed by natural scientists.

There are dangers in classification. Metaphorically, the hammer of a classification can only relate to the data of nails and it is dysfunctional towards that of screws. But the selective nature of a classification can be compensated for by the researcher being aware of this bias and by her using several classifications on the same data. But Kuhn's work on paradigm shifts reminds that this research insurance policy of securing more validity through using multiple classifications can still lead to error. The research community does seminally change its allegiance to and use of a classificatory system. e. g. the shift from a fixity of species classification to one of evolution through differential reproduction. Another danger is that social data has a dynamic of change which implies that the classification measuring it must have the appropriate ability to capture this.

Some of the literature in this project explicitly warns of the dangers in classification (Kimber and Richardson, p.6 below). Our review of the literature re-enforces the need to be wary of a classification "arthritis" where the measuring rods are not flexible enough to cover the ground. Giddens (1986;12) warns that social structures comprise people actively repeating behaviour. We have found that groups are in competition over funds, members, strategies for mobilising public opinion and over how to adapt to national government and international agency policy. In this climate of pressure, environmental groups change, for example Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, and new more radical groups emerge, for example The Donga Tribe and First Earth.

In this project, we have reviewed some of the work on environmental groups. From our observation of the data, we have noted that the authors Lowe and Goyder (1983) have developed the most explicit and elaborated classificatory system. We then related the other literature to our interpretation of the Lowe and Goyder classification. Figuratively, we have called this process "mapping" and we have not used the word in a literal sense.

What are the things which can be classified about environmental groups?

The phenomena traditionally classified by political studies about groups include their relationships to the public policy decision-making process ("insider" and "outsider" groups); the issues they represent (sectional interests and causes) and organisational features (the potential membership pool and membership motivations). The effectiveness of groups in achieving their desired outcomes is also studied but the literature does not reveal any accepted evaluation methodology. The review of literature about environmental groups that follows shows these classificatory activities at work.

1. Introduction

An initial glance at UK non-governmental groups (NGOs) involving themselves in environmental issues shows that hundreds, maybe thousands, of such organisations exist and that some have very large memberships. Rootes (1991a;289) noted that "Nature and countryside protection organisations early attracted a mass following in Britain on a scale unsurpassed elsewhere in Europe." They involved, in the early 1980s, some two-and-a-half to three million members (Lowe & Goyder 1983;1: Coxall 1986;173); by 1989 paid-up membership of just 15 major environmental groups amounted to nearly 4 million and these groups generated £163 million in membership income (Porritt 1990;195). Rawcliffe (1992;3) reported that by 1990, income of the UK's 15 largest national environment groups totalled £168m. This total surpasses the membership and revenue levels of the three major political parties: indeed the Economist (16. 8. 94;25) stated that the RSPB alone has more members than those parties. Porritt (1990;196) asserted that "the figures add up to a picture of one of the most influential social and political movements in the UK today", even though a recent survey by the Government Statistical Service (DoE 1992;232) showed that only a small proportion of environmental groups are so well known as to be household names.

The growth of environmental groups has been significant since the late 1960s. This growth challenges the Olson "rational person theory" of group membership: that when the promotion of a public good (air, water, countryside) is the object of a group, people will not join when there is a cost of participation. Olson asserted this because non-joiners will enjoy any benefits achieved by groups because of the nature of public goods. Environmental groups are concerned about the promotion of public goods and their large memberships is a challenge to Olson. This challenge and a resolution are explored by Jordan (1994) where Mitchell (1980) is referenced as arguing that people pay the costs of joining environmental groups to avoid the higher costs of environmental public "bads" (polluted air, water, countryside.

A key organisational feature which prefaces much group analysis is membership by size and social composition. In their introduction, Kimber and Richardson (1974a;11), noted the growth of environmental groups in the 1960s: between 1957 and 1973, the number of groups registered with the Civic Trust grew from 200 to 1,000. Lowe and Goyder (1983;1) "guesstimated" that membership of environmental groups overall doubled from 1960 to 1970 and again from that year to 1980. Porritt (1990;195) reported that Michael McCarthy, Environmental correspondent for the Times, produced, in June 1989, a table containing 15

environmental and conservation organisations. This showed a total membership of 3.8 million in 1989 and an estimated 5.8 million in 1992. Rootes (1991a;289) reported that nature and countryside protection organisations were well established by the beginning of the 1970s and that their combined membership had, at a conservative estimate, exceeded 500,000 in 1971 and had grown by 1981 to more than two million and by 1989 to more than 3.5 million. The Government Statistical Service, attached to the Department of the Environment, reported in the 1992 UK Environment that, "in the second half of the 1980s interest in environmental issues increased in the media and among the general public." It also reported (232) that a survey carried out in October 1991 into membership of environmental organisations indicated that 18% of the sample in England answered that they were in membership of at least one such organisation. Thirteen per cent of the Scottish sample answered the same way.

There is no agreement on the number of UK groups. Published directories showed up a significant discrepancy. The Directory for the Environment (1990) listed 1,500 organisations in the UK and Ireland; the Environmental Yearbook (1993) over 2,750 associations, federations, societies and trusts, while Who's Who in the Environment England (1992) recorded 600 organisations concerned with the natural and built environment. (In the USA, Dunlap and Mertig (1992;113) report that between 10 and 15 per cent of the population claim to be active in the environmental movement.)

But counting these groups is a secondary activity: more important is assessing their significance to the environmental movement and to UK politics. McCormick (1991;179) concluded that "In the absence of a coherent response by the British government to the environment, the lobby will continue to be the only effective force for positive and rational environmental protection." Grant (1994;34) has argued that the significance may be major: "it could be argued that the real countervailing power to business today is not the trade unions but the environmental and consumer movement", although he noted that, "the former is fragmented and the latter difficult to organise." Mazey and Richardson (1992) have also argued that "the increased influence of the EC and the European Parliament provides new opportunities for the environmentalists to shift the balance of power rather more in their favour than has been the case at the national level in the UK." Lowe and Flynn (267) argued that EU membership has obliged the UK government "to make concessions to international opinion" on the sea dumping of nuclear wastes; radioactive discharges into the Irish Sea; acid rain; sewage contamination of bathing water and nitrate contamination of

drinking water. Rawcliffe (1992) also ranked environmental groups as a major opposition to UK government policies

Lowe and Flynn (268) asserted that "Britain has perhaps the most highly organised environmental lobby of any European country (Lowe 1988)." They conclude, about groups generally, that environmentalism "has best weathered" the political climate of the 1970s and 1980s. "Indeed the contemporary environmental lobby would appear to enjoy greater legitimacy and influence than some traditional sources of social power, such as the trade union movement." Lowe and Flynn also (270) argued that UK environmental groups have been "insider" groups, incorporated into the British tradition of bureaucratic accommodation - an unwritten code of moderate opposition.

Lowe and Flynn (272) argued that the EU has given UK environmental groups more influence: twenty-one British groups join another eighty non-British EC groups in the "European Environmental Bureau (EEB) which provides them with access to the European Commission and the Council of Ministers."

