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Environmental Advocacy :
A Case Study of Interest Group Behaviour In Ontario

by
Bill Mulcahy, B.E.S.

A thesis submitted to
the faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
Department of Geography

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

April 1992

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ISBN 0-315-75914-3

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research acceptance of the thesis

"Environmental Advocacy : A Case Study of Interest Group Behaviour
In Ontario"

submitted by Bill Mulcahy, B.E.S.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of Geography

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Abstract

A survey of environmental advocacy groups was undertaken in an attempt to discover what role they play in promoting the preservation, conservation, planning, and management of our natural resources. Background information describing the nature of our environmental problems and an analysis of the political and social institutions was presented in order to understand how and why environmental advocacy groups form, and what they hope to achieve. A mailed questionnaire was used to solicit information from advocacy groups in Ontario to see how they address issues of concern and to gauge their progress in the context of the entire environmental movement. The conclusions focus on the prospects of environmentalists being able to uproot some of the attributes of western culture that are considered unsustainable or environmentally harmful.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Ron Duncan for providing not only a computer for this unforgiving task but also for showing extreme patience when being wakened late at night by a petrified voice screaming that the computer had eaten the thesis. Inspiration for this report provided by me mom, the bridge club, Bup and Mae-Nan, and Karl the musical proofreader. I would also like to thank computer wizards Alison, Greg and Britta, all those that took the time to return the survey and, of course, Duncan Anderson who was always positive, encouraging, and willing to accommodate my inability to get out of bed on friday morning for consultations. Thanks to all.

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CHAPTER #1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The facts regarding the deterioration of our physical environment are well documented. Thinning ozone, vanishing forests, and eroding soil are but a few of the many problems that face our global community (Brown, 1989; W.C.E.D, 1987; Clark and Munn, 1986). These problems, "attributed to widespread industrialization over the past hundred or two years, allied to increased material consumption by rapidly expanding populations," continue to create new challenges for environmental advocates (Pepper, 1984). However, as Capra points out, there is definitely a new sense of urgency associated with both wide spread ecological degradation, and the threat of nuclear war:

At the beginning of the last two decades of our century, we find ourselves in a state of profound, world-wide crisis. It is a complex, multi-dimensional crisis whose facets touch every aspect of our lives - our health and livelihood, the quality of our environment and our social relationships, our economy, technology, and politics. It is a crisis of intellectual, moral, and spiritual dimensions; a crisis of a scale and urgency unprecedented in recorded human history. For the first time we have to face the very real threat of extinction of the human race and of all life on this planet (Capra, 1982).

Although pollution affects people in all corners of the globe, the benefits associated with the exploitation of the world's natural resources have only accrued to a select few. According to Rees (in Munro, 1989), the impact of each Canadian on the environment is the equivalent of that of 40 to 50 third world residents. Apparently, the economic and political systems associated with Western culture have been responsible for creating these disparities. Unfortunately, these systems have provided little in the way of solutions for global environmental problems. In fact, Western (or first world) countries such as Canada have experienced difficulties in practising effective resource management in their own backyards. Capra (1982) concludes that our systems of Western culture tend to perpetuate the problems associated with large scale environmental transformation and, therefore, we can not solve our problems using conventional means. Rather, if we are to challenge the issues of global environmental change, we cannot address the problems individually but must attempt to transform the underlying values and ideas that constitute our cultural fabric.

So how does one instigate, regulate, and assess the transformation of the way people think about themselves, others, and the world they share? What constitutes our culture? What are the motivations for change? How do environmentally concerned individuals convince the public (and politicians) that we need to

change our values ? Pepper (1984) points out that although the remedy for the environmental predicament may lie in a change of values - in what ideas we hold as true and valid and worth defending - this remedy is a "little lame" because no one has come up with any practical guidance on how this change is to be achieved. The multitude of ways that environmental groups attempt to reach people, and the often apparent ineffectiveness of their work, bears witness to the fact that there is no magic recipe for changing social values. As the following quotation emphasizes, this lack of direction makes the task of the environmental advocate all the more difficult:

The inadequacy of the public response is partly due to complacency, but it also owes much to the very multiplicity of environmental groups, and to a consequent confusion which clouds our perception of their identities, aims, and methods. People cannot distinguish the trees in the forest from one another and so cannot decide which cause to espouse. Too often the result of this indecision is either to support none at all, or to send one's contributions to the (fortunately few) slick practitioners of direct-mail solicitation, which tend to plow most of the money they receive back into even more importunate appeals for more funds (Mowat, 1990).

