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Quilt or quilts : do the national environmental organizations speak for the grassroots environmental organizations

Allan Craig Lummus

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Allan Craig Lummus entitled "Quilt or quilts : do the national environmental organizations speak for the grassroots environmental organizations." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.

Sherry Cable, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Thomas Hood, Donald Clelland

Accepted for the Council:
Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

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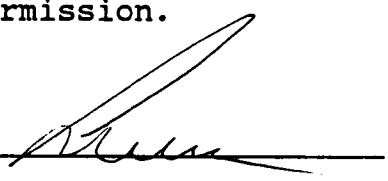
Signature 

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QUILT OR QUILTS:

DO THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS SPEAK FOR THE GRASSROOTS ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

A THESIS

PRESENTED FOR THE

MASTER OF ARTS

DEGREE

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE

ALLAN CRAIG LUMMUS

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated
to the many grassroots activists
whose lives have communicated knowledge
that no book can circumscribe.

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rare in a large research university. It should be cherished and nourished. The atmosphere allowed exchanges of knowledge and experience that cannot underrated.

Two students I would like to thank in particular are Kevin Bryant and Don Davis. Kevin and I developed the pilot project for a field research class that eventually developed into the thesis. His assistance on the methods section was very valuable. Don helped shape my conception of what a social scientist should be: radically concerned about people and unswervingly critical of science, particularly in its propensity to treat people as subjects.

My final acknowledgement is not the least only the most recent. I would like to thank my supportive spouse, Connie Diamond, for her demonstration of extreme patience with my "thesis-head" behavior during the past year.

ABSTRACT

This thesis asks whether or not the national environmental organizations represent the interests of the grassroots environmental organizations. In order to answer this question another must first be addressed: how do the two wings differ? This study uses data collected from local grassroots activists who attended Stop The Poisoning (STP) workshops sponsored by Highlander Research and Education Center in the fall of 1990. This original data is used to compare the grassroots activists with national environmental activists as they have been represented in previous studies of environmental activism. I compare my data with the previous literature in order to assess the linkages between national and grassroots participants in the Environmental Movement. The hypothesis is that these two wings are different, with local activists more strongly supportive of political and economic democracy (consistent with the oppositional model of a power-elite political structure) and the national organizations tending toward stronger support for the existing political-economic system (in line with a pluralist model of the political structure). Confirmation of the hypothesis would indicate that in their lobbying efforts, the national groups do not adequately represent the participatory interests of the local organizations. The

analysis of this thesis concludes that the hypothesis is supported.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCING THE QUILT OR QUILTS: THE TWO WINGS OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

Jesse Jackson used the analogy of his grandmother's quilt as a unifying theme for his 1988 Presidential Campaign. That image of a multicolored, multi-textured blanket moved me at the time and still does. In the process of synthesizing all the disparate pieces of information for this thesis, the image of that quilt returned. On the surface the thesis mirrors that image, with the pages of citations, transcriptions, and anecdotes. But, on a deeper level, the image becomes more than superficial as class, race, and gender issues emerge and form complex patterns. A quilt is traditionally a working class product, a product of shared labor. The women share their stories not only in words and expressions, but also in the artistic expression of the quilt. These images of women, working class life, color, stories, artistic expression, and community rush over me like a waterfall and I see that these subjects of the thesis, these environmental activists, are not part of the established national environmental organizations. Instead, they represent the grassroots wing of the environmental movement, distinguished from the established wing in terms of class, race, gender, and historical backgrounds. How did

this new grassroots wing emerge? Does it constitute yet another patch in the quilt of the environmental movement or an entirely separate quilt?

Interest in environmental issues has spread from a concern within a fringe movement in the early 1960's to a major feature of the American consciousness. Increased news coverage of local and national environmental problems in both the print and visual media is an indicator of this concern. Such coverage projects the image of a nation that is generally supportive of environmentalism. However, the apparent groundswell of popular support masks a very real division among activists who support environmental change. The Environmental Movement has a long history, beginning at the turn of this century. But recently the movement has divided into two wings: the older national lobbying organizations and the newer community based organizations (Boyte, 1980 and Commoner, 1987). What is the relationship between the two wings? Do the lobbying efforts of the national organizations represent the concerns of the community groups?

The two questions I will address in this project are: (1) How do these two segments of the Environmental Movement differ? (2) Do the national groups adequately represent the local grassroots organization's perceptions of their interests? The hypothesis is that these two wings are different, with local activists more strongly supportive of

political and economic democracy (consistent with the oppositional model of a power elite political structure) and the national organizations tending toward stronger support for the existing political-economic system (in line with a pluralist model of the political structure). Confirmation of the hypothesis would indicate that in their lobbying efforts, the national groups do not adequately represent the participatory interests of the local organizations. This study uses data collected from local grassroots activists who attended Stop The Poisoning (STP) workshops sponsored by Highlander Research and Education Center in the fall of 1990. This original data is used to compare the grassroots activists with national environmental activists as they have been represented in previous studies of environmental activism. Thus, I will compare my data with the previous literature in order to assess the linkages between national and grassroots participants in the Environmental Movement. Further, the results will have significant implications for other types of social movements.

The thesis is divided into five remaining chapters. Chapter II presents the major theoretical threads I have used to weave my own analytical framework. The chapter begins with a short history of social movement theory, focusing primarily on resource mobilization theory. After this section, I review the environmental sociology literature to identify some determinants of environmental

activism. I conclude the theory chapter by presenting the analytical structure which guided my analysis.

In Chapter III I discuss the methods used to collect the data and the methodological justifications of those strategies. I also describe the setting for the workshops and the process of organizing the data which were gathered there.

Next is a discussion of the historical development of the two wings of the environmental movement. These two histories provide the structural setting which give shape to the contrasting political economies of the two wings, whose ideologies developed from differing class, gender and racial interests.

The data analysis segment of the thesis is the fifth chapter. Six concepts are used to organize and analyze the activists' responses. The analysis focuses on nodes of agreement among the various activists and how those nodes relate to each other and the literature. In the final chapter, I assess the evidence for my hypothesis, addressing the question of who speaks for the environmental movement. I also confront larger issues of class, gender and race within the environmental movement.

CHAPTER II

THREADS AND PATCHES: SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY AND ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIOLOGY

The theoretical patchwork for this project involves an application of the predominant model for studying social movements today: resource mobilization theory. I will review both the social movement and the environmental sociology literatures to develop an analytical perspective for comparing national toxic activists with grassroots toxic activists. The primary issues concern the elements of social movement organizations (SMOs) and the determinants of environmentalism. Other issues of interest are perception, risk awareness, pluralist versus elitist world views, gender differences, and the sociology of knowledge.

The first section of the chapter focuses on the social movement literature. I begin with a discussion of the collective behavior model and then trace the emergence of resource mobilization perspectives. The second section draws on the environmental sociology literature, focusing particularly on the demographic composition of the environmental movement and charges of environmental elitism. Integrating these two lines of thought in the final section of the chapter, I assemble the theoretical issues which form the core of my analytical framework.

A Short History of Social Movement Theory

Goldberg describes social movements in this way, "A social movement is a formally organized group that acts consciously and with some continuity to promote or resist change through collective action (1991:2)." This description of rational, purposeful, and political action by groups is a rather recent phenomenon. The next section describes the tradition which predates Goldberg's view of social movements: the collective behavior tradition.

Collective Behavior

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries European thinkers from Le Bon to Freud described crowd actions as irrational and abnormal (Turner and Killian, 1987; McCarthy, forthcoming; Aguirre, Quarantelli, and Mendoze, 1988; Tilly, 1986; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988). American sociologists followed their lead in describing group behavior in these terms: "Collective behavior may be defined as those forms of social behavior in which usual conventions cease to guide social action and people collectively transcend, bypass, or subvert established institutional patterns and structures" (Goldberg, 1991:3). These analysts sought the organizational structure and collective norms that accompanied the transcendence of societal constraints. Since the collective is composed of individuals, the

characteristics of participants were a major consideration. Within the general micro focus, sociologists have developed three general theories to explain the coordination of these individuals into collectives: contagion (LeBon 1960), convergence (McPhail 1971), and emergent norm (Sherif and Sherif 1969). Contagion theory describes the spread of psychological moods in an unthinking fashion. Convergence theory identifies the common characteristics of the participants as the unifying force. Emergent norm theory develops from the redefinition of rules and meaning caused by an unusual event (Turner and Killian, 1987).

Convergence theory is the approach to collective action (Turner and Killian, 1987) which has the common assumption that shared behavior has its roots in the individuals that exhibit the actions. This behavior reflects instincts that are identical for all participants. It is the additive nature of these instincts that LeBon (1960: 30) calls "the law of the mental unity of crowds." For LeBon the term crowd was a disparaging term used for any collective of which he disapproved (Turner and Killian, 1987). The instinct thesis lost its influence after the 1920's, but references to biologically driven psychological states as predictors of collective action continued well after. An example of this influence can be seen in the work of Sigmund Freud. Freud (1922) proposed identification as a reason for crowd cohesion. The leader is the agent to whom the group

attaches loyalty. The importance of the leader implies the need for a common mood or feeling so individuals can become open to coordination.

The general rejection of the these instinctual theories did not keep sociologists from adopting some of the assumptions of the basic instinctual model. The early focus on psychological attributes can be seen as vestiges of the model, as well as can search for demographic similarities (See Eric Hoffer, 1951; Neil Smelser, 1963; Hannah Arendt, 1951; Seymour Lipset, 1960; and William Kornhauser 1959). More recent research has undermined the importance of these psychological and demographic characteristics (McPhail, 1971). A major weakness of convergence theory is the inability to explain differential participation - why some people participate and others do not.

Closely linked with the convergence approach is the contemporary version of contagion theory which uses the analogy of a fast moving virus spreading through the body as its genesis. The instinctual influences of LeBon can be seen in this theory as well as convergence. He described how a person can become receptive to emotional appeals in a group setting that they would not heed if alone. Parallel to the receptivity of the participant is LeBon's postulate that people have only a veil of civilization which can be easily pulled back in a group situation to reveal a sea of writhing instincts. The crowd leader is compared to a

hypnotist who, through the power of suggestion, conjures the uncivilized instincts to the surface (Turner and Killian, 1972).

Blumer's (1953) coordinating mechanism for the transmission of collective behavior from one actor to another was circular reaction. Circular reaction occurs when the response of one actor to another's behavior is direct, without a period of critique by the responder. The response becomes the stimulus for another response. In an unusual situation the emotions are passed in this manner, creating a condition in which the norms are overturned.

In contrast to these more zoological explanations, Wheeler (1966) describes how people can be subconsciously influenced to action by others. Wheeler's behavioral contagion approach assumes the action a person is imitating is actually a behavior in which s/he has participated in the past. The sight of someone else's action removes a restraint (internal or external) from the imitator, therefore encouraging participation. A more sophisticated contagion theory is Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif's (1969) proposition that the greater the uncertainty, the more likely a person will rely on others for assistance in deciding how they should respond.

A idea common to convergence and contagion theories is unity. But how do these common elements develop? Emergent norm theory addresses this question in addition to several

other points not adequately handled by the other two collective behavior theories. A major tenet of emergent norm theory is that individuals do not experience the same event in the same way. Even if everyone behaves in a similar fashion, their individual experiences would be unique. The crowd is not characterized by homogeneity of experience, but heterogeneity. The unanimity of the crowd is a projection by the observer.

Emergent norms are socially created, shared interpretation of the situation. The collective nature of the norm influences people to participate and not deviate. It is defined as emergent because it is situation specific and differs from norms in other temporal or spatial surroundings.

Along with the differential experiences, another major difference between emergent norm theory and the other theories is the importance of conformity or group pressure in the emergent norm theory vis a vis the spontaneity of the earlier two models. Sherif's (1969) and Asch's (1952) studies reveal the nature and the power of group norms upon individual behavior.

The final challenge presented by emergent norm theory is the centrality of anonymity for the control of crowd behavior which characterizes contagion and convergence theories. The importance of unanimity lies in the assumption that crowd behavior is the release of repressed

tensions. Conversely, if crowd behavior was influenced by emergent norms, the crowd with participants who knew each other would facilitate crowd control.

Responses to the collective behavior tradition began to develop in the early 1970s. These responses began as separate arguments, but were later seen as variations on a theoretical theme. They have been called perspectives.

Resource Mobilization

The response to collective behavior research grew in part from the realization of many who participated in the social movements of the fifties and sixties that the image of the isolated and alienated individual as participant did not describe them (Gamson, 1975). The new conception of social movements not only included the participants but also the political field (Tilly, 1986; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988).

In this view, movements use resources to gain power in a rational rather than irrational fashion (Walterman 1981). The exploration for the roots of this rational behavior is the key to the development of resource mobilization (Pichardo 1988). The first to begin the search for a rational description of group behavior was Olsen (1965). Olsen believed that the place to begin to understand group behavior was by analyzing the decisions of individuals as results of cost-benefit analysis. Olsen highlighted the free rider problem, an important aspect of individual

participation in a group activity. The highly problematic nature of collective enterprises is suggested by the fact that an individual could receive the benefits of collective action without actually incurring any of the costs.

According to Olsen, a key limiting factor for the free rider problem was the size of the group. The size of the group had to be large enough to form a threshold for the effect to be initiated. The issue of public goods helps to illustrate the phenomena. Public goods anything that benefits the community. Since some benefits can be received without every individual working to achieve them, some citizens can chose to allow others to provide the effort needed to achieve a desired goal, such as a bond issue or pollution regulation.

In order to counteract the free rider problem, Olsen proposed that organizations use incentives like prestige or leadership to increase benefits and so entice participation. Building upon this base, a new model was created that placed rationality at the core of social movement participation.

The resource mobilization model that developed emphasized the social movement organization (SMO) and its similarities to other organizations (McCarthy, forthcoming; Tilly, 1986; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988). In this view, SMOs emerge in political activities using nontraditional tactics (Gamson, 1975; Halebsky, 1976). The model describes polity groups as those which have easy

access to public resources and are within the arena of power. Contending groups who do not have ready access are outside the circle, and seek to gain entry to have their needs met. The result is a clash of conflicting interests, with the polity groups resisting the contending group's inclusion because of the possibility that their own needs could no longer be met. The contending groups respond by organizing for coordinated action. The structure that develops is one of groups of various levels of organization and positions of power each seeking their own interests and finding opposition from other groups doing the same.

Within the resource mobilization perspective, the existence of individual grievances is considered to be relatively constant through time and space. Therefore, the determinants of mobilization involve particular situational factors which exist outside and inside the movement (Fireman and Gamson, 1979; Marx and Wood, 1975; McCarthy and Zald, 1987). External situational factors include the level of repression (McAdam, 1982; Skocpol, 1979), political opportunities (Jenkins and Perrow, 1977; Gale, 1986), ecological concentration (McAdam, 1982; Nielson, 1980), and level of prior organization (Oberschall 1973; Zald and McCarthy, 1987). Internal situational/structural factors include contact with movement members (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olsen, 1980; Briet, Klandermans, and Kroon, 1984), number of organizational memberships (Walsh and Warland,

1983; McAdam, 1988), history of activism (Gamson, Freeman, and Rytina, 1982; McAdam 1988), and biographical availability (Snow and Rochford, 1983; and McAdam, 1988). The confluence of these variables is believed to shape the emergence and growth of social movements (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988). Despite its significant contributions to social movement analysis, resource mobilization theories have spurred criticisms. The next segment discusses these criticisms.

Responses to Resource Mobilization

The maxim of rationality did not go uncriticized. Fireman and Gamson (1979) initiated criticisms which continue to be voiced today (Hirsch, 1990). These objections include resource mobilization's an emphasis on individual incentives for participation and exclusion of group incentives and its failure to account for the roles of ideology and sentiment. But these criticisms do not undermine the important point that a rational assessment of situational considerations drives the SMO (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988).

In the shift to resource mobilization perspectives, the focus of analysis changed from the psychosocial level to the structural forces that facilitate the emergence of movements. Some analysts focus on the resources needed to develop a fledgling movement (McCarthy and Zald, 1973, 1977,1987; Oberschall, 1973), while others emphasize the

extant organizations and the political windows of opportunities through which the resources could be used (McAdam, 1982; Tilly, 1978,1986).

This early focus on the rational behavior of SMO participants was soon translated into the rational behavior of the movement as a whole. According to Pichardo (1988), Zald's organizational theory approach became the dominant mode of discourse for resource mobilization theorists. At this point, the focus of analysis shifted from conditions facing the participants to the obstacles confronting movement organizers. The question became, how do communities lacking in resources mobilize to act collectively? A disagreement developed among theorists over how to address this problem. The division involves three of the leading contemporary analysts in social movement theory: McAdam, McCarthy and Zald. McCarthy and Zald focus on the political organizers' ability to mobilize external resources (financial and leadership) from altruistic elites to organize the impoverished community. Their model is appropriately named the professional model (Pichardo 1988). McAdam (1982) highlights the capability of the community to organize and maintain its own organization with only auxiliary assistance from outside organizers. Along with Jenkins and Eckert (1983), he argues further that the role of elites is to provide only nominal support, and their support is frequently based on

desires of cooption rather than benevolence. McAdam's political process model focuses on the dialectical relationship the organization has with other organizations within the community and the internal processes of mobilization and maintenance of the organization.

The debate of the past decade has turned around the linkage between resource mobilization's early structural focus and more recent perspectives which include psychological issues (Walsh, 1981; Walsh and Warland, 1983; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson, 1980; Cable, Walsh, Warland, 1988; Hirsch, 1990; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988; Klandermans, 1984; Ferree and Miller, 1985). Walsh (1981) and Snow et. al. (1980), were the earliest to address issues, grievances and social networks respectively. These and other critics have not rejected resource mobilization theory, but rather, only seek to include only additional variables. Klandermans (1984) has been a leading proponent of the systematic incorporation of social-psychological elements into the theory. But a vocal minority (e.g. Hirsch 1990) use the lack of important variables as justification for an attack on the perspective itself, calling for a new formulation which usually divides the rational choice theory (McCarthy and Zald, 1973;1987) from the political process theory (McAdam, 1988; Tilly, 1986). This minority faction argue that the differences between the rational choice model, with its cost-benefit focus, and the political

process model, with its dialectical process orientation, are so great that it is illogical to include both in the same theoretical school.

Most social movement research to this date has focused on the emergence of the social movement (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988). But many analysts now recognize that the maintenance of the enterprise is also a critical process. To survive, an adequate structure must be developed, that is the SMO. Much of the work on the maintenance of SMOs has been influenced by Zald's organizational theory. He developed the concept of SMO (Zald and Ash, 1966) and helped elaborate the characteristics of a particular variant, the professional SMO (McCarthy and Zald, 1973).

The tasks of the SMO are congruent with those of other organizations (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988). Two basic tasks are establishing ideological turf, while balancing the sometimes contradictory demands of other organizations. The overriding force in formal organizations is the drive to survive. Survival is defined as acquiring resources such as money and people. Whether or not this drive is present in grassroots organizations is still open to dispute. The other task of establishing ideological boundaries which provides a clear mission for the SMO may discourage other organizations from providing the needed support for its existence. Conflict between the tasks of boundary formation and survival is a constant concern of any SMO. In choosing

tactics and goals, SMO members must weigh the desire to attract members against the need to maintain ties within the larger organizational environment. The next section discusses the second sociological area I will appropriate for the creation of a theoretical model. The focus will be on who are the environmentalists and, more specifically, on the elitism debate.

Environmental Sociology

The second major research thread that will be incorporated for this research will be the environmental movement literature. Who were members of these organizations? Van Liere and Dunlap's (1980) review of the research indicates that members of environmental organizations tend to be young, highly educated, and liberal. If party identification is excluded from the designation of liberal, then the cognitive component is useful. Schnaiberg (1980) describes the middle class nature of environmental social movement organizations, as do others (Hays, 1985; Freudenberg, 1984), and McAdam et al. (1988) have indicated that participants of all types of social movements tend to be middle class. This finding spurred debate about whether the movement was elitist. Morrison and Dunlap (1986) investigate charges of environmental elitism by distinguishing among three types of elitism: composition, ideology, and impact. Morrison and Dunlap define elite as

the upper class and place the entire middle class including the upper middle class in the same category as the other classes. One could question the decision to exclude the upper-middle class from the elite. Compositional elitism refers to the charge that participants are **disproportionatly** from the upper classes. Morrison and Dunlap find little empirical support for compositional elitism because **most** members were not from the upper socioeconomic strata. Obviously, the distinction between disproportionatly and most is significant and not mutually exclusive. Ideological elitism refers to environmental proposals that intentionally distribute benefits to the upper class and/or costs to the poor. In response to this charge, Morrison and Dunlap argue that environmentalism is associated with liberal democratic ideology which does not have a regressive purpose. Impact elitism is the accusation that the impact of the proposed policies, whether intended or not, are regressive. Morrison and Dunlap conclude that the regressive threats are highly publicized while the progressive impacts are under-publicized.

Morrison (1986) argues that environmental concern has recently increased among the lower classes because environmental grievances have trickled down. Therefore, as a result of the presence of environmental degradation in the middle and lower class communities, more middle and lower class citizens have begun to assume attitudes which consider

a clean environment a important aspect of their standard of living. In addition, Kazis and Grossman's **Fear at Work (1980)** has cited as evidence of this broad base by revealing the links between labor and environmentalism.

Wenner (1990) contends that while the national environmental groups are populated by many professionals, as are other business groups (Schattschneider, 1960), their philosophy is not nearly so anti-worker as that of other interest groups. Many working people are involved in pro-wilderness activity and many of the newer more militant interest groups consist of volunteers who have committed their lives to subsistence living.