O'Riordan (1991) has elaborated the most dissident role for environmentalism. He wrote of a "new" environmentalism (which has at its heart " . . . a powerful and recent public concern over the very survival of life on earth.") as the countervailing force to a capitalism which is "endemic and universal." It is a capitalism which (13-14):

> refers to any form of organisation or ecomony that is, in essence, non-sustainable. That is, it draws more from the evironment than it returns yet does not pay for the loss of that environmental capital. This is a form of an "environmental theory of value" in which the worth of the endeavour never fully takes into account the environmental burden involved in its execution . . .

The role (5) of the "new" environmentalism (which is "elusively undefinable . . . more a social than a political movement in the sense that it has become part of the emotional constituency of individuals and the societies in which they live, work and play . . .) is to counteract this capitalism through encouraging (14):

> . . . the rise of both the international environmental movement via the growth of treaties and various regulatory revolutions and the powerful growth of more organically structured social networks

based on the practice of collective self-reliance and community-based power.

In this process of global conversion. O'Riordan has assigned the major role of promoting this panecea to groups: specifically ". . . non-governmental organisations that seek to be in touch with the people whom they are seeking to serve."

Rawcliffe and O'Riordan (1993), in considering the appearance of an opportunity for true conservation fusion, following the Earth Summit at Rio and other recent events, asserted that to seize this opportunity "...means dismantling a variety of current policies and institutional frameworks, and moving conservation well beyond the custodial agencies into the very lifeblood of the economy and society".

Such a possibility requires, it is argued here, that the non-scientific and non-technological aspects of environmentalism be paid more attention by specialists and students working in the field. This is the position of Johnston (1989;199) who asserted that understanding and solving environmental problems, "requires much more than a scientific appreciation of environmental processes. It demands an understanding of how societies work, and how collective action within those societies is both organised and constrained." This position has been recognised by some environmental groups. Charles Secrett, leader of The Friends of The Earth, has been recently quoted as saying "There are really no environmental decisions, only social economic and political ones." (The Independent 1994, Nov. 17, Sect. 2;23)

Because of the predominant, if not paradigmatic, position of pluralism in academic thinking about UK politics, the literature is well stocked with studies of group activity of various sorts. Grant (1977 with Marsh; 1982; 1984 with Nath; 1987 with Sargent; 1994) has written about business groups interacting with government; Eckstein (1963) about medical doctors; Middlemass (1979) about trade unions. But academic authors have been slower in treating UK environmental groups substantially at book length: the first was Lowe and Goyder (1983).

We follow Wilson (1990) in making a distinction between social movements (e. g. consumerism, feminism, environmentalism) and interest groups (Which?, Friends of the Earth, RSPB). He noted that the former are often the emotional and intellectual cradles of the latter but that groups are distinguished from them by three features: they are organised; they have some autonomy from

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government and political parties, and they want, periodically at least, to influence public policy.

Dunlap and Mertig (1992;3-5) described environmental groups as the institutionalisation of the environmental social movement, where the latter is a collectivity of people who see the environment as problematic in various ways and seek a resolution. They note that the literature on social movements has offered two life cycle theories of their existance: a "natural history" rise and fall model and a "natural decay" initial success but later failure model. (Bottomore (1979;41-42) gives a general account of social movements)

We use the term "environmental lobby" in the sense of the totality of groups involved with environmental issues: but we note the boundaries put to this definition by McCormick (1991, 29): groups to be non-governmental organisations (NGOs) "whose various methods and activities are wholly or mostly aimed at promoting rational and sustainable environmental management, through direct or indirect influence on public policy." This excludes businesses, quangos, trade unions, trade associations and other bodies whose environmental interests are occasional and subsidiary to their main purpose. We have allowed ourselves a wider definition and have included all groups which are not fully funded by government or which are part of constitutional machinery

Our academic purpose in this paper is to make an assessment of how, principally, UK literature has treated environmental groups as players in pluralist politics and to record the major distinguishing features that the literature has ascribed to these groups.

2. Methodology
We approached our task, in a figurative sense, as a "map-making" exercise, (identifying, listing and classifying) and set out to look at "maps" that previous authors have created in studying environmental groups, centring our research principally on UK sources. Our task was complicated by the numbers, diversity and by the wide variety of missions of these groups. More difficulty came from the variety and ambiguity of terminology used. Porritt (1990;194), for example, highlighted the confusion that exists between the descriptors *conservation movement, environmental movement* and *green movement*. Popular usage has also given the words *ecological* and *environmental* a general meaning that denotes interest in or anxiety about the "quality of life" on Earth - a meaning removed from the scientific foundation defined in many dictionaries. The words *conservation, protection* and *preservation* appear to be widely used without any

clear differentiation. It is noted, therefore, that group titles can hinder accurate "map-making" as much as help it.

We accessed the following on line databases: British Books in Print; BLAISE; the Public Affairs Information Service-PAIS International and the Social Sciences Citation Index. We also used the following abstracting services, Geobase Abstracts January 1990 - May 1994; Sociofile January 1974 - April 1994; Psyc LIT January 1987 - March 1994; ABI Inform and F&S Index and Text; searching against a short list of keywords including "environment", "group" and "lobby". We identified, by title, fifty eight articles for reading. These were published in the period, 1974 - 1993. We also identified fifty four books, by both title and author searches, using the Bournemouth University Library Catalogue, BLAISE database and searches of authors' bibliographies.

3. Literature Review

The need for a comprehensive typology was signalled by Brookes & Richardson (1975;326) in the conclusion of their study of the environmental lobby in Britain:

> Undoubtedly there is a need for a more elaborate typology which isolates the differences in bureaucratic formation, authority structures, internal relations and underlying philosophies.

In the same year Lowe (1975a) gave an early and preliminary version of his and Goyder's "map": he listed size; organisational resources, and political access.

The Low and Goyder model

Lowe and Goyder (1983), in their <u>Environmental Groups in Politics</u>, created a "map". They surveyed 77 national environmental groups during 1979/8 and in their analysis produced 24 tables of measured features based on their survey and other published sources, e. g. a national survey carried out by the Civic Trust in 1976. We have grouped these features into three categories:

  a. social features of members and officers (occupation; reasons for joining etc.);

  b. group organisational features (income, staff numbers and expertise etc.);

  c. political relationships nationally and locally (access to government and media, inter-group contact etc.).

Lowe and Goyder noted that the concerns of environmental groups ranged from concern over human survival to concern over neighbourhood amenities. But

statement of mission and of name is the nearest they get to defining the phrase "environmental group". Mazey and Richardson (1992b), in their review of the EU, have been more explicit. They used "environmentalist" to describe individuals or groups or whose primary objective is the introduction of policies beneficial to the environment and who have no direct material benefit from such policies, unlike firms. This draws close to the McCormick restrictions of definitions.

Lowe and Goyder appear to have the most complete "map" to date. In the light of this, we have arranged the literature under the three master categories ascribed to them. We have adopted this structure not to imply normatively that they have the optimum "map" but as a coping mechanism for arranging the large number of texts reviewed.