This leads one to either assume that there is no solution, and therefore no use in trying to find one; or to forge ahead in hopes of stumbling onto something. Concerned environmentalists are stumbling ahead.

It has become rather obvious over the last three decades that the "environmental movement" has been growing in Canada: That is, more people are taking part in groups advocating protection of our natural resources, or just talking and learning about how we interact with our environment. Schools at all levels are integrating programs that deal with issues virtually untouched not even one generation ago (Ludlow, 1989). Television programs about the destruction of rainforests accent the universality of our ecological problems. Environmentalism has become quite topical. National polls conducted by Angus Reid (McIlroy, 1991) and Decima Research (Lapointe, 1991) found that the majority of Canadians consider the environment a "mainstream issue" and that government environmental programs should not be sacrificed even in hard economic times. The question we must ask, therefore, is not whether environmentalism is growing, but how effective has the spread of these "environmentalist ideas" been in changing the attitudes and values that precede prudent environmental stewardship? Ultimately, environmentalists would like to alleviate problems by protecting and conserving our natural resources rather than cleaning up and repairing after environmental damage has been done.

So who is the environmentalist, what is environmentalism, and what constitutes the environmental movement ? Indeed, anyone can consider themselves to be an advocate of the environment. An environmentalist does not necessarily have to subscribe to any

political ideology, belong to any religious group or hold any particular economic or social status. In fact the only prerequisite for being an environmentalist is a sense of responsibility for all who share the world's resources now and in the future. Environmentalism, therefore, must be the means by which these individuals promote this concern on both a personal and a social level.

Because of the vague description of what an environmentalist is, it is difficult to classify what exactly constitutes an environmental movement. In fact the environmental movement shares many of the same characteristics as many of the other social movements of our time, such as the peace movement and the civil rights movement (Offe, 1985). Although we can define the movement in terms of the initiatives, progress, and lack of progress on any, or all, environmental issues, it is difficult to identify how a movement works and, subsequently, what makes it successful or leads to its decline.

Although environmentalism is not new, the context in which environmentalists are working is. Although recent surveys show that Canadians regard environmental issues as high priority (McIlroy, Lapointe, 1991), there is widespread cynicism over the ability of our elected officials, at all levels of government, to respond to our concerns:

With the dawn of the 1990's, unprecedented public concern for the environment has led to increased support for vigorous environmental protection measures. Instead of seizing the moment and aggressively promoting environmental protection, the Ontario government is more often caught (literally at times) fighting fires than working on fire prevention. Disaster by disaster, we muddle along (Alexander, 1990).

It is difficult to understand why our political leaders have apparently been slow to respond to identifiable environmental problems and to accommodate the concerns of the average citizen. In the last two decades, a growing network of non profit organizations has emerged in Canada employing "people power" in order to send a message, indicating that somehow the roles of "leader and follower" have inadvertently being reversed. In Ontario alone, the number of environmental advocacy groups has increased from 240 in 1986 to 480 in 1991 (Ontario Environment Network, 1988, 1991). The variety and scope of the environmental issues being addressed (everything from local recycling programs to cleaning up the Great Lakes) clearly indicates a growing feeling of public discontent with government environmental policies on a local, regional, provincial, and national level.

The increase in the number of advocacy groups could be the result of either a "new sense of urgency" regarding widespread environmental degradation or an indication that are problems in the planning and decision making process. It is possible that more

interaction and consultation with both the expert and the average citizen would lead to more responsible management of our natural resources. Yet, often government priorities, objectives, and goals are based on a much larger agenda that fails to recognize the need to integrate environmental concerns into all aspects of government policy. Therefore, it is important for the environmental community to reach beyond specific issues and communicate to elected officials that "it is time to make a genuine commitment to sustainability, that is, a way of life and an economy that can be sustained indefinitely into the future, without degrading the environment or depleting resources" (Ontario Environmental Network, 1991).

Research Goals

The purpose of the research is:

1. To determine why government policy does not reflect the growing concern Canadians have about the state of their environment. If, as the polls indicate environmental issues are of the utmost priority, why then are they apparently not being treated as such? Environmental advocates believe that the biggest barrier to addressing environmental issues is finding the will, not the way. Unfortunately, it appears that most of those in the best position to facilitate change do not feel the same sense of urgency as those who associate themselves with the environmental movement.