Questioning the evidence that environmentalism has spread to the working classes, Schnaiberg (1980) argues that labor is bound into a pro-growth coalition with governmental and business interests which oppose the environmental movement. Buttel (1986) cautions that widespread environmental support is only an assertion and may not actually lead to realized reform.

Additional challenges to this contention that environmentalism is not elitist are available. Bullard (1986; 1990) describes how minorities have been underrepresented in environmental organizations and identifies the negative impacts of pollution upon poor and minority communities. The mobilization of poor and minority communities into environmental organizations which remain

unaffiliated with the mainstream environmental movement is an indication of the communities' environmental awareness. Alleged lack of awareness by poor and minority communities has been the national organizations' justification for the underrepresentation (Russell, 1989 and Environmental Action, 1990). The issue of ideological elitism is raised by Manes (1990) and Scarce (1990) in their description of how the national the movement's legislative focus and compromise strategy have linked the organizations to elites much more closely than they are tied to working class constituents.

Elements from the environmental movement literature are integrated with the social movement literature in the following discussion of the analytical concepts used to assess the data.

Conceptual Patchwork

This section describes how these two sociological traditions will be used for an analytical framework. The concepts are grievances, goals, tactics, target, networks, and ideology. The aim is to draw comparisons between the national (PSMO) and local activists (SMO) to assess the validity of the claim that the national organizations represent the entire environmental movement.

Grievances are the stimuli for the activists' action, the reason they decide to join and participate in SMOs. In

early resource mobilization formulations, grievances were deliberately excluded as an important variable. Analysts argued that the level of grievances in a society remains relatively constant, and therefore does little to explain why social movements emerge (Jenkins and Perrow, 1977; McCarthy and Zald, 1977, 1987; Oberschall 1973). Possibly this was an overreaction by these theorists in their attempt to claim turf distinct from the collective behavior tradition which emphasized psycho-social variables. But the more recent work of Walsh (1981) and Hirsch (1990) and others (Cable, Walsh and Warland, 1988; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson, 1980, Useem, 1980) has demonstrated the importance of grievances in shaping a social movement.

What is key is not the presence or absence of grievances, but the perception of injustice and the transmission of that perception (Snow et al, 1986). The rational choice model ignores the variability of perception (Bateson, 1972; McHugh, 1968; Schutz, 1972; McAdam, 1982; and Snow et al., 1986). The importance of the interpretation of events has been documented (Turner, 1969; Gerlach and Hine, 1970), showing that the characterization of a situation as unjust is a necessary ingredient in mobilization (Piven and Cloward, 1977). Snow et. al. (1986) contend that the social psychological research which has addressed grievances has used the rational choice model and, consequently has been mechanistic and neglectful of

process. To correct this weakness, they adapt Goffman's frame analysis, which allows for much greater flexibility in handling differing shades of perception.

Environmental sociologists have been quicker to focus on grievances than many of the early social movement theorists. Walsh and Warland's (1983) criticisms of resource mobilization theorists, along with Snow's research, help to focus attention on this blind spot. The conception of abruptly imposed grievances which are was an advance over earlier, homogeneously described characterizations (Walsh, 1981). Similarly, Fowlkes and Miller (1985) use the Love Canal case as an example of such a sudden imposition.

Molotch (1970) describes how grievances can be exacerbated by the response of experts, whether governmental or corporate, and their use of science to solve environmental problems politically. The Santa Barbara oil spill was an early warning sign of the environmental dangers of the modern capitalistic system.

Goals and Tactics are necessarily intertwined. Goals are the objectives that the social movement desires to obtain and tactics are the means used to gain those ends. Goals common to any movement include the attraction of new members, the persuasion of authorities, media access, and the neutralization of opponents (McAdam et al., 1988). A link between these variables is that new members and media access could serve as means to the ends of persuasion and

neutralization. Tactics refer to how the social movement works to mobilize the resources and make its case heard. Tactics involve politics by other means, as Gamson (1975) has said. SMOs use tactics such as sit-ins, marches, and demonstrations to communicate with a political structure that participants perceive as previously unresponsive to their claims for attention.

A long-term goal of most SMOs is social change. Some have won specific policy objectives (see Freeman's (1975) research with the women's movement). Other SMOs claim as goals the changed perceptions of the general public (Troyer and Markle, 1983; Mueller, 1984; Marx and Wood, 1975; and Tilly, 1979). Another long-term goal is the creation of new, lifelong activists. McAdam (1988) discusses the importance of high-risk activism in the civil rights movement for the creation of an experienced cadre for the other 1960's movements. In a similar vein, Rupp and Taylor (1987) describe how the women's movement nurtured activists for a period of time in professional organizations. When the political climate was more hospitable, they were ready to take advantage of it.

Other factors influence goals and tactics. Structural influences include the political opportunity structure (Eisenger, 1973 and McAdam et el., 1988). If other influential institutions have common agendas with the SMO, the goals can more easily be attained and coalition tactics

can be used. If the agendas of other organizations are incongruent, goal realization is more difficult and confrontation tactics are necessary (Gamson, 1990). Internal structural factors that influence the success of goals are the stability of the organization and personal efficacy (McAdam et el, 1988). General bureaucratic influences on goals and tactics have been described by Weber (1964) and Michels (1959). McAdam focuses more specifically on the influence of arrangements on SMOs (1984). According to his political process model, the success of an organization is largely dependent upon a negative change in one or more of the following: the organizational strength of the movement, the political opportunity structure, and the response of opposing groups. For example, a negative change in the organizational strength of the movement would be the loss of members. Gamson's (1990) conclusion about the success of social movements was that single issue organizations which did not seek to replace the opposition were the most successful. The nature of many national environmental organizations is that they tend to be oriented to multi-issues (Freudenberg, 1984). They often start as a single issue organization (e.g., cleaning the water supply or protecting wilderness) and then widen their concerns to other related issues (e.g., prevention of toxics in landfills, access to technical knowledge).

Targets and networks are concepts that Tilly (1978,1986) and McAdam (1982, 1988) have developed. Target groups are organizations that are opposed to the SMO's agenda and/or are the recipient of actions by the SMO. Networks are the organizations which are supportive of the goals of the SMO.

Targets are collectives that can include a particular business institution or different levels of government. McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) describe the state's chief function as social control. The state's structure ensures the addressing of elite interests and the control of contending interests. The type of government will influence the nature of the controlling action by the state. A more open system emphasizes the regulatory mechanisms (e.g. tax policies, legalization of tactics, and surveillance), while in a more closed system, repression is more likely to be employed. Examples of the indirect regulation are the tax policies that govern the nonprofit organizations (Wolfson, 1987). McCarthy and Britt (1988) describe how SMO have modified their activities to operate within nonprofit regulations. More direct control by targets is exercised through the regulations concerning boycotts, picketing, and strikes, while police or FBI surveillance is a more covert controlling mechanism. An interesting implementation of this approach is highlighted by Marx (1974, 1979) who examines how infiltration by the

government in some ways actually helped movements to grow and develop.

Regulation is not the only tool that governments use to control SMOs. Repression has been a favorite for centuries (Tilly, 1975). Tilly argues that repression works in the short term, but, over the long-term in more open societies, it tends to undermine state objectives and actually helps to motivate dissent. In countries which espouse democratic values, even the short-term use of repression may facilitate movement emergence (Turner, 1969).

Another major target is the countermovement. Countermovements develop to oppose the ends sought by the social movement. For example, a countermovement developed in the area of Three Mile Island area which supported nuclear power and opposed the groups attempting to close down the Three Mile Island plant (Walsh, 1981; 1983). TMI workers and families were the primary members of this organization.

The government may become susceptible to movement influence at different points in time depending on the political climate (Eisenger, 1973). For example, when large scale political, economic or social changes are developing that are beyond the polity members' control, then challenging groups have a window of opportunity to influence the decision making process (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988). Susceptibility is not only an issue for governments.

The relationship between corporate targets and regulating agencies is another indicator of how vulnerable the corporation is to pressure from contending groups (Walsh, 1981).

Networks are collections of organizations and individuals which support each other ideologically, emotionally, and/or financially. Social networks are important in the mobilization phase as well as the maintenance phase. They are important to collecting the resources and mobilizing support outside the social movement (Oberschall, 1973).

In the early mobilization phase, networks that are important include relationships with members, membership in other organizations, and a prior history of activism (McAdam et al., 1988). Perhaps the strongest determinant of joining a movement is knowing a member of the movement (Gerlach and Hine, 1970; Briet, Klandermans, and Kroon, 1984; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olsen, 1980). In the maintenance phase, the linkage of the SMO with other organizations provides access to the funds, people, and infrastructure that a movement requires (McAdam, 1982). Sometimes agencies within the state will even be supportive of some SMO goals (Gale, 1986). This receptivity is vital for the social movement to be successful (Nelkin and Pollack, 1981; Kitschelt, 1986). Another factor influencing success is what Haines (1984) refers to as the radical flank effects. The phenomenon

occurs when two or more SMOs advocate the same change but, some favor radical proposals while others favor moderate proposals. The groups favoring moderate proposals will tend to be more successful, because of the presence of radical alternatives.

Ideology is the world view held by the activist and the movement. Related terms are "lifescape" (Kuhn, 1962), which was broadened beyond science to encompass a "dominant social frame of reference" (Edelstein, 1987; Harmon, 1976; Pirages, 1978; Milbrath, 1984; Devall and Sessions, 1985). Gerlach and Hine (1970) define ideology as follows:

> Ideology codifies values and goals, provides a conceptual framework by which all experiences or events relative to the goals may be interpreted...provides rationale for envisioned changes, defines the opposition and forms the basis for conceptual unification or a segmented network of groups (Pp. 181-182).

Ideology has a limited ability to explain why people are active. It does provide a threshold for possible activism, that is, people who do not have congruent ideologies with the SMO will not become members, but such variables do not explain why people who share the ideology of the movement do not always become active (Petty and Cacioppo, 1981).

Despite the empirical focus on structural elements in the development of social movements, the initial catalyst for action is cognitive (McAdam et al., 1988; Gamson,

Fireman, and Rytina, 1982). A change in the consciousness of movement participants is a necessary ingredient in successful action. Snow et al. (1986) demonstrate the importance of frame alignment. A common understanding of the problem and the solution is part of the socialization of a new SMO member. This ideological connection is important for providing a sense of power to the members (Sayre, 1980; Pinard, 1971). At Love Canal, Fowlkes and Miller (1985; 1987) describe how individuals tended to describe their conditions in personal terms when they were not connected with an organization that could provide a collective rationale for the problem.

An important process regarding frames of reference is that of meaning manipulation. A major task for social movements is the communication of their frame or ideology, not only their own group members, but also to the general public (Rude, 1980; Mueller, 1983, McCarthy, 1987; Wood and Hughes, 1984; McAdam et el, 1988). This process is complicated by other institutions' desires to communicate contradictory messages and by the resource superiority of many of these competing organizations.

This chapter has integrated material from two major areas of sociological theory to organize an analytical framework. The dominant field for this thesis is social movement theory. I identified six organizing concepts using this literature. Building upon this base, I added the

environmental sociology elitism debate. Together, these form the threads and the patches to assemble the analytical quilt. The questions needed to be addressed are (1) How do these two segments of the Environmental Movement differ, if at all, in terms of strategy, target, social networks, goals, ideology and grievances? and (2) Do the national groups adequately represent the local grassroots organization's interests?

The next chapter describes the strategies used to collect and analyze the data. The process of organizing responses and selecting representative quotes is also reviewed. These are the stitching techniques used to construct the quilt.

CHAPTER III

STITCHING TECHNIQUES: THE METHODS OF WORKSHOP TRANSCRIPTION ANALYSIS

This chapter describes the techniques used to collect data and to organize and analyze activists' quotes. I first describe the setting for the workshop. For more information, a schedule of the weekend is provided in Appendix A. I then discuss the methods used to organize the data collected at the workshops and conclude with the processes used to select representative quotes for each concept in the next chapter.

The location for this study was three Stop The Pollution (STP) workshops conducted during fall 1990 at Highlander Educational and Research Center New Market, Tennessee. The workshops brought together environmental activists from all over the United States. The workshops were attended primarily by grassroots activists but included several representatives of the national toxics movement. The workshops were conducted in a socratic, dialogic manner with the sessions led by a facilitator who posed questions and prompted for further clarification. Interaction was informal and unstructured.

My research design was an obtrusive, cross-sectional strategy combining three methodologies: participant observation, unstructured interviewing, and archival data.

This strategy provided several advantages. As a participant-observer, I had the opportunity to gather more detailed data than possible with either existing data or survey research. I was able to go beyond the survey data by acquiring knowledge regarding the feelings and attitudes of the activists. This level of detail permitted a more accurate account of the participants' perceptions.

Unstructured interviews yielded information on activists' perceptions of and activities regarding specific environmental issues. This approach was advantageous for two important reasons. First, it created an informal atmosphere in which participants did not feel intimidated and inhibited in their responses. Second, it increased the validity of the data, as each individual acted as a "check" on others.

Archival data sources included the organizational magazines and newsletters published in the past five years by Citizen's Clearinghouse on Toxic Waste, National Toxics Campaign, Sierra Club, Nature Conservancy, Audubon, National Wildlife Foundation, Greenpeace, and Rachel's Hazardous Waste News. The archival data added flesh to the extant research on the national environmental movement.

To record empirical observations and my interpretations of them, I used field notes and a cassette recorder. Field notes were utilized primarily during the proceedings of the workshops, also recorded on audio tape by

the Highlander staff. I transcribed the proceedings of the workshops which included two STP II workshops in October and November 1990. The workshops differed in that "first timers" attended STP I and "veterans" attended STP II. The content in STP II workshops was more strategic and less consciousness-raising than STP I workshops. The workshops constituted the primary source of data for grassroots activists. Other information was gathered in the workshops by participant observation methods and in discussions with participants during breaks. I categorized the data using codes relevant to the research objectives. Appendix B is the list of codes used, with a brief description of each.

After grouping comments into the relevant categories, they were further coded as signifying either acceptance of our present political-economic system (the pluralist model) or a challenge to it (the elitist model). A key indicator for this variable was activists' responses when asked who has power to make decisions. The present economic-political system tolerates discussion about preferences, but the power to make decisions is reserved exclusively for experts (i.e. bureaucrats or technicians). Therefore, any comment that indicated a willingness to allow government or scientists to make important decisions was coded as acceptance, while comments that questioned the power of experts were coded as challenges.

Work by Glaser and Strauss (1967) influenced the process of selecting appropriate quotes. Early responses were compared to others within each category, and grouped according to a common element. For example, many statements indicated that a friend encouraged the person to join an organization. Therefore one of those statements would be identified as a representative statement chosen to illustrate the idea of a friend as the supporting network. As more data were analyzed, only statements that either contradicted the idea that friends are an important network or offered different networks were identified. All statements that indicated a friend was the source of a supportive network are skipped because these statements do not add to the present base of knowledge.

The interpretive nature of the study should be emphasized. The design reveals my bias that all research, whether qualitative or quantitative, is interpretative. A qualifying statement should be made about the participants. These activists did not comprise a cross section of the toxic movement; rather, they were local group leaders or their friends. The groups represented in the workshops had pre-existing ties to Highlander. Given the exploratory nature of this study, however, the sample served the purpose of addressing some weaknesses in prior environmental movement research.

This chapter reveals the techniques chosen to weave the threads and patches into a quilt. The next chapter will focus on whether there should one or two quilts constructed, and which images will rest upon the blanket's surface.

CHAPTER IV

QUILT(S): ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT HISTORY

This chapter focuses on the historical conditions that produced the toxic movement. This history is important for understanding the nature of the movement and the interests it addresses. The chapter begins with a brief statement describing the present state of environmental concern. The sections are headed by a suggested design for a patch on the quilt.

We Are All Environmentalists Now

As noted by the New York Times on April 23, 1990, concern with the environment has increased in recent years, and similarly, the number of groups supporting environmental causes has increased. Environmentalism's visibility has increased to the point that Gary Cohen, a staff member of the National Toxics Campaign, has declared "it's too easy being green" today in the United States (1990). A politician who has made a career of attacking environmental regulations, who chaired the Regulatory Relief Task Force for Reagan's administration, can call himself the Environmental President. Such widespread claims of environmental concern require an understanding of the differences and similarities among environment groups. An

expedient way to categorize these groups for analysis has been as national and local groups. National organizations focus on lobbying as well as law creation and enforcement. Local or grassroots groups develop around such local issues as toxic waste disposal and timber cutting methods. Student environmental organizations, active at all levels, tend to have broad anti-pollution policy concerns. (Borrelli, 1987).

Significant differences between national organizations and local grassroots organizations have been identified, particularly in regard to demographic variables. National organizations are dominated by upper middle class white males (Tokar, 1990b) while the local groups are predominantly female, working class, and many are minority (Freudenberg, 1984 and Bullard, 1984). The ideological differences springing from the different demographic settings have not been clearly defined. Previous studies indicate that a political agenda is developing with serious consequences for the economy: local groups are challenging the exclusive control of scientific knowledge by government and corporate officials (Masterson-Allen and Brown, 1990).

The Beltway Patch

In order to provide context, I will discuss the national environmental movement and then the grassroots activists' position relevant to it. I will define the national environmental movement as the "Group of Ten": Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Audubon Society, Natural

Resources Defense Council, National Wildlife Federation, Izaak Walton League, Defenders of Wildlife, Environmental Defense Fund, National Parks and Conservation Federation and Environmental Policy Institute. They vary in the focus of their activities and in the tactics they use. The various objectives they seek relate to parks and wilderness, hunting issues, preservation of wildlife, litigation, and toxics. What unifies this disparate group is the strategy of compromise (Scarce, 1990), the need to accommodate the interests of all those who are concerned with a particular issue. Since they concentrate their lobbying efforts inside the Washington D.C. beltway, the patch assigned to them is the beltway. See Appendix A for specific descriptions of selected environmental organizations.

The Grassroots Patch

Hamilton (1985) describes the development of thousands of local environmental groups in response to hazardous waste in their communities. One of the earliest such groups was Lois Gibbs' organization in Love Canal, New York (Levine, 1982). Hamilton's research suggests that younger people, women, and parents with young children will become involved in toxic-waste organizations.

After the passage of environmental legislation was initiated by the national organizations, many citizens continued to experience declines in local environmental health. Grassroots groups began to protest local sources

of pollution and call for changes directly from the local plant. The local activists were not interested in controlling or managing the toxic pollution, but in preventing the pollution from happening. They believed that "industry needs to use fewer poisons and in smaller quantities.... Pollution prevention; and toxics use reduction" (Montague, 1989: 99).

The principles supported by anti-toxics groups would change the political economic balance. Montague describes the principle aims of the toxics movement in this manner:

1. make polluting expensive;
2. get government out of the [decision-making] loop;
3. assert the right to act;
4. reduce toxics use;
5. stop dumping;
6. hold chemicals guilty until proven innocent; and
7. socialize corporations (Montague, 1989: 106-110)

Contrary to participants' depiction of the movement is the description by social scientists who study these activists. For example, Walsh (1984), Cable (1988), and Masterson-Allen and Brown (1990) offer a much more conservative description. They view activists as being in a process of politicization. They begin as supporters of the political-economic system and only reluctantly adopt a confrontational stance after being shocked by the actions of

their government that place profits above safety (Masterson-Allen and Brown, 1990). Boyte (1980) argues that the primary concern is for full democracy, rather than a "socialization of the corporation" (Montague,1989: 109-110).

Two Different Histories?

Are these two separate quilts or are they parts of the same quilt, that is, do the national groups represent the grassroots organizations? With these questions as a guide, the next section reviews the historical development of the two wings of the environmental movement.

Pre-World War II Movement: Dollar Bill Patch

The differences between the national and local groups derive primarily from their different histories. When analyzing the recent development of the conservation or environmental movements, it is important to understand the history of natural resource use that predated the movement and still continues to be a dominant philosophical and structural force. The development of the iron triangle as a policy making process is an old and powerful entity (McConnel, 1966). The iron triangle is composed of businesses, their representatives, and the regulatory agencies that oversee those businesses. The three sides of the triangle are the large businesses, their elected representatives, and the executive agency that regulates

them. The decision making process is as follows: business interests decide what their desires are and coordinate with their representatives and executive agencies to see that those desires are satiated without the influence of other interests (Schattschneider, 1960; McConnel, 1966). The process has its historical beginning with the U.S. Treasury Department's Public Lands office during the mid 1800s. Public land was given away to help finance roads, canals, and railroads in the governments effort to populate the west with whites. The railroad companies especially benefitted from this giveaway. But the process was not criticized because the railroad lobby won the ears of many in Congress and the Executive Branch (Foss, 1960). So fundamental was the free enterprise philosophy that many elected officials made no effort to distinguish between public interest and the needs of business (Wenner, 1990).

Free enterprise was not the only ideology with currency. Another ideology with a smaller following was the land or ecological ethic of Thoreau, Muir and Leopold. Beginning after the Civil War and building until after the turn of the century, the public become more aware of environmental issues through the destruction of the natural environment. It is within this context that the conservation movement took shape (Wenner, 1990). Even as the focus is on the internal debate between wings of the environmental movement, the dominating existence of the iron

triangle must be kept in mind. The constant presence of this structure limits and modifies the actions of the major environmental organizations even as it spurs the militant wing to its more radical tactics.