Our strong advice to readers (and to ourselves) is that having read this as an introduction to environmental groups, we should develop our own "map(s)" of the area. We are not alone in this caution against the intellectual arthritis that can come from looking at others "maps". Kimber and Richardson (1974a;11-12), noting the number and variety of UK pressure groups, made a powerful and pertinent "anti-mapping point": "we have deliberately avoided presenting them in neat categories. Such classifications are often accorded a veneration which is unwarranted . . . " They noted classifications which ascribed objectives rather than described them; which were not flexible enough as groups changed, and which denoted an exaggerated cohesion in a group. Lowe (1975b) commented on the difficulties of group classification. McCormick (35) also noted the fissiparous nature of the "environmental lobby"; that many groups were transitory and that groups could be placed at the same time in the categories used by political studies: sectional; promotional and functional.

In the structure below we are therefore very conscious that an act of judgement by the authors of this project has decided into which categories the reviewed texts go. We made our judgement in the light of knowing that an element of subjectivity was present in each case. We were guided by the "best fit" principle but at the same time were aware of its limitations.

a. social features

Cotgrove, with help from Duff (1982;135), carried out a study to ascertain why some people joined environmental groups, suggesting that the question could be answered by looking at the social composition, attitudes and values of group members and comparing them with a control sample of the general public.

He examined the attitudinal distribution of a sample of "new environmentalists", (members of the Conservation Society and Friends of the Earth) and also examined the social composition of a sample of "nature conservationists", (members of the World Wide Fund for Nature). He reported that support for the "new environmental groups" tended to come from the environmentally concerned (i.e. those with a heightened awareness of environmental problems) and who share a set of values which are critical of industrial society with its predominant materialist, economist and science base. He also reported that the typical "new environmental group" member tended to have a higher-than-average income and that a relatively large proportion of members of this type of group were employed in the non-market sector. In his examination of "nature conservationists", he found that they were also environmentally concerned but were less likely to support anti-economist values than the public, although they did tend to favour anti-science. He also reported that, demographically, "nature conservationists" were generally older; more right-wing; on higher incomes than the general public, and mainly were not employed in the non-market occupations sector. Cotgrove concluded, "that although environmental concern is relatively widespread in society, it is commitment to a set of social values which explains why people join a particular group, and why these different types of environmental organisation should recruit different types of member."

Eden, (1993), addressed the role of individual environmental responsibility and its relation to such forms of public environmentalism as green consumerism and membership of environmental groups in the late 1980s and early 1990s.
One element of his overall conclusion was that "public environmentalism relies heavily on the ascription of responsibility away from the self and towards those representing organised environmentalism, that is activists within groups, and that this centres the non-activists' contribution on only minor support, for example economically through donations." He cautioned that "membership of environmental groups and other forms of environmental behaviour have been (inconclusively) correlated with higher incomes and higher socio-economic status", and cited a number of studies; Tognacci et al (1972); Tucker (1978); Arbuthnot (1977); Fortmann and Kusel (1990) and Schahn and Holzer (1990). He continued by stating that "socio-economic and demographic variables display low predictive ability in some correlative studies", and cited studies by Samdah and Robertson (1989); Schahn and Holzer (1990) and Van Liere and Dunlap (1978:193).

Ward (1983) also picked up on social background features of environmentalists: he noted that "some" Marxists labelled it a middle-class phenomenon while other

researchers, Cotgrove & Duff (1982), noted that "post-material" values were prevalent among employees in the service industries.

Pepper (1987;76) criticised "environmental pressure groups" for their class-based agenda: they defined issues in a way that "while they may have successfully moved the middle classes to campaign about what they imagine to be 'nature' . . ., they have probably *not* moved the majority of ordinary people." These groups have shown "scant concern about the environments of this majority, many of whom live in inner-cities or on substandard housing estates . . . " He referred to a spectrum from 'red-green' to 'blue green' along which groups can be placed: his examples were the Socialist Environment and Resources Association and rural amenity groups.

Porritt (1990;94) stated that, "though still predominantly middle-class, well educated and relatively affluent there are signs that the Green Movement is gradually broadening its cause, becoming an increasingly representative cross-section of society. It was also expanding rapidly both in terms of membership and income, he said."

Rawcliffe (1992) has argued that UK environmental groups have matured in the last decade and his review of the period offered a "map" to success. He noted that groups operated in a social and intellectual climate where the environment was a popular and legitamised item of debate, a debate fuelled by the anti-environment tone of the early Thatcher Governments. "Through intensive and primarily defensive campaigning, the UK environmental movement established itself in the early part of the 1980s as the real and legitimate environmental opposition to the Government." (2) This experience was intensified by lobbying on the 1981 Wildlife and Countryside Act, a "galvanising experience" which greatly politicised the movement. As this decade long political involvement was happening, there were "large increases in the environmental groups' membership and levels, and in turn resources." (3)

Fund-raising has became a major activity for groups and this and other organisational activity related to group growth and more activity vis-à-vis Government and business, has increased staff numbers and professionalised them. (4-5) There has been more acceptance by Government and business of the green issue and this has led to a more consensus-seeking stance by most groups. "There is a new emphasis on legitimacy and on offering solutions rather than slogans." (6) But after the 1980s growth and activity, Rawcliffe noted that "It would appear that much of the fire has recently gone out of the environmental

debate." "The danger of green fatigue or backlash is . . . very real." (9) What is striking in this profile of success is that Rawcliffe treated environmental groups as parts of a unity; that their differences of mission, resources and tactics still allowed aggregation under a wider phenomenon, the environmental movement.

Grove-White (1992) also explored the linkages between groups and larger entities: in his case, movements in cultural values and patterns. He argued (13) about groups that "collectively, their purchase on public sympathies since the early 1970 has resulted from the ways they have encountered and developed ways of giving symbolic form to some of the anxieties . . . " arising from the impacts of multiple technological changes on personal, social and natural circumstances. He noted that "Successful environmental campaigns . . . have all had this quality of crystallising deeply shared cultural tensions, through particular, symbolically resonant cases." (13) They have tapped into "resonances in society . . . and given form to something, rather creating it ab initio."

Bishop and Rose (1992) looked at the professionalisation of groups (expert staffs, full-time employees and reliance on grants) and asked whether this process was detrimental to the voluntary action aspects of the environmental movement. They hoped that the Burkean "small battalions" of the environmental movement would survive amidst apparently increasing and potentially harmful institutionalisation of the environmental movement.

b. group organisational features
Eyreman (1989;99-103) wrote about a number of periods in the history of the environmental movement: its emergence in the late 60s and early 70s; its growth into a mass movement during the 70s, accompanied by modifications in the movement's organisation to become more specialised and to meet the need for specific strategies; a period of declining membership and media attention in the early 80s, accompanied by a period of fragmentation which was both cognitive and political; and a period of rapid expansion for the movement throughout Western Europe in the late 80s.