Schnaiberg describes the early environmental movement at the turn of the twentieth century as being driven by a conservation ethic that included efficient sustenance production (1985). The growing concern over land and water deterioration extended throughout some business and governmental organizations, and included private citizens. Many major parks were created during this period. As support for conservation declined during the 1920's, the focus of the movement shifted away from sustenance issues to preservation of habitats. The Sierra Club, National Audubon Society and the Wilderness Society represented this bias (Schnaiberg, 1985). They modeled their organizational structure after the business interests groups they opposed (Scarce, 1990).

The pre-World War II environmental movement was largely focused on conservation issues. Since the word environment was not used before the war, it probably would be more accurate to call it, the conservation movement. The core philosophy of conservationism involves the efficient use and management of natural resources. This philosophy reflected the production oriented mentality of the first several decades of the century (Hays, 1958). In contrast, the

first national environmental organizations such as the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society were formed during this era, but reflected an opposing tradition of preservationism. With the leadership of men like Muir and Leopold, the groups sought to preserve the land for its own sake, rather than for efficient use. National parks and wilderness were paramount issues for both traditions with only differing interpretations on how they would be used. The conservationist philosophy predominated from the turn of the century to the 1950's (Schnaiberg, 1985; Hays, 1985).

Post World War II Movement: Wilderness Patch

After World War II, the concerns of the early environmental groups became politically more acceptable. They widened to include more general environmental issues: outdoor recreation, wildlands, and open spaces. Both Hays (1985) and Allan Schnaiberg (1980, 1985) see the development of the contemporary environmental movement as a consequence of post World War II affluence and the recreational concerns of the new and growing upper middle class.

A debate developed between those who describe this change as systemic (primarily historians) and those who view it as anti-systemic (primarily sociologists). The systemic view is that the goals of the environmental movement are congruent with the larger world system. Conversely, the anti-systemic view held by many sociologists is that this environmental movement is working against the world system.

Systemic analysts assert the congruence of the environmental movement with the larger society. Nash (1985) argues that the environmental movement is the completion of the American Revolution, if the environmental movement is conceived as expanding democratic rights to a new category, nature. Also, Hays (1985) views the movement's existence as consistent with surrounding economic and historical forces. Environmentalism is an evolution of modern capitalistic consumerism beyond "necessities and conveniences" to "amenities" (Hays, 1985:210). While not defined by Hays, necessities indicates basic needs, such as housing, food, and transportation and conveniences are the aids or variations to those basic needs, such as lawn mowers, dish washers, and plastic dispensers. Environmental amenities are concerns for open spaces, wilderness and park areas for recreation and human connection with natural surroundings.

In Opposition to the Systemic analysis, Dunlap and Catton represent the anti-systemic camp, insisting that a new ecological paradigm has developed within the field of sociology which is opposed to the mainstream paradigm that asserting human domination of nature (1979). Milbrath (1984) argues that the majority of citizens in industrialized countries adhere to the ecological paradigm. Some sociologists examine the structural opposition of environmental reforms to the economic system, such as Buttel (1976) who concludes that structural limits to environmental

reform exist in the present capitalistic system. Stretton (1976) considers the environmental movement an extension of leftist movements' crusade to overturn capitalism. Gusfield (1963) asserts that the environmental movement was comparable to a crusade against capitalistic principles of consumerism.

A major emphasis of anti-systemic analysts is the environment versus the economy dichotomy, or the notion that the environment restricts the economy. If the businesses bowed to the demands of environmentalists, they argue, complying with regulations and changing destructive production technologies, then the resultant loss in production would seriously effect the economy. Conversely, Hays (1985) argues that the tension produced is actually that between the older production sector, organized around necessities and conveniences, and a newer production sector focused on amenities. In fact, the alleged tension-producing element, environmental regulation, produces greater mechanical efficiency.

Another element of contention among social scientists is the choice of analogy. Some use a pendulum analogy, with a constant back-and-forth movement, while others use an evolutionary analogy, with constant movement in one direction. While Humphrey and Buttel (1982) emphasize small shifts of political balances that produce rises and falls for the environmental movement, Hays (1985) insists on

a broad evolution of environmental issues beginning with wilderness and national parks (1957-1965); adding air and water pollution, but still being shaped by the earlier emphasis on efficiency (1965-1972); and finally including toxic chemicals, energy, decentralization, and a growing concern for public health (1972 to present).

A more complex mosaic is painted by Schnaiberg (1980; 1985). He describes the environmental movement as a complex mesh of interests with one segment derived from the 1960's mass movement and interested in sustenance and survival concerns, and the other segment more closely aligned with the much earlier conservation and preservationist period. The latter group is closely connected to state agencies and corporations to which it acts as environmental pressure or lobbying groups. The lobbying groups are more concerned with habitat and less with sustenance issues, and do not seek mass mobilization (see also Commoner, 1987). Albrecht and Maus (1975) agree with the depiction of the movement as diverse, but insist that the groups still share a common view regarding the relationship between the social and economic spheres.

The older national organizations developed a wide following during the growth in environmentalism in the late sixties and early seventies. The dominant motifs of this period of the movement were human survival and the costs of environmental degradation versus the costs of environmental

protection (Schnaiberg, 1980). These groups achieved successes by going through the courts (banning DDT and lobbying for legislation, such as the Clean Air Act). This early success kept the focus on Washington D.C. and away from mass activism. The public was called upon only to donate funds (Commoner, 1987). Thus, the focus of the movement shifted away from political mobilization to the technical administration of environmental protection (Schnaiberg, 1985).

Patches of Compromise

Two specific examples will help to illustrate the transition from mass mobilization to technical administration. The first example focuses on the politics within the major environmental organizations, while the second directs attention to the relationship between these organizations and the state.

Muir Reincarnated

David Brower was the executive director of the Sierra Club during the 1960's. In many ways, he had more in common with the early conservationist leaders Muir and Leopold than with leaders of the other major environmental organizations. Increasingly, the leaders of the Big Ten are lawyers who desire career development over attachment to the land. (Note: I will use Big Ten and Beltway organizations interchangeably through the thesis.) David Brower was a

lifetime club member and longtime editor of the organization's magazine, **Sierra Club Bulletin**, now **Sierra.** The compromise that destroyed the Glen Canyon Dam was a lesson learned by Brower. He communicated his displeasure to the board. "I became a wimp, somehow, and let the Board compromise on Glen Canyon....The decision makers put the dam there, and we could have stood up for our own club policy. Instead we pleased the decision makers" (Brower, 1990:336).

This determination not to compromise led to a later confrontation between the Board and Brower over the issue of nuclear power. The Board wanted to allow the Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor to be built for energy need rather than constructing several coal plants. Brower remained firm in his contention that the organization should not support the nuclear option.

In the 1960's, Lawyer and former Sierra Club president Richard Leonard led efforts to force Brower off the Board. The group had two complaints against Brower: they believed his aggressive publishing and media campaigns were too costly, and they disagreed with his no compromise philosophy. Brower was forced to resign.

The new leadership believed it more prudent to align the organization with governmental agencies and industry. They consulted Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Resources, Ike Livermore, about reorganizing to accomplish this goal. Livermore suggested adopting a more conservative publishing

policy, hiring a past president, and enlarging the Washington staff, policies other major organizations had already implemented. Brower felt the Sierra Club's tendency to compromise was increasing each year. The strength of the movement, he believed, would be to:

> hold fast to what we believe is right, fight for it, and find allies and adduce all possible arguments for our cause....If we cannot find enough vigor in us or them to win, then let someone else propose the compromise. We thereupon work hard to coax it our way. We become a nucleus around which the strongest force can build and function (Brower, 1990: 343).

The new environmental professionals were different from earlier leaders. The pre 1970 environmental leaders came from the grassroots and worked their way up the organization. Now the organizations were hiring outside experts with management and financial expertise. As a former Sierra Club president and present Board Chair said, a president ought to be "a person who is strong in finance and budgets, who can offer entrepreneurial leadership, who is alert to changes in the marketplace" (Manes, 1990:57).

The desire for accommodation was prevalent in all the major organizations. Audubon's chairman, Don Naish, considered "working with industry" to mean that Mobil Oil could drill under the Baker Bird Sanctuary in Michigan (Naish, 1977: 84). In 1977 the National Association of Environmental Professionals organization was formed to help facilitate this type of accommodation between industry and

environmental organizations. The NAEP shared with Resolve, the Center of Environmental Conflict Resolution, the goal to circumvent citizen participation and adversarial politics in favor of compromises and negotiated settlement (Manes 1990).

Keep The Grassroots In Line

Another example demonstrates the transition of the environmental movement from mass mobilization to the technical administration of environmental protection. In the Carter Administration, the Roadless Area Review and Evaluation II (RARE II), identified 62 million acres of national forests eligible for protection. But the national environmental organizations sought a level of protection that was moderate enough to be supported by all members, which produced a mere 20 million acres. The Forest Service then further reduced that number by 25 percent. But of the 15 million remaining acres, one third was already protected through the Alaska Lands Bill. An additional 11 million acres were placed into a category that would be studied further to see if any other possible uses could be identified. The Bush administration has recently suggested that this remaining two thirds be open to oil and gas drilling (National Public Radio, May 15,1990). The RARE II process yielded only 15 out of 62 million acres to be protected. In addition, the process was legally suspect, according to Manes (1990). First, the 62 million figure was a gross undervaluation with one million acres in Oregon

overlooked, according to conservationists. Second, the standards themselves were too strict, because they did not include areas that should be protected. A judge quipped that the process would have given the Grand Canyon a low evaluation for federal protection. Third, the Forest Service produced Environmental Impact Statements that focused only on the production possibilities and ignored the economic, aesthetic, and ecological benefits of the wilderness.

With a process that was so flawed and produced such negligible results, the Forest Service braced for legal challenges. Yet, the Big Ten did nothing. They not only did not challenge the process, but they actively tried to keep others from confronting the Forest Service. The Sierra Club and Wilderness Society national staffs were active in the prevention of grassroots activity. The justification was not that they were worried the grassroots would lose, but, rather that they would win and consequently anger many legislators. Manes quotes a Wilderness staffer, "Those of us in Washington were plotting on how to keep the grassroots in line" (1990:64). Perceived flaws in the process convinced several Wilderness Society staffers to resign and form what would be called Earth First! Consequently activists surrounding RARE II reveal the nature of the national organization's political philosophy in general: they coordinate actions with industry, elude confrontation,

propose modest demands, and use Washington-centered strategy.

The weakness of the accommodation strategy became even more pronounced in the Reagan Administration. Accommodation in this new context meant the implementation of cost-benefit analyses, not only by the government agencies but by the Big Ten as well. Ben Beach of the Wilderness Society is quoted by Scarce as saying, "We believe in the 'land ethic'...but we want to supplement those traditional arguments with these newer economic arguments" (1990: 23). The nature of these economic arguments can be seen in another quote by Beach:

> For those areas not designated wilderness, we try to see that they are managed in the most sensible way they can be. That doesn't mean that we oppose logging or mining. We just want them done in the appropriate places and the appropriate ways with a fair payoff to the U.S. Treasury" (Scare, 1990: 16).

This ignores what Aldo Leopold, the author of the 'land ethic,' asserted, "One basic weakness in a conservation system based wholly on economic motive is that most members of the land community have no economic value" (Leopold, 1966: 225).

The implications of the professionalization of the environmental movement were perceived by a Norwegian philosopher, Arne Naess. He identified the division that was developing in the environmental movement. One wing was large numerically and politically. It was bureaucratic, professional, Washington-centered and shallow or concerned

only with environmental reforms. The other wing was small in influence but growing in numbers, in tune with the concerns of early conservationist leaders such as Muir and Marshall.

The characteristics of the legislation produced by the national groups is instructive for clarifying what these different wings favor. Montague describes these laws as failing to "confront corporate decisions about industrial production, raw materials extraction or product development" (1989: 93). The process was too complicated for even the well educated citizen and created a situation in which the government and industry could maintain the balance of power by using high paid technicians who defined issues in terms of parts per billion. The focus was on controlling or managing the pollution <u>after</u> production, rather than removing offensive substances <u>from</u> the production process (Commoner, 1987).

As Washington D.C. environmentalists became less concerned with developing genuine grassroots support, a vacuum was created in which the grassroots groups flourished. The concerns that generated the mobilization of the grassroots organizations were the specific environmental problems in their own communities, for example, companies releasing toxic chemicals into drinking water. Since the communities which are affected by toxic waste are disproportionatly minority and working class, those who

joined the local environmental organizations included large numbers of minority and working class people (Bullard, 1984).

Conclusion: Two quilts

To summarize the primary differences between the national environmental organizations and the grassroots groups I will focus on the tactics. The two wings of the movement agree that environmental survival is at stake and that balancing societal needs with the ecosystem must be accomplished. Differences between the wings are manifested in the selection of means to attain that end.

A review of Appendix C will reveal that the beltway organizations seek funding from major corporations and foundations. Many, such as The Wilderness Society, Conservation Foundation, the National Wildlife Federation, and the Sierra Club, have wealthy families on their boards. There are some beltway organizations that acquire a significant amount of funds outside of foundations and corporations, an organizational characteristic that these organizations share is local chapters; the Sierra Club and Audubon Society are examples. In contrast, the grassroots and outside the beltway organizations primarily rely on support from individuals. Earth First! is the most militant outside the beltway organization. It uses ecotage or ecological sabotage to stop industrial development.

Greenpeace and Earth Island Institute (See Appendix C) do not use violence, but do favor direct and symbolic action which occasionally places activists in danger.

There is no sharp distinction between the national beltway or outside the beltway groups and grassroots groups. The local chapters within the beltway organizations may have agendas that are congruent with the above description of grassroots organizations. Even one organization can vacillate between these two categories. The Sierra Club is an example of an a group that began in the 1890s as a grassroots preservationist organization led by John Muir. It moved to become an established conservation organization after his death. The Sierra Club then swung toward the grassroots direct action in the years of David Brower's leadership in the 60's and 70's. In the late 1970's, a conservative Board forced Brower out and reinstituted a conservative conservation policy (Fox, 1985; Wenner, 1990).

The grassroots wing favors independent chapters setting their own agendas over Washington headquarters and lobbyists. They criticize the professionalization of the national groups for fostering an economic self-interest in career development. The national groups see theirs as the most effective path for changing society. The Big Ten considers militant groups, such as Earth First!, to be outside of the decision-making loop. They believe that fighting over each acre yields gains, at least, in the short

run. Seeking foundation grants will pay off in the long run and only slightly constrain day-to-day policy. But not to compromise would forsake whatever long-term gains could be accomplished (Wenner, 1990).

Some organizations specialize in particular areas, seeking to maximize their resources. National Resources Defense Council (NRDC) and Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) focus on litigation which enforces federal and state environmental laws, while The Nature Conservancy and The Wilderness Society focus on wilderness and preservation issues. They coordinate efforts when it is to their benefit (Berry, 1984; Grossman, 1990a). Many smaller grassroots groups have tried to operate alone in order to legitimate their unique contributions to the movement (Wenner, 1990). Another debate is whether the leadership or membership makes policy. Grassroots activists argue that the membership is the only part of the organization that can retain its militancy, because of the cooption of the lobbyists in Washington. Others argue that the Washington leadership of many organizations is considerably more radical than its membership (Wenner, 1990).

Tactical differences do not exhaust all the differences between the two wings. Differences concerning autonomy and the democratic inclusion of the grassroots, for example, are also significant. While upper-middle class environmentalists are relatively comfortable leaving the

decisions to the experts, working class environmentalists are not so sanguine. Experience has taught them that the experts do not always have their interests in mind. Therefore, working class environmentalists are more concerned about keeping power close to their communities.

This history strongly suggests that the two wings of the contemporary environmental movement comprise two separate quilts. They have different interests and concerns due to their different histories and demographic characteristics. The following chapter will focus on two particular sets of activists from grassroots environmental organizations to examine the evidence for this hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

PATTERNS IN THE QUILT: WORKSHOP DATA

The data analysis chapter highlights some of the designs that are evident in these quilts. Each concept is discussed separately as I suggest a design for the quilts.

Grievances: A Flint Stone

Grievances are an important point of initiation for many activists who are not involved until they experience toxic conditions. These situations are the flint that begins the fire of activism. They may be a polluting company, Superfund cleanup site, a contaminated well, or leaking landfill. This following scenario is typical of the workshop participants' descriptions.

A plant opens across the street from an individual who does not give it much thought. A few years later, in conversation with a plant employee, the employee advised her to move. This sparks her interest. She observes that several people on her street have developed similar cancers. The pattern causes some concern but she still is hesitant, until her neighbor develops cancer. Someone in such close proximity is the spark needed to push her into action. Health of family and children are a major concern. The idea

that government would allow contamination harmful to children has led many women to become involved. She joins the local toxic group.

Along with health concerns, the second major issue that served as a motivating grievance for workshop activists was the response received from officials, both governmental and corporate, regarding their concerns about health risks. In most of the communities where groups mobilized, a necessary ingredient was the refusal of elected community leaders and corporate leaders to respond directly to the needs of the community. Officials typically withheld information, conducted closed-door meetings, and sought to intimidate the citizens. These were typical complaints by activists:

The politicians, up there, they make the decisions and then that is the way it is going to be and the citizens have no right to question their actions.

They took away the democratic process.

Another activist summarizes their perception of the issue after attending several environmental meetings:

> More important than the issue of the pesticides [was] getting them [experts and elected leaders] to acknowledge our position and right to participate.

Targets: Walls and Smokestacks

The targets of the local activists are primarily local corporate and political leaders. The smokestacks represent the polluting entity and the walls are those targets that

stand in the way of the public's desire to plug the smokestacks. But these targets are not the initial focus. Many activists describe themselves as simply seeking information about a particular plant. Only after receiving abuse from local officials and plant representatives did the activists target them for protest activities.

Several examples of abuse by officials are especially powerful. A woman described a public meeting about extending a five year tax exemption to a plant. The meeting was attended by local elected and plant officials and residents of the community. Officials characterized those who opposed the extension as "jerks...ignorant, Nazis and communist...agitator, crackpot." This unexpected verbal attack on others forced her to confront an issue in which she had only minimal interest before the meeting. The attempt to browbeat her produced the opposite response. She became very interested in the opposition's message and became an active resistor to the proposed extension.

Another moving account was by a woman informed that her house had been constructed on a well contaminated by high concentrations of uranium, trichloroethylene, and other toxic chemicals. The flint stone that caused her to spark was the discovery that the company and the Department of Energy had withheld this knowledge from her for four years. She explained, "More than anything else it was the effects to my child. What mother would not walk to the end of the

earth for their child. And what mother would not want their child to grow up in a nice and safe environment." In both situations the women were ignited by the actions of agents entrusted with protecting the public. When they failed to do so, these agents then became targets for the local community activists.

A workshop activist who was involved in timber issues described how the timber industry became a target for him. He described the situation around a logger strike that included the use of yellow ribbons as a sign of industry support. The industry gave the ribbons to the workers and told them that they would lose their jobs if the industry did what environmentalists wanted. He saw the workers passively accepting the management's interpretation of the problem, as they placed the ribbons on their automobiles and homes. These actions spurred the activists to listened critically to the timber corporations argument regarding the spotted owl. He realized that the industry really was not concerned about the workers jobs, but their own profit margins. Drawing connections between the way both labor and nature were being exploited by the industry, he organized a coalition of environmentalists and labor to protect the spotted owl.

The process of moving from a non-politicized citizen to a politically active one is demonstrated in these quotes. Workshop activists were confronted by community elites who

did not want them to participate in the very decisions that affected them. As one activist said, "they took away the democratic process." This shocking confrontation contradicted activists' perception of American democracy. The shock led to anger and to confrontation with those officials who were viewed as, not only endangering lives, but threatening the very process of democracy itself.

Another occasional target is the established national environmental organizations. Many workshop activists described the national organizations as demanding control and making compromises that betrayed the community interests. Workshop activists still advocated working with the national organizations, but their negative experiences had taught them to see this help as a two edged sword. The relationship is fine as long as the grassroots group complies with the national organizations instructions, but when the they start making their own decisions, then the sparks fly.

Goals: Stars

The next coded concept was the purposes or goals of the workshop activists' actions. Some of the goals seem as far away as the stars both to the opponents and to the activists themselves. The moderator asked activists: "In your struggle, what do you see as the ultimate goal? Not what is achievable, but what is your pipe dream?" The

answers were divided among those focused on the individual toxic situation; those focused on the global connections and expressing reformist actions; and those focused on the global connections expressing radical actions. The first group suggested environmentally responsible actions that individuals can take in their own homes, such as recycling and composting. Also in the first group are those who focus on their children and the health and safety of their environment. This focus also influenced how they projected their frustration. One suggested she "would like to go to [the corrupt owner of a large privately owned coal company and solid waste company's] funeral." But for this group of workshop activists, the specific toxic situations they confronted in their communities were not seen to be connected to larger societal structures.

A second group of workshop activists was more global in ideology and adhered to a reformist model. These activists called simply for more education regarding environmental issues while maintaining the same economic and political structure. Some emphasized the goal of pressuring government in general and politicians in particular to fulfill their responsibilities, which would produce non-polluting plants and consequently, safe communities. The key idea for the reformist model was that the capacity exists for a just and safe order in the economic and

political structure, but the structure did not fulfill its promise. There was a gap between the ideal and the real.

Some reformists expressed a realization of the connectedness of their problem to other communities and situations, but still prescribed individualistic remedies. An example is the reformist desire for awareness or knowledge. Education through the media of newsletters, audio-visuals, and schools was consistently discussed. They identified the problem as a lack of understanding among the public. The assumption of many was that to know is to do. Parallel to the call for more awareness was the call for more compassion.

Finally, the third group of workshop activists expressed a global vision that included a desire for revolutionary change. Some simply professed anti-government sentiments, while others advocated a radical change in the economic and political structure. The anti-government message was a strong undercurrent of much of what the activists said. The impact of the public sphere's invasion of the private sphere was intense and sparked calls for more freedom, power, and self-determination. Rather than expressing anti-government sentiment, others focused their animosity on the corporation, characterizing the corporation as a soulless entity seeking only profits and ignoring workers' concerns. The following quote from an activist communicates some of this emotion:

> We the people, by the people, for the people have lost control to We the politicians and corporations. I would like to see We the people, by the people, for the people get back in control.

Probably the most interesting aspect of this was the dialogue was that when asked to verbalize ultimate goals what the activists actually described were strategies or actions. Richard Grossman (1990b) hypothesized that the reason the activists had such a hard time verbalizing there ultimate goals is that the distance between what is needed to fundamentally change the situation and where they live is so large that they can not make the conceptual leap to visualize such a radically altered reality.

Tactics: Open Palm Versus Closed Fist

Tactics are the actions chosen to attain the goals. The palm represents the appeal to negotiation and compromise, while the fist connotes confrontation without compromise.

Most activists emphasized the importance of negotiation when responding to the actions of corporate and political officials. The most popular methods reported were community meetings, public demonstrations, and litigation. They urged actions such as buying stock to legitimate attending stock-holder meetings, as well as exerting pressure upon politicians to act responsibly.

Much of the workshop discussions involved a desire to educate children. A teacher reported reading

environmentally conscious books to her students and asking, "What will you do with this land this time? The students were upset, 'don't let them mess up this piece of land this time. We've got to save this and preserve this.'"

Another tactical concern was recruitment. A concern was the free rider problem mentioned by Olsen (1965). While his work is designed for larger groups than most grassroots organizations, these groups still needed to mobilize a rather large minority of their communities in order to pressure the elected leaders for change. They complained of narcissistic citizens who did not care about their communities. The efforts to mobilize particularly poorer neighborhoods seemed to them to be daunting. One of the objectives of attending the workshop was to learn methods of attracting new members.

The debate concerned the group's public presentation: should they present only the limited demands of plant safety or the more radical, long term goals? A workshop activist described how her organization directly addressed this question in a nuclear facility. Group members decided not to push the disarmament message because they wanted first to persuade the workers and management to clean up the plant. They believed that if they pushed the no nukes message first that the people would not even talk to them. In responding to this activist, the moderator asked "If we recruited on the basis of are the beliefs that many agree to be important

in producing a Just World,... ban the bomb, favor abortion... would people join?" The overwhelming majority of workshop activists reacted negatively. The moderator suggested that if the activists first involved an individual in the mobilization to clean up the drinking water that was contaminated by the nuclear plant. Then after the individuals subsequent involvement in the organization, and they experience the offensive nature of the nuclear production, could that individual come to any other conclusion than working to ban the bomb is the most just response for a citizen? The activists again responded that no one could avoid that conclusion. This started a heated discussion between those who supported a strong defense and those who were anti-nuclear. The division is indicative of the differences within the group.

The moderator asked them how far they would go with their actions. Would they be willing to violate laws they thought were unjust? If so, which laws would be worthy of violation? This prompted a rather frank and animated discussion about the value of civil disobedience and sabotage, or as the Earth First!ers say, ecotage. The basic driving force for these workshop activists' support of civil disobedience was concern for the health of their children and themselves. Others pointed to "the powers that be" or "pollution for profit industries" as the spur for violating the law. When asked what does civil disobedience meant,

they gave such examples as "chaining yourself to a gate, or tree,...laying down in front of a truck...trespassing on nuclear facilities."

The discussion of principled lawbreaking reveals how far these homemakers and factory workers have traveled. They described themselves as "nice quiet" people who "rarely watched the news or looked at the newspaper," whom local officials transformed into "monster[s]." They were willing to spend much of their free time reading technical reports, recruiting members, and protesting corporate and governmental actions.

Networks: People Holding Hands in a Circle

Networks involve the people and institutions supporting the general aims of the activists. The pattern of holding hands is symbolic of the critical importance of community for both material and emotional resources.

The networks which supported these activists began with close friends and relatives. "A sister got me involved" and "a friend informed me" was heard over and over from workshop activists. These networks were important not only in recruiting participants but also in supporting them as participants. When asked what was their most important victory, the most prevalent answer was: the biggest victory is that we became involved. Others echoed the theme of community, "If we work together, we will go all the way.

And no one can stop us," or "Our biggest victory is that we have all gotten together and started fighting this thing." After everyone had responded the moderator said that there was one group that won a court settlement of one million dollars and every one of the workshop activists from that group talked about empowerment as their most important success and not the million dollars.

A potentially powerful network for the grassroots groups involves association with the national organizations. One discussion sets the stage for the national/local exchange. The activists were asked if they had ever received a call or letter from a national organization asking for their input on an issue; all responded negatively. Then they were asked if they had ever received a solicitation for funds; all replied affirmatively.

Some workshop activists reported that their experiences with the national organizations had given them a negative impression. They described a situation with an organization of grassroots groups located in the vicinity of Department of Energy military sites. National Defense Fund (NDF) and National Resources and Defense Council (NRDC) were advising them, but were infuriated when the grassroots group sent a press release on their own letterhead. The national organization's representatives expressed their anger to the activists. They felt that the local group was taking credit away from them and demanded future letterheads to

include the nationals' logos. Other activists had more positive experiences with national organizations. "We have had dealing[s] with Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes (CCHW) and they have really helped us."

Several workshop activists identified the Big Ten's source of funding as a reason for disliking to work with them. The national organizations all depend upon major corporations for funding, including waste management firms viewed by activists as corrupt (Tokar, 1990a). Others identify the problem as one of control. The workshop activists resent the established organizations' insistence on keeping their name in the limelight. While they appreciate the expertise of the national organizations, they feel resentful, fearing the absorption of their group and the subsequent loss of group identity.

When asked how the local groups should relate to the national organization, most felt that the expertise was too valuable to ignore. "We have to work with them, we cannot discard [them], they're too powerful." While agreeing for the most part, others spoke of the negative consequences of the Big Ten assistance:

> They are great when you first start out...They want to take you by the hand and walk you through...When you start coming into your own power and saying we want to do it this way. Then the friction starts. But just starting out grab'm and run with it.

Finally, activists agreed that it was up to the individual grassroots groups to decide with whom they would affiliate. What are their goals? What are your goals? "You can't be all things to all people?"

A workshop activist affiliated with the National Toxics Campaign urged fellow activists to work from the inside to change the Big Ten. This spurred several negative responses. One activist described a participant at an Ohio STP who attempted to reform national environmental groups from inside a Sierra Club chapter. He worked for five years to attain a more activist-oriented agenda, but all the other members wanted to do was "go on nature walks." Even with these frustrations, the Ohio activist described himself as remaining optimistic. Another activist described his own experiences with Audubon Society members in his community. The Society received a grant application from a grassroots group involved with environmental issues in the timber industry. The Audubon Society's lawyers argued for the exclusion of timber workers in the negotiating process. The workshop activist tried to persuade the local chapter members to demand worker inclusion but they responded that they were powerless to move against the leadership.

The need for a diversity of environmental groups was emphasized by many, one workshop activist drawing an analogy between the moderate and radical civil rights organizations and the two wings of the environmental movement. The

activist described how the moderate groups benefitted from the militant activity of the radical organizations. She clarified that she did not mean to imply that these moderate groups had the power to "trade our drinking water for Jersey," but that the movement needs organizations going different routes. This response pushed an emotional button: "But [at] the same time they don't speak for all people." This statement was made several times, always with strong intensity.

Workshop activists resented the Big Ten's attempts to portray themselves as spokespeople for the entire environmental movement. An activist described her first meeting with a national organization at which the representatives expressed amazement that the grassroots group had accomplished as much as it had without any outside assistance. She replied that she had never had any national group call and ask, "Are you having any problems? may we help you?." She reported, "The bottom line, when we left there, was that you are either with us or against us.... You [national groups] can either be with us and offer us your expertise, or you can go....Take that back to Washington."

Many workshop activists spoke of prior activism as a source of strength. They identified previous work experience with unions or community organizations. A union activist recalled that her first experience with toxic issues was as a member of the safety committee in the plant.

Another described his activity as a shop steward, saying that his spur to activism was the history of worker injustice by the corporations. He said, "I realized, that life we have is a fragile thing and it was paid for in blood. We cannot depend on the kindness of corporation." A workshop activist described how the community was galvanized by the proposed closing of the school. The city officials used closed door meetings to reach the decision and announced it in a newspaper article. The secretive process by the city officials agitated this activist and prepared both her and the community and her to address a local toxic issue as it developed.

Such institutional supports have been highlighted in other mobilization process (McAdam, 1988). Another important network for these activists was contact with similar activists through the STP workshops held at Highlander, as indicated by a rap song a group composed in honor of the workshops (See Appendix D).

Ideology: Glasses

Ideology is the system of beliefs or perspective people use to analyze the world (Gerlach and Hine, 1970). Glasses represent the capability of ideology to shape how we view those events.

The question in the workshops which spurred responses concerning goals could be also used in relation to ideology:

what system of beliefs, lifescape (Edelstein, 1987), world view or frame (Snow et al. 1980) provides a coherency to the lives of these activists. The same groupings are valid for ideology as well. Many activists adhered to a pluralist model, seeking only to make the system work correctly. Some argued that corporations are accountable to employees for how they treat the environment. Others charged that if the government was truthful, the environment would be clean and safe.

Still others were antagonistic to the government but viewed the source of the problem as corrupt individuals. One said, "Clean up the government... starting with the local and work its way up, all the way to the top. I don't think it stops anywhere." Others cited the problem or corruption of the local officials who supported the pollution producing local industry.

Some workshop activists held a power elite perspective, viewing the issue in terms of power relations and political decision making. Politicians were perceived as forsaking their own communities' interests in favor of the interests of large corporations. They argued that citizens must take back control from corporate and elected officials. They attributed the degradation of their communities to the citizens' abdication of their democratic roles.

Others with a radical interpretation believed that total economic reorganization was necessary. One workshop

activist described that what is needed is to "fundamentally reorient our economic systems so that they work towards sustainability... instead of profit." Another asserted an equally strong endorsement for economic change. "I do not think there is an incremental step before you replace the entire market system. We do not have a lot of time. I think it would be criminal on our part to compromise."

Another way of looking at ideology is seeing how people perceive compromise. Those who see compromise on environmental issues as a necessary ingredient in the political process also tend to view the world through a pluralistic lens. Those who believe such compromise connotes defeat tend to view the world through an elitist lens. Some of the no-compromise workshop activists saw the need to compromise in daily life, but drew the line at large fundamental issues. Many other activists had not reached the point of no compromise and expressed the contention that, regardless of the size, any victory is better than a defeat.

Two quotes presented earlier summarize and synthesize what many activists have to say:

> We the people, by the people, for the people have lost control to We the politicians and corporations. I would like to see We the people, by the people, for the people get back in control.

> I been in several environmental meetings and what comes out more than environmental goals is that is the goals democracy and power.

Many workshop activists limited their discussion to their relationship to companies by describing actions that individuals and groups can take after the production process is completed. There was little discussion is attempted that described citizen (both worker and community) involvement in the production process before the product is completed. This view assumes that the community is the servant of the corporation (and local government), rather than conceiving the corporation and government as subordinate to the public. Frustration, anger, and disillusionment were recurrent themes in conversations with workshop activists. Anger had originally been directed toward corporations, but was quickly refocused on local political corruption. Thus, it appears the central goal for future grassroots action will be democratizing the local political structure.

The interplay of these concepts is not limited to compartmental logic. The concepts have a dialectical relationship between each other. For example, ideology is important in the recruitment of the members. Anti-government sentiment is an easy source of agreement among many people within the community. The groups used this sentiment to raise interest in their organization, which provided a window of time to convince the individual of the necessity of the activists agenda.

As the nature of the grievance changes so does the ideology. If the grievance begins with clean water, the

ideology might begin as a pluralist's simple concern about finding the people responsible and informing them of their oversight. As the situation evolves into a power struggle involving local officials attempts to block the flow of information from the people, the grievance may be directed at the entire system. The ideology would then reflect a power elitist model. In this example the targets also evolved from the early target of the inefficient official to the entire system in the end. The same evolutionary development for the goals and tactics is also evident.

This chapter revealed the extent to which workshop activists perceived themselves and the national environmental movement as parts of two different quilts. The beginning of the next chapter discusses how these perception compare with the beltway organizations' concerns and goals. The goal of warmth may be shared, but the national quilt is not perceived to cover many of the workshop activists. They have woven a blanket to serve their needs, hoping that the national environmental organizations will eventually recognize the limitations of their own quilt and the utility of the grassroots activists' creations.

CHAPTER VI

SEWING UP: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In the final chapter, I summarize previous chapters, offer my conclusions, and suggest possible directions for research to proceed from this point. The first chapter introduced the central question of whether the entire environmental movement is represented by the beltway environmental organizations. The thesis is that the environmental movement should be considered two wings which support each other, but which are not identical. The interests of the grassroots and the beltway wings are different because of their dissimilar histories and demographic composition.

The second chapter reviewed the theoretical skeleton used to connect the historical and archival data. The dominant motifs were drawn from social movement theory, particularly resource mobilization, with supporting elements from environmental sociology.

One area not reviewed within the history of social movements is new social movements theory. New social movement theory provides a needed emphasis on the importance of autonomy and identity (Escoffier 1983; Kauffman 1991; Epstein 1991). Autonomy relates to the conception of self-

determination and control over immediate circumstances, while identity describes an awareness of self-efficacy. While the concepts of identity and autonomy are important aspects of the grassroots wing and of new social movement theory, the theory does not address social movements as they exist in praxis. New social movements theory developed in the context of European criticism of Marxism during the 60's and 70's. Therefore, the subject is not really social movements at all, but the demise of a hegemonic social theory (Plotke 1991). The focus in this thesis is theory based on American social movements.

A concern was the theoretical model used to describe the activists. There are serious theoretical problems with trying to fix the toxic movement into any extant social movement theory. The class composition runs counter to the new social movement theory's description of movements of upper-middle class, well-educated white, usually male, participants. Those who participated in the Highlander's workshops, as those in the larger toxics movement tended to be working class females.

A major weakness of the rational choice model of McCarthy and Zald (1987) when applied to the toxics movement is the emphasis on the need for outside organizers. Grassroots groups have organized with minimal outside assistance, sometimes even spurning it. The political process model of McAdam (1988) and Tilly (1986) seems to

offer more promise because this model would provide the ability to include the movement's challenge to power and knowledge, whether governmental, political, corporate or scientific. The focus on the ability of the community to organize itself relates to the important concepts of new social movement theory - autonomy and identity. The process of mobilization activates these important perceptions which provide a base for future action.

There is one problem that does not seem to be adequately addressed: the all-inclusive nature of resource mobilization theory. Resource mobilization theory includes everyone who studies the resources of movements. Therefore, McCarthy's rational choice analysis and Tilly's dialectically influenced political process models which have quite different theoretical roots are included under the same label. Should a theoretical model be delimited by the target of its focus or the ideological predisposition of the theorist? Therefore, I referred to them as rational choice model and political process model instead of resource mobilization theory by McCarthy and Tilly. Labels should assist the user in distinguishing what lies behind the label.

Masterson-Allen and Brown (1990) call for a new theory that includes elements of new social movements theory, resource mobilization and world systems theory. Whether one desires a new more inclusive theory or is content to use an

eclectic array of elements from various theories will vary with the disposition of the sociologist. My pragmatic bias suggests I adopt the latter course of action.

The fourth chapter presented the historical process which created the two wings of the environmental movement. The conclusion is that the grassroots wing of the environmental movement is entangled in a web of racial, gender, and class concerns that are not shared by the beltway environmental organizations. In light of this history, Chapter V analyzed data from workshop participant to assess whether grassroots activists concerns' differ from those of the national organizations. Six theoretical concepts were used to aid and organize the analysis.

Workshops Data Conclusions

As Walsh (1983) has demonstrated, the only aspect of the new social movements that might actually be considered new are the grievances that characterize the environmental movement. The literally life and death concerns provide grievances that dwarf others to such a degree that it could be viewed as a new problem. The health concerns of grassroots activists, their families, and friends help to spur action and even rebellion in formerly rather complacent citizens. A common activist theme is the desire to protect their children from even the smallest risk.

Risk perception constitutes a large part of the problem. The citizen perceives the problem in a different way than the government, corporate, or scientific expert. Edelstein (1987) indicates that the two groups use two different paradigms in approaching an environmental problem. The expert (Edelstein and I are primarily interested in governmental experts) desires to minimize concern among the general public; consequently, errors tend to take the form of asserting there is not a problem when there in reality is (Type I error). In contrast, the citizens want to rule out all possible danger; their errors tend to take the form of declaring a problem when one does not exist (Type II error). In a similar vein, the politician's interest is to maintain control while the private citizen's is to protect the public health. These conflicting desires and interests induce each side to perceive the risk in a way that agrees with their own interests and needs.

The conflicting perceptions of environmental risk create another grievance for the grassroots activists. Asserting their power to control the situation, many government leaders keep information from reaching the general public before they have packaged it. Adding insult to injury, their attempts to circumvent the inconveniences of democratic practice provide the grassroots activists with a second major source of irritation and motivation, generating further grievances. Whether or not a movement

develops depends upon the complex of other factors discussed in the following concepts. The sample only included those who chose to mobilize, so the communities that did not organize are not represented.

Another question needs to be addressed. Are the grievances of the citizens and the grievances of the established national organizations the same? The activists at these workshops believed that in many cases the Big Ten was just as interested in control as the governmental and corporate leaders they were opposing. As Grossman (1990a) has revealed, the very process of citizen involvement is made more difficult by the so-called successes of recent years by the national organizations (e.g., The Clean Air Act 1990). This reveals the national organizations' (as well as large corporations') desire to keep the agenda setting power in their hands - in the beltway.

The object of that grievance is the next concept: targets. For the grassroots activists, the primary targets were the local elected leaders and corporate officials. But an important point to be emphasized is that these targets only became targets after seeking to prevent what the citizens understood as their rights: knowledge and democratic input. These leaders sought to exclude the community from important decisions. The reasons for this exclusion can only be deduced, but it seems logical to assume the leaders felt that the inclusion of the community

would have complicated the decision making process. In some cases the leaders attempted to belittle and intimidate the citizens into accepting the situation, which only increased their animosity.

Another possible target could be the national organizations themselves. The evidence is clear that citizen participation is not a central element in the Big Ten's agenda (See Appendix C), therefore the organizations do not oppose legislation which limits citizen participation. If citizen participation is as important to other grassroots activist as it is to the workshop activists, a logical course of action is for the grassroots groups to actively oppose the beltway organizations' efforts to limit their participation.

What are the targets of the national organizations and are they congruent with the local organizations? The beltway organizations targets are primarily the regulatory agencies. It is believed that through these agencies the corporations can be most effectively constrained. The national organizations rarely deal with local elected leaders or local corporate leaders. As the grassroots groups sometimes view the national groups as a target, so the national groups sometimes view grassroots groups. On many occasions the Big Ten has viewed the grassroots environmental groups as brush fire to be squelched (Manes, 1990 & Scarce, 1990).

Once the grievances and targets have been delineated, then the desired ends are developed: goals. The review of the literature on grassroots toxic activists revealed a division between the social scientists and the activists themselves. The social scientists supported a depiction of the activists as seeking mainly autonomy and self-determination, congruent with the new social movement literature. While some activists preferred to describe themselves in more radical political/economic terms, this study indicates that both descriptions of the activists are valid. Some activists are more concerned with self determination and autonomy while others call for sweeping political and economic transformation. One possible explanation is the continuum of politicization mentioned earlier. The activists calling for more radical change tend to have been involved for longer periods of time, while the activists calling for self-determination tend to have been involved for shorter periods of time. There appears to be a need for a period of resocialization before these citizens could adopt the more radical positions. Only those workshop activists who underwent a period of resocialization in the toxics movement or other political organizations espoused an elitist perspective. The workshop activists with a pluralistic perspective calling for measures which assumed that the system was fair, all the players were equal, and that the only thing wrong was that a few people were

corrupting the process were those who had not yet spent as much time in the grassroots organizations.

What are the goals of the beltway organizations and are they in harmony with the grassroots groups? Many of the workshop activists sensed the importance of control to the national organizations' representatives they met. It concerned them that control was the most important goal of the Big Ten. The resistance of local activists to play the role of legitimating the environmental bureaucracy (e.g., to carry the Big Ten letterhead) is an example of this perceived power complex. The goals of the Big Ten depend on the design of the organization, but are centered primarily in Washington and secondarily in the state capitals. Most Big Ten actions are focused on legislative and regulative outcomes, with limited interested in legal decisions (See appendix for more details). These are important tasks that the grassroots activists cannot do by themselves and the activists respect the established organizations' expertise. But it disturbs grassroots activists that actions are taken without their input in the development of the agenda and that some of these actions actually discourage their participation. It was exclusion of the grassroots which spurred the emergence of thousands of local groups. This early exclusion partially explains the continued alienation of the grassroots groups from the Big Ten. It will be informative to see if the newer national organizations that

have developed around toxic issues such as National Toxic Campaign (NTC) and Citizens Clearinghouse on Hazardous Waste (CCHW) will follow the path of the Big Ten and concentrate on Washington and state capitals, ignoring grassroots mobilization and grassroots input in policy formation.