On the structure of local environmental groups Lowe (1977) commented that many local groups were in fact branches of national groups. He cited the examples of the CPRE (Council for the Protection of Rural England) having forty-two branches each mainly covering a county and the Civic Trust with whom over twelve hundred local amenity societies were registered, the vast majority of which were formed after 1957 when the Trust itself was established. Lowe's point about the hierarchical structure of groups raises the question of double

counting - are national, county, local units enumerated as, one, two or three units of counting.

In 1974, Kimber and Richardson (eds) in <u>Pressure Groups in Britain</u> included a case study on a campaign by National Parks to be their own planning authorities (164-190). They lost, it was adjudged, through fighting a well entrenched group, the County Councils Association; through over-reliance on weak allies, particularly the Countryside Commission; and through inadequate knowledge of Government intentions. The authors concluded that the Parks' supporters - and environmentalists generally - should use public campaigning as a way of putting their stamp on the public policy agenda and as a way of garnering strength to fight established groups, in this case the road and motor manufacturers lobbies. Secondly they should become more proficient lobbyists.

Cox, Lowe & Winter (1985a) analysed the provenance and development of FWAG (Farming and Wildlife Advisory Group) and tentatively concluded that it had an ideological role for farming and land-owning interests: the promotion of the stewardship role towards the countryside by those interests. A perceived growing, critical, political attitude towards farmers and landowners has been the catalyst for this new status for FWAG, previously a passive, background body. They concluded that a political consequence of the contested ideological context in which these interests operated may be a "newly conceived partnership between agriculture and the state" (182).

Colby (1983) addressed the question of whether broad public interests in consumer rights, a clean environment and political reform have the organisational strength to be represented effectively when policy-making is the responsibility of bureaux and administrative agencies. Four ideas were developed (702) to "assist in providing an explanation of how public interest groups have organised and maintained themselves - the similarity of public interest groups to social movements; the possibility of incentives to participate in groups being purposive or solidary as well as material; the by-product theory of lobbying; and finally the concept of organisational entrepreneurs." Colby went on to state that "by understanding and applying these concepts it is possible to see how some public interest groups have been at least partially successful", and applied the four concepts to three public interest groups - the Sierra Club, Common Cause and the Ralph Nader Corporation (all American).

Eyerman and Jamison (1989) explored the organisation of Greenpeace as one aspect of a larger transformation taking place within the environmental

movement - one connected with the emergence of green political parties. They contended (100) "that it makes little sense to speak any longer of a unified environmental movement; instead the original unity of the movement has been fragmented within a number of different specialised organisations." They maintained (103) "that by the early 1980s the environmental movement in most countries had entered a period of fragmentation that was both cognitive and political and that on the political level this can be thought of as a split between 'value' oriented environmentalists, whose main concern is developing a change in values or mentality and 'success' oriented environmentalists, whose main concern is stopping environmentally deleterious activities."

Cotgrove (1982) focused his analysis of environmentalists at the social movement level rather than at the group level. This wider focus is valuable for our project in that it explicates the context in which groups form and operate. He argued that the "new" environmentalism developed in the 1960s and that its most distinctive feature was postulated limits to sustainable growth of production and consumption. From this base judgement, he showed that contemporary environmentalists adopted a range of positive and negative reformist and radical responses. Some responses were silent or nearly so about a benign post-industrial future; others were optimistic enough to see continued sustainable material growth, whether socially organised in current or changed forms. In a cultural analysis of environmentalism in a 20th century Western setting, Cotgrove noted (112) that "The basic conflict is between market and non-market values and institutions." He continued:

> At its most stark, it is a conflict between wealth and welfare; between those for whom the dominant goal is the production of goods and services for sale, and those who wish to see wealth production subordinated to broader social goals - what Dahrendorf calls "the improving society".

The value of Cotgrove's analysis is the judgement that to some extent environmentalism is a dissidence to the ruling paradigm of ideas and of industrial structures in western liberal market economies. He has given a context in which to describe and analyse group actions. See (108) for reference to "power struggle" between different paradigms; (111) for environmentalism as anti business vehicle; (113) for left antagonism to environmentalism; (119) for public officials as dampeners of environmentalism and (119) "To acquire a new world view, a change of paradigm, is comparable to a religious experience."

Lowe and Flynn (256) asserted that environmental groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s "saw an accelerated pace of reform." They listed existing environmental agencies strengthened and comprehensive pollution controls introduced; planning system overhauled and public participation included; the Department of the Environment established and advisory bodies set up. "In retrospect, this period represents a peak of reforming activity."

This judgement emphasises the success of environmentalism but in a policy climate of a neo-liberal Conservatism which privileges business interests above all others. In its policy outcomes it has harassed a popular acceptance of pro-environment ideas to market forces.

c. political relationships and effectiveness

Lowe P. (1977) did a comparative study of two types of environmental groups: the "outsider" community action groups and the "insider" amenity groups, where the dimension measured is degree of political access. In his mapping exercise, he was therefore plotting with a standard classification category taken from group studies. He looked at "political efficacy" in terms of the social class basis of the memberships of the two types and quoted a study of the Barnsbury area of Islington, London, where his exemplars operated in competition, if not in antagonism, with different approaches to public decision-making and with different tactics. Also examined was the representativeness of local groups: in what sense could they claim to reflect the views and choices of people in their geographic area of operation? Lowe (1975c) also noted that amenity groups tended to further sectional interests in a locality but often were assumed to represent a wider interest.

Buller (1981;18) argued that local amenity groups were political co-operators ("insider" groups) and that undefined "radical environmental groups" may find themselves excluded from official political structures and from other environmentalists who "see the politicisation of their cause as the kiss of death to their efficacy (Stuffman 1977)."

Grant (1981) looked, inter alia, at three factors influencing the effectiveness of the NFU. One worked positively towards effectiveness: the social factor that six per cent of MPs since 1945 been farmers or landowners. The second was difficult to categorise as plus or minus: the possible effect of a "nostalgia factor" in public opinion which made the countryside the site of "such traditional English virtues as self-reliance, family loyalty and paternalism towards employees." The third

factor was: "increasing strength of various countervailing interests." such as consumers.

McCormick (1991;40) argued that environmental groups found relationships with departments "more useful" than links with the Cabinet and that UK major political parties "have played only a marginal role in the environmental debate."

Lowe and Morrison (1984) looked at the CLEAR "clean air" group and the environment issues/media relationship. Their general conclusion was that the media were sympathetic as long as the issues were moral rather than radically political: that environmental reportage provided - intentionally or otherwise is not clear - "information and values subversive of the capitalistic logic of our society." Their conclusion raised the question whether the media agenda for environmental groups is "moral" (quality of life issues) or "political" (capitalism tends to degrade the environment).