After the ends are selected the organization develops the means to achieve those ends: tactics. The tactics chosen by the workshop activists were divided along the lines of goals and ideology. Most supported pluralistic tactics, such as negotiation with corporate and governmental leaders. These and other strategies endorsed by pluralists, such as attendance at community meetings, buying stock, and electing responsible leaders, assume an open and democratic political field. Other workshop activists, while not discounting the need to pursue the above actions, favored more confrontational tactics such as public demonstrations and litigation. They saw such actions as more productive, because of their experiences with political intransigence. The no-compromise attitude of the power elite activists differed from the others who still had faith in the political process. A tactic that cut across tactical preferences was the education of children. All agreed on the need to socialize children to be environmentalists and to live ecologically aware lives.

The tactics of the beltway organizations were most congruent with the group of workshop activists favoring

negotiation. Both the beltway organizations and pluralist activists have the same faith in the compromise process to produce long term benefits with the arena of negotiation being the variable. The question is, will the compromise or no compromise coalition eventually dominate the toxic movement. If the compromise coalition becomes the dominant voice, perhaps then the Big Ten have some justification for its claim to be the spokespeople for the toxic faction of the environmental movement. Conversely, their claim will continue to be in dispute if the no-compromise coalition become the dominant influence at the grassroots level.

An important element in the development and maintenance of any voluntary association is the social network system. The importance of friends in attracting movement participants and keeping them involved are constant themes. The very definition of success was operationalized by workshop activists themselves as becoming involved in the community of activists. This highlights the importance of identity issues, as championed by the social movement theorists. The relationship between the national and local organizations was another important network. The evidence from the workshop activists is that these potentially powerful allies hampered their own efforts by seeking to control the grassroots groups. Their expertise was seen as valuable, particularly in the early stages of mobilization, but the bureaucratic power concerns of the national

organizations tended to submerge the local's particular goals and consequently disempower the grassroots activists.

The conception of the two wings of the environmental movement as serving different roles is intriguing. Grassroots activists could propose radical actions which would help to legitimate the more modest actions advocated by the beltway organizations. But this implies that the two wings do not have the same goals and so the national organizations would not have grounds to support their claims of universal representation.

The statement that there is not a clear dichotomy between beltway and grassroots and outside the beltway organizations should not be underemphasized. A continuum of organizations exist with

Another essential element of any social movement is the belief system or ideology shared by the members. The ideology of the workshop activists covered the spectrum from those who accepted a pluralist conception of the political field and considered the real problem to be one of faulty execution of the political system to those who proposed that the problem was one of unequal power relations between groups. The latter group was small but vocal in calling for the total reorganization of the economic and political structure. In between these two extremes were the reformers who saw the system in pluralistic terms, but were

somewhat antagonistic to the process, conceiving the problem as one of corrupt political or corporate leaders.

Along with different goals, the issue of ideology proposes a problem of tactics. The ideological differences are a contentious issue when the strategy of compromise is proposed. Activists are divided between those calling for a no-compromise position on fundamental environmental issues and those who see compromise as proper tactic to achieve environmental ends. This debate will influence every facet of the grassroots environmental movement, including their relationship with allies, adversaries, national organizations, and other grassroots organizations. If the pro-compromise strategy eventually predominates, the national organizations can legitimately claim to be the universal representative of a single environmental movement. But if the no-compromise strategy is chosen by a large segment of the grassroots segment of the movement, the legitimacy of that claim is highly questionable.

The analysis of workshop activists suggests that at least a portion of the grassroots movement believes that their concerns are not addressed by the mainstream movement. The present study was not designed to prove or disprove the thesis, therefore no conclusive assumption can be given. Further investigation with more rigorous procedures in many more contexts are needed before a researcher could propose a more strongly worded conclusion.

Tangential Issues

Many other important issues are a part of the whole picture. These are described as tangential to this study, and not meant to imply a derivative nature. One issue is whether the movement should be considered as two non-identical wings. The analogy by one workshop activist suggested a similar issue regarding the two wings of the civil rights. The moderates, led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League benefitted from the actions of more radical organizations such as Students Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the Committee on Racial Equality. The moderates used the radicals positions to win compromises from the politicians. This radical flank policy could be better used by the environmental organizations if they made a clearer distinction between the national organization and the radical segments of the grassroots movements (Steinhart 1987).

The neglect of racial, gender, and class issues in the environmental movement reflects the white, professional, male bias. Some have attempted to correct for these biases but together they communicate a major weakness in the mainstream movement. The elitism accusation that Morrison has dismissed must be reevaluated.

McAdam (1990) and Cable (1990) have begun the process of directly addressing the issue of gender in social movements. Grassroots activists tend to be predominantly female, which contrasts with the male dominance of the national environmental organizations. The concerns of the grassroots movement are affected by feminine influence, with constant images of children, family, and community. The language of the expert is a logic of rational thought divorced from empathetic understanding. While it may be understood by the mainstream environmentalists, it is a foreign language to people who see no need for the separation of heart and mind.

Race is another element that has been neglected. Bullard's work has been the only significant research on the problems of race and the environment (1984 and 1990). Not surprisingly, the conclusion is that linkages between environmental issues and race are critical. Often the effects of environmental damage are disproportionatly directed at minority communities. These activists included Native Americans who have traditionally received the brunt of the public land policies of the United States government. The belief that minorities would not mobilize because their jobs were linked with polluting industries is being undermined by the dozens of minority dominated communities that have mobilized around environmental issues.

The third tangential issue is class. Problems of class are central to the patterns found in the grassroots quilt. Working class activists typically do not share the faith in experts that professionals have. The profound lack of confidence generated by mobilization regarding elected officials, corporate leaders, and scientific experts places these grassroots activists in a confrontational relationship with the experts, rather than in a negotiating position. The basic situation is "us" against "them," and the conception is mediated through the lens of social class. A related concept is power. The working class, deals daily with being the object of other groups' use of power. Not surprisingly, the desire to seek control over their own existence is a constant theme. While the professional class which dominates the mainstream movement is not threatened by leaving important decisions up to experts in regulatory agencies, the working class, grassroots activists see such actions as taking power away from them and giving it to others. The decline of legitimacy that Habermas (1973) described was evident among the workshop activists. They perceived the intrusion of the public spheres deep into their own lives or private sphere and resented it. While the violation has occurred across all demographic borders, it would seem safe to assume that the effects upon women, minorities, and the working and poor classes have been disproportionate.

Linked to the issue of power is the place of knowledge as a tool of control. Technical expertise is not only a valued commodity, but, by withholding knowledge, experts can retain a position of power over a community. Again Habermas' (1984 and 1986) more recent work has involved defining what a totally free relationship would actually entail. His description of communication distorted by power is precisely the issue between communities and the power holders (elected officials, corporate officials and regulatory officials). Since Habermas has not described how we get from a situation of distorted communication to a situation of totally egalitarian communication, the issue of equalizing access to knowledge needs further attention.

Given the weak power positions of the grassroots activists, it might seem surprising how often they talk about empowerment. The process of mobilization was a galvanizing experience for most. I am reminded of conservative Protestant religious retreats of my youth and of Gerlach and Hine's research on the Pentecostal movement. In such retreats people were asked to give testimonials about their salvation experiences. The same sort of emotional environment was present as the activists talked of being empowered by their activism. So important was the feeling of efficacy and self-fulfillment that specific successes of the movement were mentioned only later.

A major criticism of the identity movements of the past two decades such as the women's movement and self-help movement is that they emphasized personal empowerment over societal empowerment (Kaufman 1991). There was some element of a focus on personal empowerment in the STP workshops. Women talked of losing a husband and children and of moving away from home. They described a feeling of purposelessness that was extinguished only with their activism. While a very few workshop activists could be described in this way, it would be grossly unfair to say that their vision stopped with themselves. One beauty of activism is that, while many begin with their eyes directed inward, the process itself brings them to a realization of others not only in their own communities but also around the country and the globe.

What specific research needs are revealed by this analysis? The questions concerning elitist and pluralist predispositions could be given to additional sample populations from many differing regions with different and mobilizing issues. Another tack could be using the organization as a unit of analysis rather than individual activist. Then grassroots groups with differing issues and demographic characteristics could be compared. An important continuation of this research would be drawing connection between other working class movements and these toxic activists organizations. A tool for seeking these

connections could be the development of a series of focused questions which have the goal of assessing the ideological disposition.

This study was focused on the grassroots organizations. Other studies on the national organizations and particularly the organizations that have local chapters should be attempted. Do the local chapters have a more radical or less radical approach to environmental issues? One element of this comparison between groups would be to distinguish the various organizations from each other in some systematic fashion. Perhaps a division of the groups by the era that they were founded. The type and style of the organizations seemed to be highly influenced by their early historical circumstances.

There are aspects of the thesis I would change if I did it again or had more time to develop it. The transcripts would have been typed by someone else rather than me, which would have allowed more time for analysis. Another coder would be employed to check for the accuracy of my codes. For those who desire quantification, I would have used percentages to indicate the numerical relationship of the different types of responses. Finally, the one aspect I regret the most is the need for a clearer distinction between the different groups so that the movement could be depicted as a continuum rather than a dichotomy.

Last Stitches

The symbolic thread was a quilt. It is an expression of artistic communication which is a universal cathartic response to the need to express deep emotion. Within a void constructed by experience which resists easy synthesization, the grassroots activists create poetry, music, crafts, murals, stories, and quilts. The sharing does not stop with the initial creation, but continues with each rearticulation or use of that creation. It synthesizes experiential knowledge with rational knowledge that empowers the knower. The conflict between patterns of knowing should not be overlooked or underappreciated as a source of contention.

Even though much of this thesis has focused on what was said, the most moving aspect of the workshop was the sense that words could not capture the contradictory conceptions of disillusionment and efficacy. I do not think that either alienation or efficacy was merely my projection. Alienation was produced by activists' sense that the situation had moved beyond their reach; that democratic principles had ceased their effectiveness; that they were only observers in the drama of their own communities; that basic knowledge was being withheld from them; and that they were becoming objects for all experts (corporate, governmental, and environmental) to act upon. Self-fulfillment and efficacy grew from solidarity with a cause greater than oneself; by a

developing sense of identity as a person who could act and not just respond; by an enlargement of the definition of community from the modern notion of a nuclear family to include, not only surrounding neighbors, but all those in similar conditions of oppression.

These conflicting images of efficacy and disillusionment give the images on the quilt of the grassroots movement a diversity of hues and intensities that belies the mainstream movement's assertion of a single front to the movement. Both movements would be better served by admitting the diverse nature of the movement and using the radical theatrics to force the political center to compromise with the radical yard stick, rather than portraying uniformity and using the moderate yardstick to begin the compromise process with the political center.

The verbal motif of the workshops was, "We want control!" Grassroots activists want to participate in decisions that will effect theirs and their children's lives. This is the message of, not only these particular activists, but whole aggregates of people in the U.S.: females, minorities, working class, and poor. A thesis that began with the mundane question of organizational representation ends by touching on several of the most contentious issues in modern western life: How can a citizenry regain its lost legitimacy in government? How can the citizens check unelected officials' (regulatory

officials') actions? What is the line between the public and private spheres? How can technical knowledge be democratized? How can we move from an economic system based on the exploitation of nature to one assimilated with the web of life? What does such an economic system look like?

Even as the questions seem to float into the stratosphere, the problems of the grassroots activists require answers quickly. The activists have learned from personal and painful experience what Martin Luther King communicated, that justice is not given freely to people, but is something that the people have to vigilantly demand (King, 1986).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

STP I

*Excerpted from an evaluation of the STP schools in July of 1990.

Friday night: Participants introduced themselves and gave brief descriptions of the types of issues on this they were working. Participants also discussed what they hoped to gain from he workshop and what their concerns or fears were in attending the workshop.

Saturday morning:

Participants introduced themselves, providing an opportunity for new arrivals to introduce themselves, and then they discussed:

What was the biggest victory? Using a round robin format, participants described what they saw as their biggest victory in their fight for a cleaner environment. A volunteer from the group wrote the responses on newsprint.

Who benefits? Again using a round robin approach, participants listed on newsprint and discussed the various parties who gain from the process of polluting the environment.

What are the barriers? During this discussion participants listed and examined some of the factors which keep them from being as effective as possible.

Saturday afternoon:

Small group discussion: Participants are divided into small groups and each group developed a role play involving an industry announcing that they were locating a plant, incinerator, or hazardous waste dump in the community. Within each group, participants chose roles (e.g., politician, scientist) and developed a scenario for informing the community of the benefits of the industry's actions. After the small groups had come up with a plan, each group acted out its role play in front of the large group, followed by questions and discussion. After all groups had presented, the entire group examined the lessons learned from the role plays. In other

workshops, small groups were formed to discuss other agenda items in more depth, such as goals and strategies. Again, these small groups reported back their findings to the larger group.

Saturday evening:

What tactics are used against us? During this discussion participants shared some of the tactics which they saw being used against them. These tactics were listed on newsprint.
Where is the opposition vulnerable? Participants listed where and why the opposition may be vulnerable. Responses were printed on newsprint.

Sunday Morning:

What can we do? Actions? Strategies? Participants discussed both broad and specific strategies which could be used to fight the opposition.

Evaluation of the workshop: This included discussion about: Was the apprehension realized? Were expectations met? What are you going to do differently? What can the STP schools do better?

****

Agenda for STP II

Same basic format with these questions substituted in this order for the questions above:

Friday Night: Same as above.

Saturday Morning:
Why did we get involved?
How did we get others involved?

Saturday Afternoon:
Ultimate goals?
If we could have one wish granted, what would we wish could come true?

What is an acceptable compromise?
In relation to the ultimate goal, what are we willing to settle for?

How far would we go to attain the goal?
Would we break the law? Which laws? How?

Saturday Night & Sunday Morning: Same as Above.

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION METHODS AND PROCEDURES

(1) **Grievances.** Reasons for taking action.
(2) **Goals.** The ends desired.
(3) **Target.** The entity (or entities) in their community that are opposed to the purposes of the SMO and/or the object of movement activity (e.g.: corporations, municipality, federal agent, media...)
(4) **Tactics.** The methods used by grassroots toxic-waste groups to achieve their goals,(e.g.: petitions, protests, litigation...).
(5) **Network.** The interactions with (a) other grassroots organizations, (b) national organizations, and (c) other groups supportive of the SMO's purposes
(6) **Ideology.** Coordinated belief system.

From the transcripts of the workshops, the comments made by participants will be grouped into these categories: Grievances (E), Goals (G), Targets (T), Tactics (X), Networks (N), and Ideology (I) comments not relevant to the above analysis will be placed into a separate file.

Table of Possible Key Indicators:

Comments against present system:
-challenges expert's (government or business) right to make decisions
-desires citizen input into the production process of business or government (e.g. questions the right of government to produce binary nuclear weapons rather than just complain about the location of the toxic dump)
-asserts the right to act directly, not waiting to let government act for them (e.g."if the government will not stop the company from polluting, we will shut down the plant ourselves)
-any comment that reveals a profound lack of trust in the government to protect the people's interests (e.g. health) etc.

The comments would be classified in the following manner. For example:

> **"SA"** would refer to a comment about strategy that would not challenge the present economic-political system.
>
> **"PB"** would refer to a comment about the purpose for an activity that would challenge the present economic-political system.

TRANSCRIPTION CODING EXAMPLE

E+T E+I

Fighting a siting of low level nuclear waste site. "they took away the democratic process. They will be no more public meeting. You can't talk about it anymore...it was pretty overwelming. We kept thinking we were really doing something, but it was becoming less and less democratic and more and more secretive. And then I realized that there were very quiet victories going on underneath the surface...what was happening was we were networking." The networking spiraled outside the community to meeting people from other areas of the state "which led to national conferences" which led to a meeting from a parlamentarian from Sweden "who talked about the 240 green parlimenarians over the world...Then I realized that our coming together around issues, the process of doing that was a victory...The battle that we fight which is very important, this larger issue is happeing as well."

E N G

"We did not give up...We did not stop."

Hand Watkins his report card. A for rhetoric and f for everything else.

X

"We are not going to stop...We are not going to let them pollute our river. We live on that river. That river is the reason we are there. If it wasn't for the river our town would not be there. We are not going to let them do it."

E G

"The biggest victory is that we became involved, period. I can remember growing up, before I new what the real world is all about, I was such a patriotic person, I thought we had the greatest government. Our greatest victory is letting the world know how our government operates - polluting its own people in the name of national security.

E

Oregon. "If we[environmental activists] do anything that cause other people to get hurt, then we bring ourselves down to the level of

X

APPENDIX C

ENVIRONMENTAL PROFILES

Edited profiles from Lettie McSpadden Wenner's (1990) **U.S. Energy and Environmental Interests Groups: Institutional Profiles**. New York: Greenwood Press.

A few brief comments about these profiles are in order. Wenner (1990) divided the interest groups into three categories: business corporations and trade associations; not-for-profit public interests groups; and professional, research, and governmental organizations. The trade and business groups have the best financial resource base of the categories. It is Wenner's opinion that these groups' strength derive from the common belief in the free enterprize system by most of the population, and not from any specific service they provide. The public interest group is very difficult to organize and must depend upon a common belief system with goal directed activity to bind the members together. The last group is professional, research and governmental interest groups. The participants are career oriented, therefore have an economic interest to consider.

The variability of the groups that hang the label environment above their mantel should give one pause.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Big Ten Noted by "*"

Two Big Ten not listed are The National Parks Ass and Defenders of Wildlife. Both are more focused on their single issue and their positions are represented by the other Bib Ten organizations.

The Conservation Foundation (CF)*

History and Development

In 1948, Fairfield Osborn, then president of the New York Zoological Society, founded The conservation Foundation (CF), arguing that the basic natural resources -air, water, energy, land and animal and plant life-are finite and must be conserved by humankind if it is to survive. In collaboration with four associates George E. Brewer, David H. McAplin, Samuel H. Ordway, Jr. and Laurance Rockerfeller, Mr Osborn stated the purposes of the new organization were to be the "conservation of the earth's life-supporting resources-animal life, forests and other plant life, water sources, and productive soils-and to advance, improve, and encourage knowledge and understanding of such resources, their natural distribution and wise use, and their essential relationship to each other and to the sustenance and enrichment of all life" (certificate of incorporation of The conservation Foundation, 1948).

Organization and Resources

CF's forty-two member board of directors comes from a variety of professions-politicians, such as former Governor Richard Lamm of Colarado; executive officers of major corporations, such as Richard Ruckelshaus CEO of Browning Ferris Industries; academics, including Professor Raymond F. Dasmann, of the University of Southern California; conservationists, including Christine Stevens, president of the Animal Welfare Institute; and major foundations, notably George H. Taber, vice-president of the Richard King Mellon Foundation. Obviously, the board represents a board range of opinion and seeks to balance development and conservation values and to find consensus on these issues. It selects the president of CF and its own successor board members.

In 1985 CF joined the World Wildlife Fund*(astrict denotes an organization that has a profile in the appendix) to share facilities, staff and a chief executive officer, William K. Reilly, president of both organizations. He remained in that position until late in 1989 when President Bush selected him to head the EPA. At that time Katherine Fuller, formerly a vice-president of WWF, was selected to succeed him. CF's professional staff of over fifty is engaged in research and communication of findings in areas of concern to conservationists. It is exempt from federal income tax under

Sections 501(c)(3) of the internal Revenue Code and has no official lobbying activities.

CF is not a membership organization. It derives its support from foundations and corporations such as the Arco, Charles Stewart Mott, Andrew Mellon, and James and Marshall field Foundations; and the Eastman Kodak, Exxon, Standard Oil, Union Carbide, Du Pont, and Dow Chemical Corporations. In 1988 its revenues totaled over $5 million, up from $4 million in 1987. Over $2 million came from foundations and corporations, much of it earmarked for particular projects. Government contracts and grants for specific projects totaled over $1.5 million. The remaining revenue derived from investments, sales of publications, and individual contributions.

General administrative, communications, and support activities, including fund-raising, consume 20 percent of the budget. The remainder is divided into program areas; 15 percent land and wildlife, 19 percent environmental quality, 15 percent environmental dispute resolution, 16 percent international environment, 8 percent general programs, and 7 percent communications. In 1977 there were six areas of concentration: public lands management, coastal resources management, land use and urban growth, economics and the environment, pollution control and toxic substances, and energy conservation. By 1989 the emphasis had shifted somewhat away from land-use issues to greater focus on consensus building and international affairs.

POLICY CONCERNS

The largest single program concerns environmental quality and trends. In 1982 CF issued its first State of the Environment, a comprehensive look at all environmental issues from natural resource management to pollution control and the public policies that have been adopted to address them. This volume at its subsequent editions have replaced the Annual Reports of the Council of Environmental Quality, whose budget was severely restricted during the Reagan administration. CF also focused attention on the need to develop public (both state and national) policies that emphasize the interrelatedness of different kinds of pollution and the need to find solutions that will recognize the cross-media nature of pollution control.

The land and wildlife program remained CF's second largest program. Specific projects were developed around these interest areas: national parks, forest management, agricultural lands, urban growth, historic preservation, protection of barrier islands and outdoor recreation. A third major area of interest is water. Groundwater contamination through nonpoint sources like agricultural runoff was an example of a major project for CF. Their position papers on erosion influence the drafting of Clean Water Act amendments

dealing with nonpoint sources of pollution, which were approved and passed over the president's veto in early 1987.

TACTICS

In 1988 CF and WWF founded the Osborn Center for Economic Development in order to help developing nations devise sustainable economic programs. In so doing they joined many other environmental organizations in their concern for the way in which international banking institutions and the U.S. government through its Agency for International Development have encouraged Third World countries to invest in massive irrigation and power projects. Through the Osborn Center CF hopes to develop pilot projects that will enable developing counties to find ways of sustaining their populations without destroying their natural resource base through soil erosion, chemical contamination of land and water , and loss of biological diversity. In cooperation with the Biomas Users Network of Costa Rica, CF hopes to prompt use of agricultural and forestry by-products in order to make traditional commodities, such as tropical fruit and rubber, more profitable.