Cox, Lowe & Winter (1988) dealt with the prospects for agricultural and environmental controls in the context of growing challenge from government and consumer, recreational, amenity and animal welfare interests to the current dominant position of farming and landowning interests in agricultural group politics. They suggested that any proposed environmental controls in the countryside would be filtered through the view of environmental protection taken by the farming and landowning interests because of "the remarkably persistent power of constraint enjoyed" by those interests (337). They argued that the farming and landowning interests would want any environmental controls to be "operated within the corporatist context." They predicted that "we can expect the hitherto exclusive agricultural policy community to open somewhat to allow the incorporation of the more 'responsible' environmental groups into MAFF's inner circle ."(337) They are proposing an enlargement of the environmental group "map". The same authors (1985b) have developed a "map" with a somewhat different projection of the terrain: a corporatist as opposed to pluralist analysis of the NFU/MAFF relationship and how the corporatist relationship between the two has been flexible enough to cope with the changing politics of farming and the environment since 1918.

Rootes (1991a) has explored the question, "The greening of British politics?" and concluded that the process "has a long way to go yet." (296) He analysed that for electors and for the three major parties, the environmental issue was in competitive ebb and flow with economic and social welfare concerns. He also argued that a "dark greening" was constrained by the relatively pragmatic

nature of British public policy-making. He quoted Watts (1987); Jordan and Richardson (1982); and Rudig and Lowe, (1986) in support. The political result was that (290):

> the relative openness of the British policy-making process serves effectively to constrain and channel the energies of the environmental organisations, since they are both (sic) concerned to preserve such access as they have to officials and politicians and obliged to accept such opportunities as are presented to participate in the official inquiry process. The net effect has been to constrain environmentalist organisations away from a militant public stance and toward bureaucratic accommodation.

The drift of Rootes's argument, is we believe, that a well-developed "map" of environmental organisations has grown up because it has been encouraged by the consultative nature of UK public policy-making and that this has been a factor in the nurturing of a "group growth" culture which has made the appearance of an environmental political party in the UK that much more difficult. (Rohrschneider (1993) has tracked the effect of environmentalism as a social movement on European political parties).

Porritt (1984;233) asserts that "The political challenge to the environment movement is simply this: it is impossible to end the exploitation of the environment without bringing to an end the exploitation of our fellow human beings." Ten years on, in an article about changing agenda and tactics of the green movement, he is quoted as saying "The environmental groups will have to accept that the next phase is going to be much more people oriented . . . If the environment only equals animals, trees and pretty views, then campaigning on those lines soon hits a limit." (The Independent 1994, Nov. 17, Sect. 2;23)

Coxall (1985;129) listed 15 groups in the category "environmental" under the heading "leading promotional groups in Britain". He also listed leading sectional groups (e.g. CBI, TUC) and was making the conventional distinction between groups based on a shared cause or attitude which members sought to advance and groups based on an economic activity or material interest which is promoted (16). This distinction was the basic feature of his mapping of groups although in his discussion of "patterns of pressure" (139-152), he implied effectiveness as a category. He noted the rise of functional representation (in policy-making by virtue of occupation) and this suggested that the category "representation by concern" could be developed for cause groups in general and environmental

groups in particular. He put the AA and the RAC in his sub-category "environmental". Under the category "some leading pressure groups" he described WARA (The Wing Airport Resistance Association) and its protests from 1968 until 1971 against a proposed third London airport at Cublington in North Buckinghamshire - a reminder of the topical and transient nature of many groups.

Clifford, Lowe and Wibberley (1978) provided the introduction to a research project, the main theme of which was the influence of the environmental lobby on both public attitudes and Government policy towards the development of the countryside. The authors highlighted the limitations of studies of British rural and environmental pressure groups to date: these studies have tended to be either in the form of an "issue case study" or part of an "organisational case study". They hoped to overcome these limitations by examining the generation and development of policies and issues over the last twenty five years and the development of the complex of groups forming the environmental lobby.
They contended (71) that:

> the strength of any campaign or group, amongst other things, will depend not only on an individual group but also on its links with other bodies with related aims; for example, individual environmental groups appear to be part of an extensive 'amenity network', maintained through multiple and interlocking memberships and other personal and organisational links, which can be quickly activated over specific issues and campaigns.

Mazey and Richardson (1992a) made a general point that "successful groups are those that exhibit the usual professional characteristics - namely resources, advance intelligence, good contacts with bureaucrats and politicians, and above all an ability to provide policy makers with sound information and advice" (110).

Marsh (1983) proposed that any study of interest groups is concerned with two separate if related problems - the need to describe both the pattern of relationships among groups and between the groups and government - a pattern described as the pattern of interest group intermediations, (see Shmitter and Lehmbruch 1979). He also stated that "at the same time, however, it is impossible to avoid assessing the influence of the groups studied and this invariably means discussing the distribution of power in Britain."
He went on to identify two models of interest group intermediation dealing with questions such as - how many groups are involved?; what is the internal

structure and organisation of these groups?; what are the relationships between the groups and Government? He suggested two major models of interest groups intermediation, pluralist and corpratist, and accepted that each has its variants. A range of economic sectional groups (i.e. The Road Lobby and the National Farmers Union) and ideological promotional groups (i.e. The Penal Lobby and the Child Poverty Action Group) were then considered as case studies.

Wootton (1970) proposed two key characteristics - the degree of political specialisation of each group and the degree of the group's openness of membership or recruitment From these two measurements he derived the following relationships: "representative" groups which have given or closed membership and a high degree of political involvement (e.g. TUC); "operational" groups which have a closed membership but "low" political involvement (e.g. National Union of Railwaymen); "expressive" groups with a low political involvement but an open membership (e.g. National Trust); and "propagational" groups with an open membership but a well-developed sense of political initiative (e.g. Child Poverty Action Group, Shelter, National Council for Civil Liberties).

4. Other "Map" Projections

We develop our classification of UK groups by noting that others have mapped the environmental social phenomenon in other ways - i.e. globally; at EU level; by including industrial groups; by mapping ideology; by linkage with social movements.

Myers (1988) sought to develop a global "map" of groups to protect the environment. He proposed a global network of first and third world non-governmental organisations to provide "governance" on environmental issues, where "governance amounts to the sum of institutions of common action that promote humanity's cause in a finite and fragile biosphere" (413). He noted, inter alia, the positive, enlightened self-interested role of private enterprise; the rise of environmental NGOs in the third world (there were 280 in Africa); the hope that NGOs will co-operate trans-nationally and that, "governance" works "largely through countless channels of activity and many obscure linkages, both of which lie beyond government direction." He quoted Bob Geldof as a positive example. In effect, he proposed a universal "map", in the sense of a non-governmental, global system of monitoring and responding to environmental concerns - an informal United Nations for environmental protection, a global civic society of voluntary groups to promote the environment. He gives the examples of the Greenbelt Movement in Kenya; the Chopko and Silent Valley campaigns in India; the Integrated System of Recycling Organic Wastes in

Mexico; the Lusaka Squatter Upgrading Programme in Zambia and the 23,000 Rotary International clubs of which 8,700 are in the Third World.