One of the most important programs on CF's agenda in the 1980's was its dispute resolution program. Since its inception the Foundation has attempted to bring together environmentalists and members of the business community as well as government officials and academics in cooperative endeavors. Since 1982 the Foundation has conducted an Agricultural Chemicals Dialogue Group in which it attempt to facilitate consensus among chemical corporations and church and environmental groups about various ways of reducing the misuse of agricultural chemical in developing countries.

It helped EPA negotiate rules regarding underground injection of hazardous wastes and procedures for modifying hazardous waste facility permits with industry and environmental groups before the rules were published as proposed regulations.

Staff members of CF testify before congressional committees about issues under review there, run and participate in conferences and organize and conduct symposia. Their primary activity, however, is research and writing reports.

ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND (EDF)*

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

In 1966 a Long Island attorney, victor Yannacone, filed a lawsuit on behalf of his wife against the Suffolk county Mosquito Control Commission to stop its spraying of DDT which was killing fish and wildlife in the area. To substantiate his charges Mr. Yannocone sought expert help from scientists

who could furnish facts about the impact of DDT. His search for scientific talent led him to the Brookhaven Town natural Resource Committee, some of whose members later helped found the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF). Encouraged by their successful lawsuit, the Yannacones and eight scientist friends incorporated EDF on October 6, 1967, without capital, members, or officers, and files suit to stop DDT and dieldrin spraying in Michigan and Wisconsin. Ultimately these suits had the effect of getting the U. S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to ban DDT in the United States.

The board, which sets policy for EDF, numbered thirty-six in 1989 and was headed by Frank E. Loy, who is also president of the German Marshall Fund of the U.S. Other trustees include Dr. Irving Selikoff of Mount Sinai School of Medicine and several partners of major law firms. The executive director , Frederick D. Krupp, heads a staff of about 100, including 17 attorneys and 29 scientists and economists. Headquarter in New York, with six regional offices. EDF's revenues in 1989 were over $12 million, of which about 57 percent came from dues of $35 from its 100,000 members, plus other contributions. The remainder came from foundation grants, 27 percent; investments, 5 percent; government grants, 3 percent; bequests, 7 percent; and attorneys fees from successful cases, 1 percent. EDF spends 80 percent of its budget for program activities. These are divided into energy and air, 11 percent; toxic chemicals, 18 percent; membership information, 6 percent; and legislative action, 1 percent. Support services take up the remaining 20 percent, including general administrative expenses, fund-raising, and membership development.

POLICY CONCERNS

In the 1980's EDF concentrated on four major program areas: energy, toxic chemicals, wildlife preservation, and water and land resources. It conducted research on acid rain and argued for increasing limits on sulfur oxides and other emissions under the Clean Air Act (CAA). In the late 1980's EDF turned its attention to two major air pollution problems: depletion of the ozone layer int he upper atmosphere and global warming due the greenhouse effect caused by accumulated carbon dioxide. In September 1987, EDF helped to secure an international protocol singed in Montreal freezing the use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFC's) at present levels and seeking to halve use of the chemicals by 1999 in order to slow the ozone depletion problem.

Another EDF priority is its desire to reduce human exposure to toxic materials, such as asbestos, though strict air pollution standards and by keeping hazardous wastes out of landfills and the water supply. From 1983 to its amendment in 1987, EDF representative testifies in hearings before Congress to reauthorise and amend the Resource Conservation and

Recovery Act (RCRA), which control the disposal of hazardous wastes. It argued to ban land disposal of liquid hazardous wastes, to eliminate the exemption for small generators, for more inspections by EPA, for controlling exports of hazardous wastes, and to allow intervention by citizen suits and to award attorney's fees for successful interventions.

EDF also testified in favor of the Superfund Amendment and Reauthorization ACT of 1987 (SARA), and for a victim compensation fund, which Congress did no pass. it argues against excessive use of pesticides, which run off into the water table, and for tighter controls over under ground storage tanks for gasoline and other hazardous materials.

Under it water and land resources program EDF staffers have argued for eliminating the need for more dams and irrigation projects through conservation and more efficient use of water. For example urging the farmers irrigation rights should sell some of their water rights to cities. In international issues, EDF seeks to substitute creating sustainable yields in nuts and rubber, for forced relocation of populations in Brazil and India. In the area of wildlife protection, it has argued for the inclusion of many more species to be included in the Endangered Species Act.

TACTICS

In its early years, EDF concentrated on bringing together environmental attorneys and natural scientists to pursue law cases primarily against governmental agencies in order to force them to become more environmentally aware of the consequences of their actions. In the 1980's EDF added a number of economists to its staff and sought to find innovative solutions to problems of unemployment and water and energy supply that are less ecologically damaging than traditional ones. While continuing to advocates strong laws and to go to court to have them enforced, it has sought to cooperate with former antagonists such as major utility companies and convince them to invest in conservation and alternative energy supplies. EDF leadership perceives this as the third stage of environmentalism after the initial consciousness-rasing and confrontation stages.

EDF staff, for example, developed a computer model to compare the cost-effectiveness o traditional utility investment in generating plants with alternative such as conservation through insulation , cogeneration, load management, and energy-efficient alliance. It tackled this problem by direct negotiations with large utilities and argued that it could save consumers money while increasing the utilities own profit margin.

EDF publishes a newsletter five times a year for its membership to inform them of recent court victories as well as other developments in the environmental field. It also

publishes an annual report as well as occasional research reports and books on specific ecological topics.

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY INSTITUTE (EPI)*

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

the Environmental Policy Center was founded as an environmental organization designed to help citizens throughout the United States influence deciion makers in Washington on environmental issues. In 1974 the EPI was established to provide research and educational leadership on the same issues; in 1982 the two organizations merged into one and kept the name Institute. In July 1986 the board select Michael S. Clark to be president of EPI. Immediately before going to EPI, clark had served as director of the Northern Lights Institute, a research center serving grass-roots groups in Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming; before that he had worked in the Highlander Center in Tennessee on problems of strip mining and poverty in Appalachia. In January 1989 the board of EPI voted to merge the Friends of the Earth (FOE), the FOE Foundation , and the Oceanic Society (OS). Like the FOE Foundation, EPI is eligible to receive tax-deductible contributions under 501(c)(3) of the tax code. FOE remained the 501(c)(4) group with an active membership and lobbying mission. Michael Clark became executive director of all four groups.

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

EPI policy is formulated by a twenty-one member board of directors, including Robert Redford, David Zwick, former Nader raider, and Marion Edey, former head of the League of Conservation Voters. In the 1980s EPI reported receiving 55 percent of its income from foundations, 23 percent from individual donations, 12 percent from corporate grants, 8 percent from earned income, and 2 percent from churches and civic organizations. Its reported expenditures were for the following research programs: nuclear waste, insurance and weapons, 22 percent; agriculture, 12 percent; toxic chemicals, 8 percent; international development, 9 percent; oceans, coasts, and estuaries, 12 percent; water resources and groundwater protection, 14 percent; energy conservation, 5 percent; strip-mining, 7 percent. Policy development accounted for 3 percent; communications, another 3 percent; and other 5 percent. In 1989 the combined budget of EPI, POE and OS was estimated at $2.5 million. In 1989 FOE/EPI/OS had a thirty-three-member staff and a separate nine-member Not Man Apart newsmagazine staff in its Washington office.

EPI is not a membership organization, but it does request donation from interested individuals and foundations. It

primary purposes are to provide information to grass-roots organizations throughout the United States, the news media, government agencies, and industry, and to lobby in Washington for environmental policies.

POLICY CONCERNS

One of EPI's major priorities concerns U.S. nuclear programs; it seeks to phase out U.S. dependence on nuclear power, to end worldwide production and testing of nuclear weapons, and to protect the environmental and people form nuclear fuel cycle. It has worked to remove the limitation on liability for the nuclear industry (the Price-Anderson Act) and to increase public participation in determining how to dispose of nuclear wastes and where to site such disposal facilities.

From its inception EPI argued for passage and subsequent enforcement of a strong Surface Mining and Reclamation Act. There efforts to assist appalachian communities enforce these laws have met fierce resistance. EPI advocates increased safety regulation of chemical plants to reduce worker exposure to hazardous materials as well as leaks to the environment such as happened in Bhopal, India, in 1984. In has argued for amendments to Superfund legislation to increase individual communities' rights to know what is stored and transported through their jurisdictions in order to prepare for emergencies. It advocates moving the regulatory process to the federal level because localities generally lack expertise in judging chemical hazards and tend to de dependent economically and politically on large employers in their communities.

Internationally EPI is against large dams, destruction of tropical forests, and advocates projects which encourage diversity of living organism and a sustainable economy for countries. Domestically EPI offers citizens groups assistance in arguing against proposals for additional U.S. Army Corp of Engineers (COE) and Bureau of Reclamation water projects. It believes that it has helped to halt 150 water projects by helping local groups argue for less expenditure of taxpayers moneys to fund the projects and more recovery of the costs from the beneficiaries of the projects. It hopes eventually to phase out the Bureau of Reclamation and to shift the COE into nonstructural water projects.

One area in which EPI would like to see more government research and projects is to protect the quality of the groundwater in the U.S. Additionally EPI has an agricultural project which seeks to ensure the survival of U.S. family farms. It argues against the overuse of pesticides and fertilizers that increases individual farmers' dependency on chemical corporations. EPI is skeptical about the potential damage to the environment from biotechnology. Finally, EPI argues against drilling in fragile areas of the costal zone

and the use of deep ocean waters for disposal of toxic, nuclear, and other wastes.

IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE OF AMERICA (IWLA)*

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

In 1922, 54 sports fishermen, concerned about the deteriorating quality of the streams they fished, met in Chicago and formed the Izaak Walton League of America (IWLA). They named their organization after Izaak Walton, a seventeenth century English conservationist who wrote The Complete Angler, and began a campaign to clean up the surface waters in the U.S.. Will H. Dilg was its first president; he began the monthly magazine Outdoor America which addressed all kinds of conservation issues from water pollution to disappearing marshlands. He developed the first mass membership conservation organization by using the techniques of fraternal organizations such as the Kiwanis to attract members. In the 1920's, while the Sierra Club* and Audubon Society* had fewer than 10,000 members, Izaak Walton claimed over 100,000.

Izaak Walton endorsed having the federal government regulate the number of fowl each hunter could bag and increase the number of federal wildlife preserves. Like the early Auduboner William E. Dutcher, Dilg overspent his treasury and the other members of the Board of directors deposed him in 1926. In the 1930's and 1940's IWLA formed a coalition with the Audubon Society and in 1961 it absorbed the Friends of the Land.

The League had its major strength in the Midwest, with some chapters in the east and west. Early focus was water pollution control, which has expanded to wilderness preservation and wildlife protection.

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

In the late 1980's the league claimed a membership of 50,000, distributed among 400 Izaak Walton League Chapters throughout the U.S. although the majority of its members reside in the Midwest. Of 57 national directors, 31 come from 8 middle-western states. The honorary president is William Ruckelshaus, former EPA administrator under presidents Nixon and Reagan, and general counsel for Weyerhaeuser Industries. The 22-member professional staff is located in Arlington,VA. In the late 1980's the Izaak Walton League had an income of over $1.5 million which came from membership dues, 40 percent; contributions and grants, 54 percent; and the remainder from sales and interest. Expenses amounted to over $4 million, distributed into conservation and education programs, 64 percent; membership services, 15 percent; administration and

planning, 16 percent; and raising and membership recruitment, 5 percent. Foundations grants came from both well-known foundations such as the Joyce Foundation and small foundations like the National Shooting Sports Foundation. Many corporations involved with sports equipment such as Browning Firearms, Remington Arms, contribute to the League, as well as other major industries, such as Chevron, ASA, Du Pont, and Wyerhaeuser.

CONCERNS

IWLA has been involved with Save our Streams, a grass-roots community program designed to clean up particular rivers and streams in the U.S.. The League along with Exxon produced a community handbook for the program and cosponsored with Du Pont a conference on what industry and business to do to clean up Chesapeake Bay Region.

Others issues have been the acid rain issue. They designed a packet that would accompany fishing gear to inform fishermen of the damage produced by acid rain. They are also involved in soil erosion, public lands protection, and fisheries.

TACTICS

The League publishes Outdoor America, a quarterly magazine with in-depth reports by major outdoor writers and naturalists. It also carries reports on issues such as groundwater contamination and the decline in population of ducks and the effects of acid rain on forests and lakes.

In the 1980's the League established a building fund to raise $2 million for a new national office and conservation center on forty acres owned by the League in Gaithersburg, Maryland.

NATIONAL AUDUBON SOCIETY (NAS)*

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

In the latter part of the nineteenth century a number of hunters and fishers became concerned about the rapidly diminishing supply of game, especially the destruction of many of the bird species on the North American continent. Among them was George Bird Grinnell, a PhD. from Yale in osteology and paleontology, who had grown up in Audubon Park,New york, named after the great bird painter, and had attended a school run by Audubon's widow. Grinnell's father was a successful investor who bought for his son Forests and Stream, one of many successful outdoor magazines at the time. In 1886, convinced that something must be done to spot the wanton destruction of bird life in America for sport and fashion. In

1887 George Grinnell began The Audubon Magazine to keep the growing membership informed of developments in conservation. By 1888 membership had grown to 50,000, but the magazine was allowed to lapse in 1889.

The early years was spent urging passage of bird protection legislation. The first federal legislation for bird protection, the Lacey Act of 1900, which outlawed interstate sale of birds killed in violation of state laws, was one of the organizations first big successes. During the first couple of decades each state chapters were independent of each other, but in 1905 thirty-six state groups led by William E.Dutcher formed the National Committee of Audubon Societies. Dutcher was later dismissed because of financial incompetence. T.Gilbert Pearson became president and under his leadership moved in close alliance with munitions and hunting industry.

During the 1920's the Audubon Board was dominated by professional conservationists who worked for the Agriculture Department or Museums. Some radicals within the organization, including Rosalie Edge, a suffragists, formed the emergency conservation committee to reform the association. She revealed that the organization received rents from hunters for trapping muskrats in a bird sanctuary. S membership plummeted in response to Edge's revelations, the board began to reform itself form within and in 1936 replaced Pearson as director.

In 1959 when Carl W. Buchheister became president, he hired a lobbyist to present the Society's views in washington and to write about developments in the national government for members. During the late 1970's and early 1980's, Russell Peterson, President Nixon's former chair of the Council of Environmental Quality, was president of NAS and moved the organization into assuming a more active political role, attempting to affect more government policies.

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

In the late 1980's it had 505 local chapters located in all 50 states with a total membership of 550,000. It had nine regional offices in addition to its national headquarters in New York and Washington D.C. office. Also maintained by the Society are 6 environmental education centers, 4 ecology camps, 3 research stations, and 30 bird and wildlife sanctuaries around the U.S..

At the end of the 1980's NAS had a professional staff of 291. it has 34-member elected board of directors, headed by an elected chair. The President since 1985 is Peter A.A. Berle, who is also publisher of the magazine.

Annual dues are $35, and contributions are collected for a number of special causes. At the end of the 1980's, revenue totaled over $32 million, of which 31 percent came from annual dues, 25 percent from grants and contributions, 8 percent from bequests, 32 percent earned from investments and mineral

rights, and 4 percent earned from sales of property. It spent close to 31 million in the same time period, 21 percent on publishing, 12 percent on membership promotion, 8 percent on fund-raising, 10 percent on general administration, 20 percent on publication and eduction, 16 percent on wildlife preservation, 7 percent on science and field research, and 6 percent on chapter activities. Foundations making contributions included Joyce, Mellon, Rockerfeller, and Leonhardt. Major corporations such as General Electric, Stroh Brewery, and Waste Management Inc. also contributed to Audubon.

POLICY CONCERNS

The main priority is the preservation of wildlife in the U.S. and over the world. It opposes all hunting, but joins with groups of sportmens organizations which advocate government preservation of wildlife habitat. Over the year the National Audubon Society has expanded its interests from protecting wild birds and feather hunters to protecting other wildlife, preserving wilderness areas and habitat. In 1986 the NAS began a campaign to same the Alaskan Wildlife Refuge. Throughout the 1980's the Society remained critical of the Forest Service;s management of national forests and its emphasis on timbering off old growth and not paying sufficient attention to other multiple uses, especially wildlife habitat and watershed protection and recreation. This stand caused loggers to boycott companies who supported the Society and some withdrew support like Stroh Brewery.

In the late 1980's Audubon representatives testified for amending the Resource conservation and Recovery (RCRA) to increase fund for enforcement at both state and federal levels. They also sought to avoid groundwater contamination by ridding the law of loopholes that exempted small producers of hazardous wastes from the control of the law. They argued against a post-closure liability fund in RCRA, because it would absolve the chemical and hazardous waste industries of continuing responsibility after their disposal sites are closed, and would pay for potential cleanups from a public fund.

Audubon representative also sought to change the listing procedures under the Toxic Substances Control Act to make it more difficult to take materials off the list. They fought for the SARA amendments to the Superfund legislation which gave the communities the right to know what toxic substances are stored and used in their areas in order to inform fire departments another public safety officials of the hazards they may face. Audubon advocates greater extensive use of solar and other renewable forms of energy, much greater conservation of the remaining fossil fuels we have and much less reliance on nuclear power.

TACTICS

Audubon holds a biennial convention for all members at places of ecological or wildlife interest. It runs bird-watching expeditions for members throughout the U.S.. Educational workshops, camps, and media presentations bring environmental knowledge to all ages.

Audubon operate 82 sanctuaries for birds and wildlife in the U.S.. The Audubon magazine celebrated its 100 anniversary in 1987. The NAS also publishes the Audubon Activist for the latest legislative , administrative, and judicial actions taken by the Society and to learn of developments in Washington.

The Washington office publishes frequent action alerts to members about issues that are coming to vote in Washington or reaching some other crucial stage in development. These urge members to writes or phone their representatives and/or administrative agencies in a position to do something harmful or helpful to the environment. In addition the staff keeps a twenty-four-hour taped hotline available in Washington for members interested in learning the latest developments.

NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION (NWF)*

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

In 1911 various gun manufacturers led by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, which had been rebuffed by the National Audubon Society, formed the American Game Protective Association (AGPA). Its goal was to protect and increase the availability of game for hunters, and it worked throughout the 1920's to obtain legislation that would have created a series of federal refuges that could be used as public shooting grounds. However this was stalemated in Congress by such conservation organizations as the National Audubon Society and the Izaak Walton League of America. In 1938 the name was changed to the National Wildlife Federation (NWF). It gradually replaced the Izaak Walton League as the largest mass-membership conservation association in the United States. During the early days NWF was beset by financial difficulties and was largely dependent on the American Wildlife Institute and the gun industry. It opposed gun control legislation, and occasionally it also opposed the creation of new national parks because it would take some of the national forest lands out of the hunters' domain.

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

In 1988, NWF celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with 4.8 million members in 50 state and 650 local associations. The NWF is serviced by seven regional offices in addition to the

national headquarters was in Washington. It has a 29-member board of directors. The organization is in the shape of a pyramid, local rod and gun clubs elect state representatives who select the national leadership. Staff in Washington number over 400, and 28 additional staff in the regional offices.

Int eh late 1980's the NWF's revenues were about $67 million, divided among member dues, 22 percent; junior memberships, including Ranger Rick subscriptions, 15 percent; donations and bequests, 17 percent; sales of educational materials, 32 percent; sales of Your Big Backyard, 7 percent; and investments and grants, 7 percent. In addition, its 50 state affiliates had budgets totaling $13.5 million. Expenditures went to pay for administration and fund-raising, 11 percent; development of new members and publications, 22 percent; provision for future activities, 5 percent; and conservation education and programs, 62 percent. This last category includes production of Ranger Rick and other educational material as well as advocacy of policy positions in state and local governments.

POLICY CONCERNS

Policies are set for local matters by state affiliates, and national headquarters develops positions for the NWF on national issues. In recent decades concerned by the growing degradation of the environment and rapid depletion of wildlife, the NWF has become a major supporter for a wide variety of environmental polices from endangered species to strip-ming controls and wetlands protection.

Generally the national organization opposes subsidized construction of dames and other water projects. NWF also opposes sales of natural resources owned by the U.S. government at prices that it considers to be below fair market value. In the 1980's , national leadership was particularly concerned about the Forest Service and Department of Interior's sales of grazing rights, timber rights, and mineral rights to industry for less than market value. Its slate affiliates regularly argue for inclusion of tracts of land in the national wilderness system and for the Forest Service to protect old-growth timber and not sell it to timber companies. Its national representatives frequently request Congress to cut the Forest Services road-building budget into national forest to accommodate timber cutting there.

In recent years, NWF has focuses on the destruction of wildlife habitat cause by strip mining. In 1987 it successfully advocated that Congress close a loophole in the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act (SMCRA) that allowed mineral companies to mine small area without reclaiming the land. Although the NWF began as a support system for hunters,m its members now include some opponents of hunting. Its national leadership now supports predator

restoration protects in national parks and the Endangered Species Act reauthorization.

Pollution control has been another growing concern of the organization. Superfund, Clean Air and Water Acts are all concerns of NWF. NWF has joined the other conservation groups in their opposition to clear cutting in the rain forests and support for the U.S. Agency for International Development policy of debt-for-nature swaps.

TACTICS

In 1988 NWF joined with seventeen other environmental groups, including the National Audubon Society and the Sierra Club, in drafting a Blueprint for the Environment to present to the Bush administration that urged it to give attention to the global environmental crisis that conservationists view as crucial in the 1990's. The report included a recommendation that EPA be elevated to cabinet status. In frustration over recent administrative intransigence over environmental issues, in the 1990's NWF considered supporting a call for a constitutional amendment to guarantee all Americans a clean environment.

Nevertheless, NWF remains a relatively conservative mainstream organization that relies on government intervention to achieve its goals. The causes it selects have usually been pioneered by other conservation groups. Its president, Jay D. Hair, has called Earth Firster "outlaws" and "terrorists"(Wenner, 243). He is accepted as a representative of the environmental establishment and was appointed to the EPS's Biotechnology Science Coordinating Committee to investigate the need to regulate genetic engineering.

If it is unsuccessful in winning over administrative agencies or congress to its point of view, NWF will turn its attention to site government or the courts. It has gone to court to close a campground in Yellowstone to protect the endangered grizzly bear. National representative of NWF are Convinced that conciliation and negotiation are better tools than confrontation, and frequently they will seek to reach agreement with industry amicably. In 1982 NWF founded a Corporate Conservation Council (CCC) by which NWF officials hoped to be able to persuade corporate managers to adopt more conservation-oriented policies to ward natural resources. Members of CCC include Atlantic Richfield, Du Pont, Dow Chemical, Duke Power, Exxon, Miller Brewing, 3M, and TVA. In 1986 the CCC focused on the problem of groundwater and attempted to work out a compromise between industry and conservation organizations on the disposal of hazardous wastes. NWF's goal was to reduce the landfilling of these wastes and to find alternative methods of disposal.

From its inception, the NWF has focused on educating the public. In addition to its educational material for school children, in 1985 it initiated a nature newsbreak that airs on

National Public Radio. In 1988 it began "Conserving America, " a public television series about wildlife. National Wildlife, NWF's flagship bimonthly magazine, waste started in 1962 and now has a circulation of over 900,000 to whom it gives information about endangered species. Other publications include International Wildlife was started in 1971; Ranger Rick,a children's magazine began in 1967; Naturescope began in 1984 is an environmental science series for elementary school teachers; Conservation is a biweekly newsletter for members interested in congressional and administrative actions on conservation issues; Your Big Backyard is devoted to preschoolers and has a circulation of 500,000; and The Leader gives 17,000 NWF-affiliated volunteers monthly news about natural resource issues.

NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL (NRDC)*

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

The Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) was founded with a Ford Foundation grant in 1970 by six lawyers concerned with environmental issues. After twenty years of operation, it had a forty-two person board of trustees, including nine of the original board members, several partners of major law firms, law professors, and well-known celebrity envionrmentalists, such as Robert Redford. The trustees meet each year to set policy and recruit additional trustees.

NRDC maintains 5 offices with a national headquarters in New York and primary lobbying activities take place in Washington. In 1989 it had 150 attorneys, scientist, resource specialists, consultants, administrators, support staff, interns, and fellows on its staff in the 5 offices. In January 1990 its membership passed the 125,000 mark.

NRDC received revenues of over $13 million in 1989. dues range from $10 to $100 a year, additional contributions are regularly solicited from members. Over 900 individuals were listed as contributing $1,000 or more in 1989. In addition NRDC received funds from such foundations as Beinecke, Carnegie, Hughes, McIntosh and Weeden. Forty nine percent of its revenues were obtained from member contributions, 42 percent came from foundation grants, and 9 percent from attorney's fees, contracts, and miscellaneous revenue. NRDC spent in the same year slightly over $12 million; 8 percent on membership services, 10 percent on general administrational and management, 8 percent on fund-raising, and 74 percent on program services. the latter were divided further into environmental programs, 39 percent; public education, 18 percent; and scientific support, 8 percent. Only 1 percent of NRDC's expenses were used for legislative activists and a like amount for its intern program in 1989.

POLICY CONCERNS

One of the NRDCs main priorities is pollution control. It advocates strengthening the Clear Air and Water acts (CAA, CWA). In it early years, it challenged numerous state implementations plans to enforce the CAA, successfully arguing that building taller stacks was not a pollution control strategy. It continues to oppose the use of tall stacks to disperse sulfer dioxide emissions and advocates strict controls on all industrial boilers emitting sulfur oxides. It worked all through the 1980s to reauthorize the CAA and opposed loosening emissions and the use of the bubble concept which allows industry to trade emission reduction at one source for increase emissions in the same area.

In the field of water pollution control, NRDC representatives testified for ten years preceding the 1986 amendments to the Safe Drinking Water Act (SDWA) and the 1987 amendments to the clean Water Act, The new laws mandate that industry pretreat toxic wastes that it sends to municipal treatment facilities on which the latter have little impact. These laws also regulate urban stream water and agricultural runoff, significant sources of toxic pollutants, such as pesticides. NRDC's goal now is to see these requirements carries out.

In 1986, NRDC participated in the Campaign for Pesticide Reform which negotiated with agricultural chemicals industry. The Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodentcide Act (FIFRA) was an outcome of this process. In 1988 it published Pesticide Alert: A Guide to Pesticides in Fruits and Vegetables.

Another major concern is the disposal of solid wastes, especially hazardous wastes. Its representatives argued before congress concerning amends to both the Resource conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) and Superfund. They argued for more government research on alternative technologies to landfilling solid wastes, including recycling and reduction of waste generation. They opposed lifetime landfill permits and the continued use of deep-well injection and landfills to dispose of hazardous wastes and a ban on various carcinogens such as asbestos in the U.S..

NRDC encourages greater ecological calculation in managing the public lands. It has opposed logging in the old growth forests. NRDC has also been influential in the fight to protect wildlife and wilderness areas and oceans. The nuclear debate is a set of issues that NRDC has led other mainstream environmentalists in opposition. It made a 1986 agreement with the Soviet Academy of Sciences to establish six monitoring stations near nuclear weapons test sites in the US and the USSR in order to demonstrate the ease of monitoring each other's tests and the futility of trying to maintain secrecy. NRDC urged the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) to produce environmental impact statements for many of its nuclear experiments and has urged more congressional oversight of DOE reactors. NRDC representatives regularly argue for

greater use of power in building. In 1989 it refurbished it New York Headquarters as a model of energy conservation technology.

TACTICS

Originally designed to litigate cases, the NRDC in its early years initiated many landmark law cases designed to force the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to enforce crucial environmental statutes, such as the Clean Air and Water acts. it challenged many nuclear reactors, arguing the environmental impact statements written for them were inadequate and did not take into consideration many of the real threats to human health from radiation.

While it maintains an active litigation schedule, members of the staff in the Washington office have in recent years testified on numerous legislative issues and argued before agency hearing officers. NRDC yahoos become involved in several projects whereby it negotiates directly with industry when government seems unable to solve problems, as in the FIFRA discussion project. It also points out violations of environment actions. In 1982 it started a citizen's legal action program in which its attorneys sue industrial polluters directly when they feel that eh government is unwilling to take such actions.

NRDC conducts educational workshops in many law schools for lawyers interested in becoming involved in environmental law; it also provides scientific and legal internships to graduate students each year. Since 1979 it yahoos published The Amicus Journal on a quarterly basis, which it distributes to its membership. This journal contains feature articles of several pages on timely issues such as industry's proposal to open Alaskan wilderness areas to oil exploration, book reviews on environmental publications, and shorter articles on events in the courts, agencies, and Congress, as well as editorials. It also publishes a monthly NRDC Newsline for membership giving details on court case outcomes, agency hearings and congressional actions on proposed bills. In addition, NRDC scientists research and publish monographs on specific topics such as the risk to humans from pesticide residues, when it believes government agencies are not doing a sufficient job of informing the public.

THE NATURE CONSERVANCY

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

The Nature Conservancy was incorporated in 1951 originally as the Ecological Society o America. It is a private nonprofit, tax-exempt corporation under Section 501(c)(3) of the IRS code. It has a board of governors numbering 35 people, who select the president. The

Conservancy has a staff of over 900 professionals distributed among some 52 field offices and in the national office, which has 170 staff members.

The Nature Conservancy has 436,407 individual members who pay $15 yearly dues and 437 corporate associates, such as Booth Newspapers, W. Atlee Burpee Co, Human, Ford, McArthur foundations, and real estate and power companies. These corporations contribute between $1,000 and $10,000 a year to the operation so f the Conservancy. Individuals may become members by contributing $1,000 at one time.

In 1989, the Nature Conservancy raised $168.5 million through dues and contributions: 66 percent from individuals, 28 percent from foundations, and 6 percent from corporations. It expanded %156 million; 11 percent on fund-raising, 4 percent on general administration, and 2.4 percent on miscellaneous; the remainder was spent on purchasing and managing lands as well as donating lands to government agencies. It reported a total of over $400 million worth of lands held for conservation at the end of 1989, which amount to nearly 4 million acres in the U.S., Canada, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

POLICY CONCERNS

The Nature Conservancy advocates government preservation of natural areas in the form of parks and wildlife preserves and refuges. It supplies Congress with information about the need for ecological preservation. It supported the creation of the Land and Water conservation Fund and argues in favor of the American Heritage Trust Fund, to be used exclusively for the national government to acquire more parklands. It also urges state government to devotes resources to preserving part of their natural heritage and donates lands to states to manage. It helps states develop management plans for natural areas and lobbies state houses to provide stable funding for such lands. However, its primary focus is to supplement publicly held lands with privately donated lands that are also preserved. It works with private organizations in Latin America to protect tropical rain forests and savannas there.

TACTICS

The Conservancy owns and manages over 1,000 tracts of land itself, but has turned over many others to public and private organization to manage. In the 1980's, it launched a major endeavor to protect and preserve wetlands around the U.S. and internationally. With the cooperation of state governments it inventories ecologically rare areas and habitats of endangered species and attempts to purchase them for conservation or to convince their private owners to protect them. In 1989 Alaska and Alabama joined this effort, bringing all fifty state governments into the heritage

program. The Conservancy has extended this identification program to ten countries in Latin America and the Caribbean.

It issues a bimonthly, The Nature conservancy News, to its members in which it describes the kinds of a lands that it has added to is holdings. Individual state chapters also periodically issues newsletters entitled The Conservator about events in specific regions of the country. Members in state chapters engage in volunteer activities such as harvesting seeds of natural plant life and using these to restore other areas to their native species.

SIERRA CLUB*

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, John Muir, born in Scotland but raised and educated in Wisconsin, migrated to the California Sierra Nevada mountain range and spent the remainder of his life attempting to preserve some of it for succeeding generations. He was befriended by Robert U. Johnson, editor of the prestigious eastern Century magazine, who provided an outlet for Muir's essays and suggested to him the possibility of forming an association to help preserve California's natural wonders. In 1892, with the help of some professors from the University of California, Muir conducted the first meeting in San Francisco of the Sierra Club, modeled on the Appalachian Mountain Club.

It first major victory was the expansion and protection of Tosemite National park which Muir had helped found in 1890. The Club also succeeded in getting California to return Yosemite Valley to federal management, thereby reducing the commercialization of the park. It failed in its attempt to preserve the Hetch Hechy Valley, which was turned into a water reservoir for San Francisco in the early twentieth century. Muir and the Sierra Club attempted to influence the U.S. government to adopt a preservationist attitude toward its natural resource heritage, but generally lost out to Gifford Pinchot, the first director of the forest Service, and his arguments for the most utilitarian use of all natural resources.

John Muir remained as president of the Sierra Club from 1892 until his death in 1914 and generally urged that the club depend on volunteers to run it and keep its amateur status. It engaged in some to the earliest struggles for preserving part of the America wilderness, but it remained essentially a California-based club while other groups were becoming nationally oriented during the early twentieth century. It was not until after World War II and an influx of new members that the Sierra Club began to change and assume a leadership position again. In the early days, Club members used mules to make trips into the wilderness, but in the 1940s; they decide that the animals were too destructive of mountain meadows and

adopted a backpacking philosophy that encouraged members to make as little impact on the ecology they visited as possible.

David Brower, whom some have called the reincarnation of John Muir, joined the club in 1935 and became editor of the bulletin in 1946 on his return from the war. He was appointed the first professional executive of the Club in 1952 by then president Richard Leonard. Under Brower's editorship, the Bulletin came to emphasis more political action instead of focusing exclusively on camaraderie in the outings . Membership grew at a phenomenal pace, and chapters sprang up outside California as many political activists were attracted to the cause. In the 1950's Sierra joined forces with the Wilderness Society* to prevent the flooding of part of Dinosaur National Monument in Colorado. In 1964 congress passed the Wilderness Act to preserve more unspoiled areas in the U.S. albeit with a caveat that permitted new mining claims in them until 1984.

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

The Sierra Club is the oldest voluntary membership conservation organization in the U.S.. It has a membership of nearly 500,000 who pay dues of $33 a year which includes a subscription to Sierra, formerly the Sierra Club Bulletin. There are 56 local chapters throughout the U.S. and Canada, ranging in six from about 600 to 40,000 members. These chapters are in turn divided into about 360 groups which hold regular meetings.

Sierra Club national policy is set by its 5 elected officers and an 15-person board of directors, elected for 3-year terms by mailed ballot from the membership. The nominating committee solicits candidates for the board from the entire membership before each election. The board has authority to remove officers and board members for cause based on acts inimical to the Club's purposes. Since 1892, the board has included some of the nation's eminent naturalists, including Ansel Adams, the nature photographer; John Oakes, retired New York Times editorial director; and David Brower, Mr. Brower also served as executive director until 1969 when he was forced out over fiscal issues and left to found the more militant Friends of the Earth and later, Earth Island Institute. He remains as an honorary vice-president. The Sierra Club has had only four executive directors : Brower until 1969, Mike McCloskey from 1969 to 1985, Douglas Wheeler, who resigned in 1986 over policy difference with the board and fiscal problems, and the present director, Michael Fischer. President of the 15-person board is Richard Cellarius. In addition the Club has 21 vice-presidents, of who 13 are regional vice-presidents, and a professional staff of almost 300.

The national headquarters for Sierra Club is in San Francisco with an office in Washington and 13 regional

offices. At the end of the 1980's the Sierra Club's revenue totalled about $35 million: 37 percent from member dues, 29 percent from the Sierra Club Foundations and Legal Defense Fund, 12 percent from sales of catalog merchandise and publication, 7 percent from outings and lodge fees, 11 percent from advertising and royalties, and 4 percent from reimbursement for services. After expenditures for administration, 13 percent; membership activities, 13 percent; and fund-raising, 8 percent, the Club spent 22 percent on its information and education program, 26 percent on public policy influencing programs, 7 percent on its outdoor activities, and 6 percent on chapter allocations, which left 5 percent for investment and contribution to net worth.

POLICY CONCERNS

Originally organized to promote conservation policies in the western part of the U.S., the Sierra Club has expanded its mission in the twentieth century as new issues have arisen. Individual officers and members have continuously advocated establishment and conservation of national forest and parks. The Club was influential in supporting the Wilderness Preservation Act of 1964 and the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968. Individual chapters frequently suggest tracts to be included in the wilderness holdings and wild and scenic rivers and take action to protect them.

The Sierra Club's staff in national headquarters frequently argues against: the expenditure of public funds for reclamation protects that it views as reducing the quality of natural resources through changing the natural flow of streams and rivers; excessive leasing of public lands for grazing and mineral exploration; most National Park Service attempts to develop the national parks by adding more access roads, hotels, and other accommodations inside the parks; splitting off the National Park Service from the Department of the Interior because it regards the latter as devoted to exploiting rather than conserving natural resources.

The Sierra club views as two of the most serious threat to the climate and ecology of the planet recent deforestation and proposals to open the Arctic to mineral exploration. It supported reenactment of the Endangered Species Act in 1988 and agues that the numbers of endangered species can only be increased by protecting their habitats and maintaining wildlife refuges. It has opposed opening all wilderness and off-shore lands to exploration for mineral recourse.

In addition to its primary concern for preserving wilderness, the club has taken on many pollution control causes in the 1970's and 1980's: strengthening the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, decreasing acid rain by reducing sulfur oxide emissions by 15 million tons int he 1990; and argued for amendments to Resource Conservation and Recovery Act that

would stop all land disposal of hazardous wastes, especially in liquid form.

In 1986-7 the Club was active the reauthorization of Superfund and passage of the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act of 1988, sponsored by an environmental/industrial coalition, but would have preferred that it be stronger.

TACTICS

The Internal Revenue Service removed the Sierra Club's tax empt status in 1969 because it ran newspaper advertisements protesting the possibility of flooding the Grand Canyon. At the time the Sierra Club Foundations and legal Defense Fund (LDF) were created as legally distinct tax exempt entities, in order to fund research and litigation to preserve natural resources.

The Sierra Club also has a political action committee, Committee on Political Education (SCOPE). There is an eight person committee appointed by the executive committee who select candidates to endorse at the national level. Local chapters may also select their own candidates to support. The Club not only helps to finance, but fields volunteer workers for political campaigns. It urges its own members to run political campaign based on conservation issues and to become delegates to political parties' annual conventions. It also conducts workshops for volunteers, and issues an Handbook on Electoral Politics.

When the club's lobbying efforts before Congress or the Agencies fail, LDF use the courts by suing the Department of Interior or Forest Service.When the Reagan administration was unwilling to take polluters to court, the LDF stepped up its efforts to sue industry directly for violating clean air and water acts, under private attorneys general provisions written into those laws.

In addition to its professional lobbyist who are employed in the Washington office, the Sierra club sends out regular bulletins alerting its membership to legislative and administrative developments of importance to Club policies. In addition to news bulletins and a Washington hotline maintained for members to learn about issues, the Sierra magazine, issued bimonthly to all members, discusses major environmental issues in depth.

It publishes books designed to inform the public about a broad range of environmental issues, and In Brief, a quarterly newsletter about environmental cases in court. It also sponsors outdoor activists, such as hiking, backpacking, bicycling, and float trips for its members and other outdoor enthusiasts. Some of these outing are service oriented, with Club members preforming maintenance services along the trials; some are entirely for pleasure. All minimize human impact on the natural environment.

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY*

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

The Wilderness Society was founded in 1935 by five men, including Aldo Leopold, author of The Preservation Ethic and A Sand County Almanac. Leopold over his lifetime shifted from a Gifford Pinchot-like attitude of managing natural resources from utilitarian purposes to a more John Muir-like philosophy of nature worship. All the founders were conservationists concerned abut dust-bowl conditions in the U.S. and dedicated to preserving wilderness areas and to promoting a land ethic among the American people. Their leader was Robert Marshall, a fervent New Dealer who worked in both Franklin Roosevelt's Department of Interior under Harold Ickes and later in the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture. The first president was Robert Sterling Yard, seventy-four year old conservationist, because it was viewed as a conflict of interest for a government employee to head the Society. However, Bob Marshall dominated policy-making in its years and was the single most important financial contributor to it.

In 1939 the Society was instrumental in getting the kings CAnyon National park established under terms that precluded much of the commercialization of Yosemite and Yellowstone. by the 1950s the Society had a membership of around 5,000 and was considered an exclusive group that opposed making wilderness accessible to everyone and preferred ardent mountaineers and hikers. Its membership base shifted from the east coast to the western region of the US although it maintained its headquarters in Washington. It became more democratic and less oligarchic under the strong leadership of Howard Zahniser, the executive director in Washington, who joined the Sierra in defending Dinosaur National Monument from development. His greatest feat however, was the drafting of wilderness bill which he successfully pushed through Congress in 1964. During that period the Society increased its membership to 27,000.

In 1980 Dave Foreman, a staffer who had worked for the Wilderness Society since 1973, resigned to form the militant Earth First! He argued that the staff was coming to be dominated by former federal bureaucrats and that the council was controlled by people overly concerned with raising money attracting millionaires with a "vague environmental interest" (Wenner, 319) onto the council. This was exemplified by the replacement of the grass-roots-oriented executive director Celia Hunter with a more management-oriented Bill Turnage.

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

The society has a staff of eighty-five headquartered in Washington, with ten regional offices. It has a governing

council of twenty-three and an executive committee of fourteen drawn from the council and executive offices. Its president is George T. Frampton, Jr.; the chair of its governing council is Alice Rivlin, former head of the Congressional Budget Office;its legal counsel is Gaylord Nelson, former senator from Wisconsin.

The Society has a membership of 160,000 from whom it obtains $30 a year dues that include a subscription to its quarterly,Wilderness. Individual donations range from $100 to $10,000 and each of its major donors is listed in an issue of Wilderness. AT the end of the 1980's its annual budget was about $15 million, up from about $4 million in 1983. Its largest single source of revenues is membership dues, 55 percent; special contributions solicited from its members garner another 15 percent; and bequests, 4 percent. Grants from foundations such as Beefeater, Harriman, and Joyce foundations, and businesses, such as the CIGNA, Federal Express, and New York Times corporations produce 10 percent, and the balance is made up from investments, advertising income, and telemarketing. The Wilderness Society expended 12 percent of its budget in the late 1980s on member series and recruitment, 9 percent on general management, and 4 percent on fund-rasing. The remaining 75 percent was spent on programs: 20 percent on member services, 28 percent on public education about wilderness issues, and 27 percent on conservation.