Rucht (1989) has looked at the links between **the environment social movement, informal networks and groups in two EU members** - West Germany and France. He reminded that groups are one entity out of three which can be grouped under the heading of environmental social behaviour: informal networks and social movements are the other two. Alongside a "map" of organised groups, there is room for two other related "maps".

Wenner (1990) has mapped **a section of the US group terrain** : "...the universe of groups that lobby in the fields of environmental and energy policy regardless of which side of the many controversies in these areas they represent (preface)." The 140 groups "mapped" fall into three categories. First there are business and trade associations organised for profitable development of US natural resources: second are the not-for-profit public interest groups with an environmental protection agenda; and finally the professional, research and government groups comprising of professional people with a career interest in relevant public policies. These categories were then all listed under the headings of a) "organisation and resources"; b) "policy concerns"; c) " tactics." These headings are occasionally supplemented with "history and development"; "development of public resources"; "environmental controls." What makes Wenner distinctive in her mapping is that she included both environmentally protective and exploitative groups - an unusual feature.

A focus on ideology in the Marxist sense of "false" ideas in the political domain which conceal "real" social and economic relations is the distinguishing mapping feature of <u>Environment, Ideology and Policy</u> (Sandbach;1980). This leads us to the concept of "counterfeit" maps. Sandbach's thesis (222-223) is that the most common "maps" (drawn from "pluralist, functionalist, behavioural and neo-classical theories") can be shown "to be defective in as much as they neglect material interests." He continued:

> Systems of ideas whether they be idealist or economic which are divorced
> from the real material world serve to obscure the true basis of
> environmental and social problems.

Thus environmental groups with their agendas of real physical problems but with inadequate analysis of the social or political causation of these problems draws attention from capitalist production/consumption patterns and the forces

behind them. He analysed the "false" "map" in <u>Pressure Groups and Power</u> (Ch 4; 106-137): his "real" map is not explicitly drawn but it would include features such as a dominant role for a science and technology policy freed of supporting the status quo; more accountability of experts and politicians for their environmental actions, and more public participation. Sandbach has thus opened up the typology of normatively "bad" and "good" maps. He concluded (223): "It is a matter of claiming the right for all to control what is produced and what is planned."

<u>American Environmentalism</u> (Dunlap & Mertig (eds);1990) reviewed the topic from the primary vantage point of social movements. In a summary of the American sociological and political studies literature, they characterised social movements (3) in a way which makes differentiation from organised groups problematic. They talked of victims of social problems coalescing into "social movement organisations." Responsive government action lead these organisations to:

> evolve into formalised interest groups staffed by activists-turned-bureaucrats, many of its [the movement's] leaders are co-opted by government to staff the new agencies or simply tire of battle and support dwindles as the media turn to newer issues and the public assumes [that] the problematic conditions are being taken care of by government.

They therefore reported the social movement/interest group relationship in a relatively non-differentiated way and the social movement/interest group/government relationship as a natural decaying one. But they concluded (8) "When environmentalism is judged against the typical social movement, we believe it is appropriate to argue that environmentalism has been a resounding success," despite observing that "many leading environmentalists have acknowledged that the movement has largely failed in its goal of protecting the quality of the environment." For this project, Dunlap and Mertig have reminded that the "map" of environmental groups is contingent with the "map" of the environmental social movement and that the group "map" changes therefore over time. They have also concentrated explicitly on national level groups, as opposed to regional ones.

Mitchell, R., Mertig and Dunlap (11-26), in the same text, divided "national environmental organisations" into 12 groups **lobbying** government and 13 groups which are **non-lobbying**. This is an unexplained, undifferentiated grouping which included direct action, land purchasing, research, public

campaigns of education and electoral support and litigation activity. Thus, it is important to note that the two categories do not imply a political/non-political split: they subsume a wide variety of tactics which could be grouped under either heading. They concluded (24) that compared with "most US social movement organisations, the national environmental organisations have been enormously successful over the past two decades." They estimated a 3 million US membership in 1990 for the lobbying groups and we compute from their table (18) a putative membership for the non-lobbying organisations of some 4,287,000.

5. The Non - mappers
It should be noted that some literature has covered environmental politics without looking at groups. The Politics of Environment (Johnson 1973) did this as a text on contemporary environmental issues and politics without an explicit group dimension.

Even though Johnston (1989) has explicitly pointed to the scientific/political duality of environmental matters, there was no group analysis in his Environmental Problems. Also in Where on Earth are we Going?, Porritt (1990) provided a text that is essentially about a green approach to mainstream political and economic concerns. The Green Movement in the UK is considered along with a survey of the major British environmental organisations, in terms of membership and income: but there is no explicit group analysis.
Other literature has covered politics and groups but not in the context of environmental issues. Roberts (1970) in Political Parties and Pressure Groups in Britain made no substantial reference to environmental issues and Wilson (1990) in Interest Groups is as thrifty in his references: he is long on business and trade unions but short on environmental groups.

6. Conclusion
The literature on environmental groups strongly suggests that in the UK today these groups are one of the top major players in the public policy-making process, along with business interests (companies and their representative bodies). We make three observations about their major role.

1) Firstly, it is arguable that with business groups, environmental groups have been the most successful in achieving their goals and that they have displaced trade unions as the main challengers to the hegemony of business ideology and material interests. A sign of their significance may be indicated by a report in The Independent (Dec 29th, 1994) that "Environmental 'terrorists' and green

activists are to be targeted by Special Branch as part of a change in security priorities." Trade unions used to be accorded such attention. Since the late 1960s and 1970s, there has been a steady record of "achievement" by environmental groups: the passage of group objectives into UK legislation, regulation and public and private practice. The literature reviewed has captured a number of these pro-environmental outcomes. (See Table 1.) The nature of the outcomes referred to by authors was varied but the range of environmental groups referred to was limited, with most examples coming from Friends of the Earth, Council for the Protection of Rural England, and Greenpeace followed by Civic Trust and Royal Society for the Protection of Birds.

But it was also evident that a clear cut assignment of the outcome, in terms of a cause and effect "achievement" by a specific group, was rarely possible due to the involvement of other factors. Lowe and Goyder (1983;133) in assessing the performance of Friends of the Earth, state that "Effectiveness is difficult to analyse because FoE as a pressure group has influence, not executive power. Cause and effect may be difficult or impossible to prove." This conclusion is in line with the findings in the broader literature on groups generally. This latter literature shows that there is no agreed methodology for evaluating the outcomes of groups. The reasons for this absence can be summed up, in a paraphrase of J.S. Mill, as follows: that any public policy outcome has a plurality of causes and these causes produce an intermixture of effects making it invariably difficult to isolate the prime cause of any outcome.

For some campaigns, for example, the outcomes have been assigned, by the literature, to the skill, standing and perseverance of an individual or individuals as opposed to wider group activity. Examples referred to by authors were the CLEAR campaign energetically led by Des Wilson and the disruption of the public enquiries into new motorways single-handedly orchestrated by John Tyme. The work of individual members of the Wing Airport Resistance Association, such as John Pargeter, Desmond Fennell and Bill Manning, were also recorded at length (Frost 1975).

In assessing pro-environmental outcomes overall, the steady progress towards getting environmental issues onto the public policy agenda and shifting public and governmental attitudes was probably more important than individual campaign "achievements" by groups.

2) Secondly, we argue that UK environmental groups are better not seen as the product of a recent, larger environmental social movement but that probably the

Table 1

Date	A Selection of Pro-Environmental Outcomes Associated with Environmental Group Activities
1967	The Civic Trust drafted the Civic Amenities Act and, with the co-operation of MP Duncan Sandys, introduced it into the Commons as a Private Members' Bill.
1971	The Conservation Society's campaign against population growth led to the setting up of an official Population Panel in 1971, despite widespread misgivings amongst politicians as to whether this was a proper subject for government.
1971	The Conservation Society obtained and published information about the illicit dumping of cyanide wastes. This act and the ensuing media attention prompted the government to rush a bill through parliament resulting in the Deposit of Poisonous Wastes Act which became law in 1972.
1971	The Wing Airport Resistance Association fought and won an exemplary campaign against the third London airport being sited at Cublington in Bucks. Although WARA was not a national group its professionalism and the status and respect that it achieved set an example for the entire environmental movement.
1973	The Civic Trust helped draft the Town and Country Amenities Bill itroduced into the commons by Sir John Rogers.
1973	Friends of the Earth action helped prevent copper mining in Snowdonia National Park
1974	The Friends of the Earth advanced over one hundred ammendments to the Control of Pollution Bill, during its passage through the Lords, only a few of which were finally accepted by the Government and incorporated into the Bill.
1974	Friends of the Earth activity resulted in a government decision not to purchase environmentally unsuitable reactors for the nuclear power programme.
1976	The Friends of the Earth claim the major responsibility for the Endangered Species (Import and Export) Act which became law in 1976.
1977	The Friends of The Earth with its anti-nuclear campaign including the 'No to Windscale Now' rally succeeded in persuading the Government to hold a public inquiry into proposals for nuclear fuel processing at Windscale. FoEs achievement in getting the enquiry held and its performance at the enquiry were widely acclaimed.
1978	Greenpeace action in sending the Rainbow Warrior to intervene in a seal cull in Orkney and the ensuing media pressure resulted in the Secretary of State for Scotland having to call off the cull.
1979	The Council for British Archaeology was repeatedly consulted by the Department of the Environment during the preparation of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill and the final contents of the Bill were agreed with officers of the society prior to it being published.
1979	The Friends of the Earth, following one of the most publicised campaigns, 'Save the Whale', presented well documented dossiers to the British Government and The International Whaling Commission.
1981	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds was the only environmental group consulted by the Department of the Environment, prior to the public consultation stage, in the preparation of the Wildlife and Countryside Bill. Prior to this the RSPB played a role in achieving the EEC Birds Directive and its expertise in bird conservation was recognised by the Government
1982	CLEAR. Following a Government Committees conclusion in 1980 persuading the government to reduce the lead content in petrol the Campaign for lead free air, led by Des Wilson, successfully campaigned for the complete eradication of lead in petrol This resulted in the phasing out of lead in petrol and the widespread availability of unleaded petrol followed by the introduction of a price discount to encourage its use.
1983	Greenpeace activists revealed a large accidental discharge of radioactive waste from Sellafield. Subsequently local beaches had to be closed because of radiation hazard and the resulting scandal succeeded in forcing major reductions in permitted levels of discharge from the plant.
1983	The Campaign for Rural England working with back bench MPs mounted a successful campaign against two draft circulars on green belts and land for housing which would have relaxed green-belt controls.
1983	The Campaign for Rural England patricipated as a major objector in the Sizewell Inquiry along with Friends of the Earth and the Town and Country Planning Association.
1984	Greenpeace protests along with a campaign of opposition including a ban imposed by the National Union of Seamen led to the abandoning of sea dumping of low level nuclear wastes.
1986-7	The Campaign for Rural England played a key role within the environmental lobby in forcing the Government to abandon, in toto, its initial proposals for privatising the regional water authorities. This in turn brought about the establishment of the National Rivers Authority as part of the revised privatisation proposals in 1987.
1990	The Campaign for Rural England and The World Wildlife Fund for Nature influenced the Governments position on and hence the final drafting of the Antarctic Treaty through their high profile work.
1991	The Campaign for Rural England led amendments that were forced on the Government in the passage of the Planning and Compensation Act which came into law in 1991.
1991	The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds drafted and promoted a Private Members' Bill concerning marine wildlife. Government and all-party support resulted in the Sea Fisheries (Wildlife Conservation) Act becoming law in 1992.

latter is better understood as the product of environmental group activity which began in the UK in 1865 and which has been growing steadily since then. None of the literature we have seen has traced in detail the historical foundation of UK environmental groups over the last century. Lowe and Goyder (1983), McCormick (1991) have started this process although they have tended to only provide examples of the more prominent groups. O'Riordan (1989), for example, listed the foundation of dates of fourteen British groups. Both Lowe and Goyder (1983) and McCormick (1991) devote more attention to the post 1960s growth of resources such as size and increase in membership, income and staff over specific decades than to the historic dimension.

Figure 1. shows the pattern of occurrence of the foundation of 128 UK environmental groups. The graph seeks to plot the foundation dates of non-governmental environmental groups that have open membership and are still in existence today. (It does not take into account the considerable growth of the local civic society movement in the 50s and 60s, nor does it include all the local naturalist trusts or the single issue ephemeral groups that emerged at intervals to fight specific local/regional campaigns). The pattern shows that although there was a significant peak between 1960 and 1979 with over 70% of all modern groups (post 1960) having their foundation in this period, the period preceding that, between 1860 and 1959, saw the foundation of over 46% of all the groups recorded. This is a span of one hundred and thirty years yet no literature seen by us analysed the total period in terms of a UK environmental social movement. Thus the literature has not treated the development of modern environmental groups as a historical process having its roots in the Victorian beginnings of British industrial growth and it is silent on how this long period of UK environmental group development related to the modern phenomenon of a British social movement focused on environmental matters. Our hypothesis, which needs research, is that in the UK a well developed and populated pattern of group activity encouraged, if not caused, a social movement. We suggest that this is the opposite of what the sociology of mass social movements would lead us to expect: precedent mass movements encourage/cause subsequent smaller, cognate, affinity groups. We also posit that these modern "national headline groups" have fostered a ferment of group formation and activity at regional and local levels devoted to environmental causes. But the literature has captured the "national headline" level while largely ignoring the local activity.