POLICY CONCERNS

The Society focuses on public lands issues, arguing to preserve wilderness areas in their natural state, to create more national parks, protect wetlands, and purchase more forest lands for inclusion in national forests. During the 1980s it was mostly on the defensive, working against policies of the Department of Interior's (DOI) Bureau of Land Management (BLM) to build roads into national forests and lend mineral rights to energy corporations. One of the Society's highest priorities in the 1980's was its opposition to opening 1.5 million acres in the Arctic National Refuge to oil and gas drilling. They testified in favor of Adester protection bill introduced by Senator Alan Cranston of California, which failed passage in the 99th Congress. This bill would have upgraded Death Valley and Joshua Tree national Monuments into national parks by creating Majave National Park and designating 4.5 million acres of BLM land as wilderness.

A continuing interest of The Wilderness Society for many years has been the roadless area reviews and evaluation process taking in both BLM and Forest Service to determining which lands should be set aside for wilderness and which may be economically developed. The Society seeks to maximize the amount of land set aside for wilderness. In 1986 the Society scored a victory when the 99th Congress increased appropriations for acquisition of sixty-five projects

including parks, wilderness refuges and forests. The Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area, big Cypress national Preserve in Florida, and Nevada first national park were all additional victories for the society.

The Society also opposes conversion of tropical rain forests in Asia, Africa and Latin America to cattle ranching and other agricultural uses to produce commodities for U.S. and European markets. It argues for a sustained agriforestry economy for those national that should be supported by such agencies as the World Bank and U.S. Agency for International Development.

TACTICS

The Society divides its resources among three main activities: research and analysis of issues , education and constituency building among the public, and policy advocacy within congress and the agencies with which it is most intimately involved. Society staff and council members testify before Congress on Crucial issues, maintain an activist mailing list of those to be notified of the need to write Congress, sponsor conference , and join with other groups such as the Sierra Club* Legal Defense Fund to litigate such issues as BLM's review of mines on public land in the West.

Although the Society is more dedicated to adding lands to the wilderness preservation program than any other group than Earth First!, it works within the system. It gives a yearly Ansel Adams Award to public figures its board believes have contributed to conservation causes. In 1989 President George T. Frampton presented the second annual Olaus and Margaret Murie Award to Jeff DeBonis, a timber sale planner for the Willamett National Forest, because he helped found the Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics, a new professional organization that places increased emphasis on resource stewardship and less on extraction.

The Society publishes a professionally edited quarterly, Wilderness, which includes feature articles with photographic essays on major ecological areas such as the Everglades, as well as news of events in Washington including its staff's efforts to influence policy. Field Notes keep members up on Events around the United States and the world, and members are offered the option of being placed on activist mailing lists to be informed about specific issues to write their representatives and government agencies.

OUTSIDE THE BELTWAY ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

CITIZEN'S CLEARINGHOUSE FOR HAZARDOUS WASTES (CCHW)

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

In 1977, toxic wastes long buried in an area known as Love Canal began to make their way to the land surface in Niagara Falls, New York. A group of homemakers there, led by Lois Marie Gibbs, began a campaign to have the city, New York State, and the federal government recognize their plight. In 1980 the Comprehensive Environmental Response, compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA, or Superfund) was passed in order to clean up such sites with public funds to be recovered from the former and present owners, operators and users of such abandoned dumps.

In 1981 Lois Marie gibbs founded the Citizen's Clearinghouse Yfor Hazardous Wastes (CCHW). In the late 1980's CCHW had about 13,000 individual members who paid $15 a year in dues. It also provided a few companies that provide environmental services thorough contracts with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to clean up such sites. It total budget is approximately $500,000 about 50 percent of which come from foundation grants from such organizations as local churches in communities with toxic waste dump problems.

CCHW has a professional staff of six in Arlington, Virginia, whose primary activity is making contacts with local groups attempting to address specific problems i the areas. In 1986 it opened two additional offices, CCHW/Appalachia in Charleston, West Virginia, and CCHW/South in Harvy, Louisiana, to reach grass-roots organizations in those areas. CCHW provides them with information about how to organize and get their demands met at the local and state governmental levels.

POLICY CONCERNS

CCHW has been involved in some national legislation, notably the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and liability Act, The Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) and their amendments, including the Superfund Amendments and Reauthorization Act of 1986 (SARA), which gives communities the right to know what toxic chemicals are stored in their jurisdictions. Its representatives also argues for inclusion of a victim compensation section to CERCLA, but industry's arguments about the costs of such a program convinced Congress not to pass it.

TACTICS

CCHW's primary emphasis in on the implementation of such laws at the local level. It specializes in direct political action against particular dump sites, both proposed and active, and provided information to 72,000 grassroots organizations. CCHW publishes Action Bulletin four times a year to inform its membership about local events in other parts of the country. It also publishes Everyone's Backyard, a quarterly, with feature stories about hazardous waste problems. It also publishes occasional monographs.

EARTH FIRST! (EF!)

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

Earth First! (EF!) is a radical environmental group started in 1980 by Howie Wolke, Dave Foreman, Mike Roselle, Bart Koehler, and Ron Kezar. The were former members and staffers o such organizations as the Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club, who consider such large groups too conservative and willing to compromise with industry. EF! has no organizational headquarters nor any lobbying office in Washington. Instead, it has several post office box addresses around the country: New Mexico, California, Oregon, Washington, Texas, Colorado, Florida, and Arizona, where Earth First! is published. Each of these locations is autonomous, locally organized, and dependent on the enthusiasm and program of individuals there. There is no governing board nor are there officeholders in the group; there is a conscious effort to keep the group grass-roots oriented, decentralized, and nonhierarchical. There are approximately seventy local groups listed in the EF! directory, most of which in the western states. In addition, there are some twenty-five local contact persons listed for those states that have no groups.

The organization has no official dues. It publishes Earth First! eight time a year out of Tucson, Arizona, and asks individuals to contribute $15 to defray costs. It charges government and business organizations that want to subscribe $50 a year. in 1989 EF! treasurer's report indicated that the foundation had collected a little over $109,000 in 1988; 65 percent came earmarked contributions and 33 percent from unrestricted contributions. EF! spent $55,607 in the same year, nearly $50,000 on such projects as an Alaska roadshow, the biodiversity project, and the grizzly bear task force. The remaining funds were spent on meetings and postage. Its members come from the ranks of disaffected environmental organization members, former staffers of such groups, former (or current) employees of government bureaucracies that may be involved in natural resource management, and individual citizens who do not car for hierarchically organized groups, especially those who were involved in social movements such as the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960's.

Dave Foreman, one of the Founders of EF! worked for the Wilderness Society from 1973 to 1980 when he resigned because of his belief that the mainline conservation organizations had been co-opted by the Carter administration. He argued that, although many of the officers and staffers in such groups had occupied positions of authority in government during those year, policies coming out of such agencies as the Departments of Interior and Agriculture and EPA had not favored environmental/conservation groups.

Foreman and others attributed this to the fact that these former interest group members adopted conciliatory, moderate stances regarding issues, but were met with adamant, unrelenting positions by industry. Hence, in such policies as the destination of area for wilderness review, most of the victories were won by industry and most of the acreage remained open to development. This will remain true, according to EF! as long as mainstream conservation organizations continue to make arguments based on economic reasoning, such as the importance of tourism and fishing in the Alaskan economy or the failure of the Forest Service to recover costs for building timber roads into national forest for industry to cut old growth.

POLICY CONCERNS

EF!'s groups adopt specific positions regarding particular local problems, and normally take direct action to promote them. For example in 1981, 75 members of Earth First! demonstrated for the destruction of Glen Canyon Dam by draping 300 feet of black plastic down the side of the dam to resemble a crack. EF!'s naval affiliate, the Sea Shepherd, has attempted to protect Canadian Harp sealpups, dolphins, and whales by interfering directly with hunts. In 1984 Earth First! launched a campaign against Burger King and other fast-food chains because of their use of imported Latin American beef that is grown on former rain forest areas that have been clear-cut to make more room to produce beef.

EF! believes that the U.S. Forest Service is simply an extension of the demands of the timber industry in the US. It refers to forest rangers as FREDDIES (Forest Rape Eagerly Done and Done in Endless Sequence), and declared April 21, 1988, the National Day of Protest Against the Forest Service, whose only function that EF! sees is to build roads into otherwise roadless area to facilitate harvesting of timber. Other major targets of Earth First! are the use of off-road vehicles in desert areas, over grazing public lands in the west, and opening the Alaska Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling.

TACTICS

One major goal of Earth First! is to stop clear-cutting in the national forests. In June 1985, Howie Wolke, a founding member, was arrested by an employee of Chevron Oil for pulling up survey stakes for a road. he was sentenced to six months in jail and served all six months because of his refusal to demonstrate remorse for his actions. Other tactics designed to stop timbering in national forest are blockading logging roads and conducting sit-ins in eighty-foot high trees about to be cut down. Another tactics that has since been stopped by all but the Arizona chapter is to spike trees

designated for cutting with twenty penny nails which chews up the blades of saws in the mill. The timber industry are warned about the spikes and then have to try to find them with metal detectors before cutting down the trees.

In 1976 the iconoclastic writer and godfather of EF! edward Abbey (1927-1989) wrote a novel, The Monkey Wrench Gang, which fictionalized the find of direct actions that have been adopted by many members of Earth First! Differences of opinion exist about how widespread such activities are. some Earth Firsters believe that victimized companies fall to report instances of sabotage to police and the authorities do not inform the media because of fears of copycat reactions. A guide to monkey-wrenching was written by Dave Foreman, in1985, which depicts various methods of slowing development of areas, including spiking roads to give flats to logging trucks or off-road vehicles, removing markers from snowmobiles trails, using syrup, water, dirt, and carborundum to disable bulldozers and other machines, and burning down billboards. EF! does not have a regular presence in Washington for lobbying purpose, although individuals may testify at departmental hearings.

On May 30, 1989, four Earth Firster, were arrested by the FBI and charged with conspiracy to damage power lines leading into the Palo Verde nuclear plant and pylons supporting a cable chairlift at a ski resort in Arizona. According to Earth First! this happened as a result of infiltration by the FBI of EF! groups in order to gather intelligence about planned activities.

EF! holds an annual rendezvous each summer, at which workshops about various kinds of national and international issues are conducted. Stories about particular local campaigns are carries in the regular issues of Earth First! For the most part, individual groups act independently in devising methods of addressing issues in the their own areas. Conservative environmental groups have denounce the tactics of Earth First! Jay Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation, said "they are outlaws; they are terrorist; and they have no right being considered environmentalists." however, some groups may regrade Earth First! as useful since by comparison their stands are less radial (Steinhart, 1987)

EARTH ISLAND INSTITUTE (EII)

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

David Brower established Earth Island Institute (EII) in 1982 as an alternative and more radical ecological groups than Friends of the Earth (FOE). He chairs the fifteen-member board of directors, which in 1986 broke with FOE when it decided to move its operation from San Francisco to Washington. Policy is set by the board.

Earth Island Institute is headquartered in San Francisco and claims a membership of 20,000 people who pay $15 a year a or more to belong and receive the quarterly Earth Island. In the late 1980s it had a budget of $250,000, of which half came from foundation grants and the remainder from dues and other membership fund-raising. One major policy difference David Brower had with other members of FOE was budgeting and fund-raising strategy. He maintains that nay "conservation organization that is not in debt is not doing its job" (Brower, 1984) while his opponents prefer a more conservative fiscal strategy.

POLICY CONCERNS

The leadership of EII is particularly concerned about he dangers of nuclear power, the devastation of tropical rainforests, the need to preserve endangered species, problems of Indians and natural resource development, pesticide use, and destruction of ecological system through warfare in southeast Asia and Latin America. They view their concerns as international, convinced that international organizations such as the World Bank, through its loan policies, are destroying the resources of developing nations it is attempting to assist. EII argues that major issues of poverty of the people of latin America, Asia, and American Indians must be solved if the depletion of natural resources in their homelands is to be halted. Its members have attended conferences on how to put sufficient pressure on international corporations such as Coca-Cola and Burger King to sop destroying rainforests to provide space for growing citrus fruits and cattle.

EII argues that the problems of natural-resource depletion, destruction of ecological system, and endangered species can only be addressed if human populations can be controlled and destruction international competition over development of new nuclear weapons can be halted. It sees continued warfare and argues for halting development of Star Wars weapons to free funds for education, health, housing and environmental protection.

TACTICS

EII does not focus its efforts on lobbying Congress but on education the public and encouraging them to put pressure on their representatives. It publishes a quarterly, Earth Island Journal, which include reports on ecological disasters around the world. It also belong to a computer network, Econet, designed to move articles of general interest to various organizations round the world for publication. In 1986 it sponsored a Fate and Hope of the Earth conference in Canada and in 1988 in the Soviet Union. In 1989, in Nicaragua, David Brower met with Daniel Ortega, the Sandanista leader, to discuss a proposed international restoration center

for healing the wounds of industrialization in Central American.

GREENPEACE

ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

Greenpeace was founded in1971 in British Columbia, Canada, in order to oppose underground nuclear bomb testing on Amchitka Island in Alaska. Since that time it has grown to an international organization with headquarter in eight countries and six regional offices in the U.S. Greenpeace has a contributing membership of about 900,000 in the U.S. but over 2.5 million internationally. It is governed by an elected board of directors, which represents each region. Voting members must have six years active involvement with Greenpeace, which includes not only contributing money but volunteering time to projects. Greenpeace USA was originally organized regionally with complete autonomy for each regional office, which set its own agenda. In 1987, however, the board of directors decided to centralize with a national office in Washington, D.C. which now allocates funds to the regions instead of allowing each to develop its own program.

Dues are $25 a year for individuals, but donations of any amount are accepted. In the late 1980s Greenpeace had revenues of about $16 million per year, over 90 percent of which came from contributions from individuals. The remainder came from merchandise and publication sales, grants and investments. Of the total budget, about 8 percent goes for general administration and nearly 23 percent for fund-raising. Greenpeace, USA donates a portion of its annual budget to Greenpeace International, which has a reported income of $28 million. The remainder is used for the following programs: disarmament, toxic wastes, whale campaign, ocean ecology, Antarctica expedition, dolphin campaign, outer continental Shelf, and publishing Greenpeace. Greenpeace employs 400 full-time staffers who work is supplemented by hundreds of part-timers and thousands of volunteers.

POLICY CONCERNS

Originally organized around two major cause-the need to halt nuclear testing and the need to preserve the marine habitat and stop killing marine mammals-Greenpeace has expanded into the areas of toxic waste control, research on acid rain, and Antarctica. Greenpeace continues to protest underground testing and urges all nuclear nations to negotiate a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. It opposes the proliferation of nuclear weapons around the world and tries to track the quantities of plutonium that are passed among nations. It also tracks ships that are armed with nuclear

weapons and points these out to host nations when they dock in their ports.

Greenpeace opposes the continued killing of endangered whale and other marine mammal populations and urges boycotts the fish caught by such nations as Iceland, Japan and the soviet Union that choose to ignore the international ban on whaling. It also opposes the accident killing of marines mammals by fishing nets.

In 1987 Greenpeace established a research station in Antarctica to investigate the condition of the subcontinent and the impact that human activities have had on the ecosystem there. Specifically, Greenpeace objects to a U.S. outpost dumping sewage and garbage, French airstrip, overfishing, and possibility of mining.

Greenpeace is also much concerned with present methods of disposing of toxic wastes. It has argued against land-filling these wastes in economically depressed area in the United States, such as Emelle, Alabama. It also opposes incineration of such wastes and has intervened in the burning of toxics on the incinerator ships Vulcanus I and II operated by Waste Management (WMI).

TACTICS

Greenpeace is one of the most militant groups presently active in the environmental movement. Its members are dedicated to direct action against governmental and private actions it perceives as environmentally damaging. However it opposed any violence, unlike other militant groups such as Earth First! and Sea Shepherd. Its founders were brought up in the tradition o the civil rights movement and but advocates direct, but not destructive, action against it opponents. Many of the activities its members , and several Greenpeace members have been injured, but the organization subscribes to a philosophy of no-violence regardless of the response from targets of its protests.

Greenpeace has a fleet of ships it used to intercept whaling ships, to disrupt nuclear testing in the Pacific, and to protest the degradation of the marine environment through the dumping of toxic wastes into the ocean. Greenpeace crews use small rubber inflatable boats to place themselves between whales, dolphin, and other mammals it seeks to protect and dumps green dye on baby harp seals to make their pelts less desirable for international fur trade.

Greenpeace volunteers and employees attempt to influence regulatory agencies and policy-making branches of government through direct lobbying and representation of its views. However, its primary focus is on educating the public concerning the issues of highest priority to it through direct protest activities and symbolic actions, such as hanging a banner from the U.S. capitol in1985 calling for a stop to nuclear testing. In addition to such symbolic actions and the

resulting media attention, Greenpeace also directly lobbies national legislatures and international agencies as the World Bank. It has initiated some successful litigation and lobbying activities as in the case of the Marine Mammal Protection Act.

As Green peace membership grows, the diversity of philosophy and discussion over tactics also expands. Some Greenpeace members are also adherent of Earth First! Others eschew the deep ecologists' distinction between themselves and the more pragmatic organizations. Despite the recent centralization of its headquarters, Greenpeace, USA continues to be a highly diffused , grassroots organization that relies on individual volunteer initiative to bring most issues to the attention of the public. It is committed to the idea that local participation in local problems, such as the siting of hazardous waste sites, is crucial. It publishes a quarterly, Greenpeace, formerly titled Greenpeace Examiner.

NATIONAL TOXICS CAMPAIGN (NTC)

*Edited from information provided by NTC
Toxic Times 1989-91. Volumes 1-3.
NTC pamphlet, 1990.

The National Toxics Campaign (NTC) is a coalition of citizens, community leaders, scientists, statewide consumer organizations, environmentalists, health activists, and dumpsite groups formed to develop and implement solutions to the toxics crisis. NTC is committed to citizen based preventative solutions to the nation's toxics problems. The board members are all local activists and represent all regions, major minority groups, and both genders.

NTC changed its name from National Campaign Against Toxic Hazards or NCATH in 1986. They assist local efforts to clean up hazardous waste sites and helped coordinate efforts to establish strong State toxic waste cleanup and Right to Know policies. NTC has worked in 400 communities to strengthen state and local groups. At the state level they have participated as witnesses and organized 27 state Right to Know and Superfund campaigns. The expert testimony on the subject of tort reform in 10 states led to all of those states preserving the citizen's right to sue polluters for compensation.

On the federal level, NTC was a influential in the Superfund reauthorization. The several regulations were designed and promoted by NTC:

*cleanup standards requiring permanent solutions, ensuring that sites are cleaned up to the level of drinking water standards.

*a dollar amount which is a 540% increase over the initial Superfund authorization.

*cleanup schedules that will require the EPA and industry to start at least 375 toxic site cleanups as compared with less than 25 since 1980.

*a comprehensive Federal Right to Know provision, which for the first time will give communities and citizens important information concerning hazardous chemical emissions released to land, water, and air. This last provision may also serve as an important first step toward measuring toxic waste reduction and pollution prevention.

NTC actions helped to pressure the legislature for passage of the bill. NTC collected two million signatures, and orchestrated a caravan of trucks collecting water and soil samples from 200 toxic waste sites which was delivered to the Capital steps.

Local projects have been directed toward chemical producers and chemical users to reduce toxic waste generation and improve their chemical management practices. The citizen's campaigns have the goals to win the following toxics prevention rights, the right to: know of the risks of toxic chemicals; inspect dumps and polluting facilities; negotiate for cleanup of toxics and preventive action by industry; compensation for damages and personal injury; be safe from harmful toxic chemical exposure.

Other projects include Superfund Watchdog which provides reports on EPA's handling of Superfund sites. EPA Campaign which releases reports on EPA's failures in other areas of public health and environment. The National Liability campaign which targets insurance and chemical industry's attempts to eliminate fair compensation for toxics victims. The Farm Toxics project which reports on chemical intensive farming. The Citizens Recycling Project which promotes recycling and composting and fights against incineration. Military Toxics Network which focuses on military bases contamination and citizen mobilization around those bases.

One unique feature of NTC is the Citizens Environmental Laboratory which is the first environmental organizational EPA certified lab. It provides a scientific resource that is not dependent upon the industry funds.

APPENDIX D

HIGHLANDER RAP

"STP Rap: Frustrations lead to action"

We've assembled in the mountains of Tennessee
To adopt a position for our dignity.
We have a lot of answers for the problems that be
That's why we gather at the STP.

We're tired of answers that were left for us,
and we're not accepting their conclusions
without raising a fuss.
Most systems abide by the constitution,
while government and corporations give us nothing but pollution.

We have many years of production what is on our minds
about environmental pollution of the very worst kind.
The polluters all claim that it's their right,
but we're going to prove them wrong by putting up a fight.

Our resources are small but and sometimes none,
but when the polluters have setbacks its oh such fun.
We must keep on fighting because that's our goal.
We want a clean safe earth not a garbage whole.

Keep up the challenge and don't give in,
Because if we stick together, together we win.
This STP school is much in demand,
If we abide by our instructions we can save our land.
We strategizing plans for the powers that be,
that are here in the mountains of Tennessee.

VITA

Allan Lummus was born in Nashville, Tennessee on Feburary 17, 1961. He attended elementary and secondary schools in Tupelo, MS and graduated Tupelo High School in May, 1979. Entering Mississippi College in September of 1979 and graduating with a Bachelor of Music Education Degree in May 1984. He worked in the Jackson Public School District from September, 1984 through May, 1988. Reentering Mississippi College during the summer of 1985 as a part-time student. In the Fall of 1988, he changed his status to full-time and finished academic requirements for a Masters of Education Degree in Social Studies in summer of 1989. In the Fall of 1989 he entered the University of Tennessee, and in the summer of 1991 received the Master of Education Degree in Social Studies from Mississippi College and the Master of Arts degree in Sociology from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

He will complete his PhD in Sociology at the University of Oregon.