In the authors' own geographical area there exists a number of countywide and local groups (See Table 2.), none of which, we believe, has been studied. These groups are the environmental social movement expressing itself to the first

Figure 1. Foundation of National Environmental Groups With Open Membership 1860 - 1990
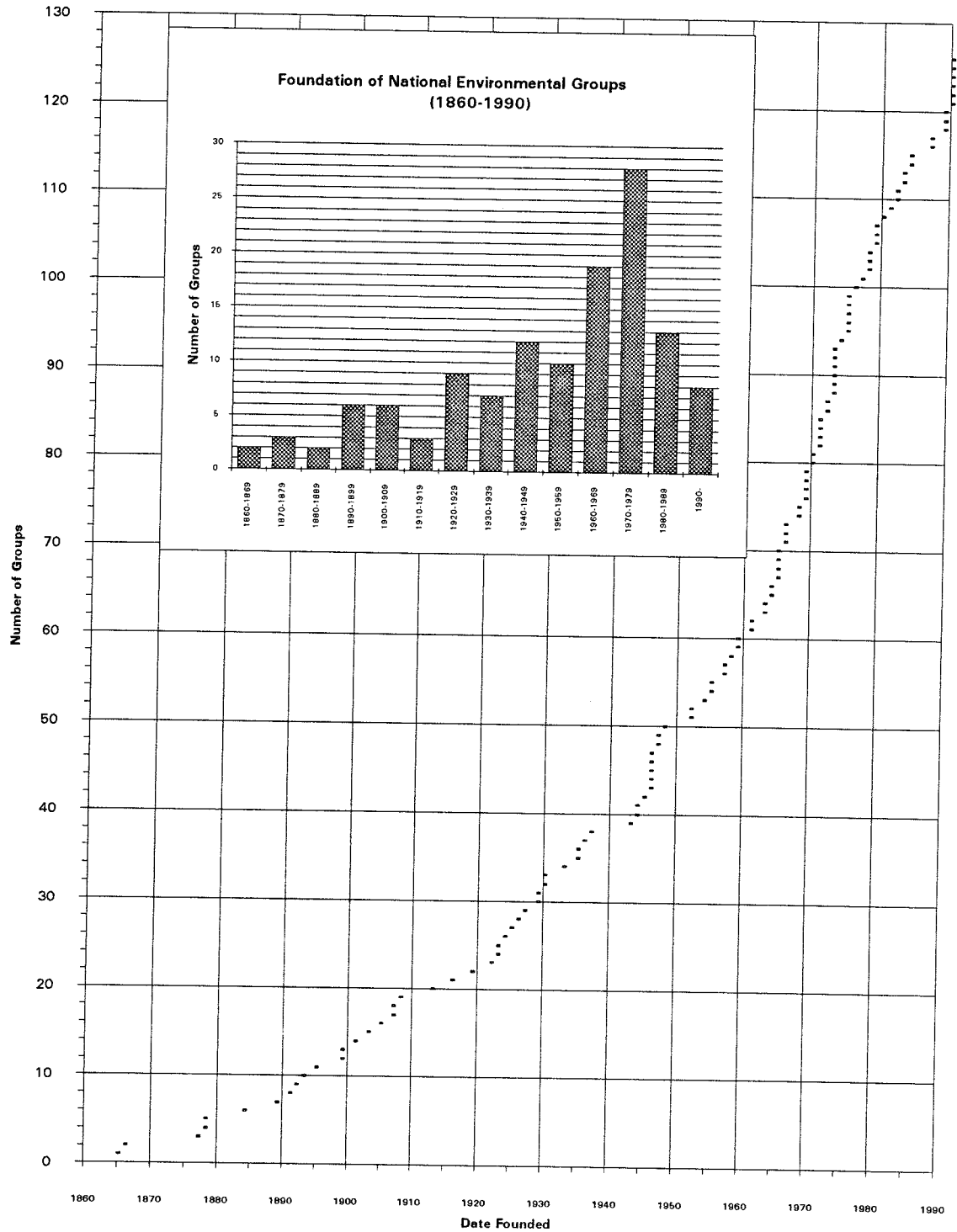
power of organisation - local expression. We argue that this local/county expression has been nurtured underneath a national "canopy" of group expression- organisation to the second power. This national "canopy" has in the UK been so well established historically and so relatively successful (as argued above) that it has fostered, through its political activity, environmentalism as a social movement. Individuals have adopted environmental values, in some non-researched way, directly through the public and persistent example of national groups. Modern UK individuals adopting environmental values have had a century old tradition of environmental group activity to draw on.

It is hard to conceive of social movements as self-creations. For their development we suggest that individuals need existent groups which by collective, organised, expression at national level have already shown that selected ideas and activities were intellectually feasible and politically possible for a _few_ before the _many_ could adopt them. This thesis needs substantiation through research. What sparked our thesis of "historic national groups before a UK social movement" was the collision of two perceptions: that the UK has a century old documented history of environmental groups _and_ a documented history of an environmental social movement no more than thirty years old.

3) Thirdly, we argue that the public campaigning phase of environmental group activity is being amended. The behaviour of some large environmental groups is showing signs of a change towards the public policy-making process. O'Riordan (1989;418-419) noted an earlier change in the late 1960s involving attitudes and behaviour. Then the dominance of amenity and conservation groups was perceived as, by some, too "establishment"-minded and was diluted by the rise of groups like Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and Transport 2000 whose focus was on reversing environmental damage and waste. This was the appearance of the "modern British public interest environmental action group", with the emphasis on a radical agenda and on "action". Now in late 1994, there is reported evidence of another change in behaviour: away from campaigning in a challenging way with the emphasis on critique; and towards the co-operative development of solutions for environmental issues. The Financial Times Weekend (Nov. 12/13, 1994) reported that Greenpeace is moving towards a public stance known as "solution intervention" and cited the "Greenfreeze" store refrigerator which it developed with supermarkets and which is claimed to be ozone friendly. The Independent (Nov.17, 1994) also reported a similar shift away from direct action and towards "solution-oriented campaigning" - the development of the Real World Initiative based on the sustainability concept and involving fourteen groups. But these changes are not a clean break with the

Table 2

Countywide and Local Groups in Dorset

Countywide
Dorset Wildlife Trust (previously Dorset Trust for Nature Conservation)
Dorset Countryside Volunteers
Dorset and New Forest Safe Water Society
Dorset Environmental and Peace Information Trust
Dorset Country Link

Local
North Dorset
Sherborne and District Society
Christchurch Harbour Association
Friends of Standpit Marsh
Christchurch Conservation Trust

East Dorset
East Dorset Countryside Action Group

West Dorset
Golden Cap Centre
Lyme Regis Society
The Uplime and Lime Valley Society

Poole
Canford Cliffs Land Society
Friends of Creekmore Ponds
Friends of Upton Country Park

Weymouth and Portland
Osmington Society
Sutton Poyntz Society
West Weymouth Preservation Society
Green Group Weymouth
Wyke Regis Protection Society

radical, public campaigning of the recent past. For example, Greenpeace was reported to be the lead organiser in a London anti-roads demonstration and media reports about the groups protesting the Bath by-pass and the M11 development showed Greenpeace advocating direct action.

Environmental groups are too numerous, disparate and uncoordinated for there to be a complete uniformity of behaviour. But it is possible that the general balance of attitudes and behaviour towards the public policy-making process is shifting: a "crusader/challenger" stance may be blended over time with more of a "proposer/co-operator" posture.

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