2. To determine, what role, if any, citizens groups have played in translating public concern into political action. That is, how successful have environmental advocates been in communicating their concerns to elected officials.

3. To achieve a better understanding of the role played by advocacy groups in promoting the preservation, conservation, planning, and management of our natural resources. Although the achievements of these groups are generally measured in terms of intangibles such as success in educating and raising public awareness, factors such as membership size, growth pattern, or attainment of specific goals (i.e. implementing a community blue box program), are indicative of how environmental concerns have diffused from the grassroots level. By looking at the accomplishments and failures of conservation/environmental organizations in Ontario, inferences can be made about the changing attitudes of Canadians towards their environment within the context of a global "green movement".

Research Design

In order to understand the challenges that environmental advocates face, it is necessary to appreciate how we got ourselves into this "predicament" in the first place:

...if we seek for the future the kind of real social and environmental changes which much of the standard environmental literature calls for, and which have to be accompanied by widespread attitudinal changes, then we must develop an historical perspective on how we and others have arrived at our present set of attitudes, and understand what material changes will be needed to help foster a new set (Pepper, 1984).

To understand how we arrived at our present set of values is to understand centuries of philosophy, geography, history, and theology combined. There have been many key players over the years that have combined these disciplines into a thoughtful perspective on environmentalism. Although the approach varies from individual to individual it is surprising, and perhaps a little frightening to see that many of their ideas have remained relatively consistent over the years. It seems that the struggles arising from conflicting ideologies are timeless - the only thing that changes are the people, the scenery, and the circumstances. Chapter 2 identifies a few of the integral people, places, and events, that have defined the need for a movement such as environmentalism.

Because of the complexity of environmental issues, and the multitude of ways of addressing and solving environmental problems, it is possible that these issues have not received the attention people feel they deserve. In other words, there may be a lack of communication between concerned individuals and those who may be in

a position to help solve environmental problems. In this sense, environmentalism takes on both a social and a political dimension. This research is designed to trace how the concerned environmentalist attempts to strengthen the lines of communication in order to ensure that facts regarding our "predicament" are made available to friends, business people and elected officials.

In order to do this, it was first necessary to achieve a basic understanding of our political institutions. Chapter 3 describes how individuals, collectivities, and social movements gain access to, and ultimately become a part of the political process. Unfortunately politics can not be all things to all people and there are many differing views on why certain items are included, or excluded, from a political agenda. Similarly, there is little agreement on what the best lobbying technique is for any given concern. These arguments can only be considered in light of the predominant values that constitute our present cultural make-up, as it is those values that form not only the basis for our government but also the basis for change.

The literature describes a variety of ways in which advocates have attempted to promote a given cause or causes. However, there is no comprehensive study that shows how the people who promote environmental awareness on a daily basis see their role in the context of the environmental movement. In other words, is there a common bond between this "multiplicity of environmental groups"

and, if so, how can they merge their skills, talents, and ideas in order to strengthen their effectiveness in addressing the serious environmental issue of our time?

A survey of advocacy groups was undertaken as a means of discovering how this multiplicity of groups is trying to translate public concern into political and apolitical action. In order to understand why these groups have failed or succeeded in their endeavours, it was necessary to find out about the origin of the various organizations, and also acquire some information about who belongs to these groups and how and why they have supported them. An advocacy group survey was, therefore, designed to discover who the people involved in the movement are, and to find out how they are going about trying to make it work.

Scope and Limitations

Because the current network of environmental advocacy groups in Canada is extensive, the scope of this research had to be focused. The study area was, therefore, restricted to the province of Ontario, but included some Ontario-based organizations with a national or possibly international affiliation. The names, addresses, and a brief description of each group's agenda was contained in The Ontario Environmental Resourcebook (1988). The "Resourcebook" was used to compile the mailing list as it

identified those groups that dealt with the "impact of pollution, resource exploitation, and reckless development" (Ontario Environment Network, 1988). To make the sample more manageable, groups with very local, site specific, concerns (i.e. groups formed to address N.I.M.B.Y. causes) were excluded. The research focused on the recent evolution of environmental advocacy groups, from 1960 to the present.

Advocacy Group Survey

By conducting a survey of environmental advocacy groups in the province of Ontario, it was possible to address the following objectives:

1. To find out why, when, where, and how these organizations got started.
2. To find out who the key players are in these organizations, and find out what their goals and objectives are.
3. To find out what accomplishments or failures these groups have experienced over the years.
4. To find out what impact these groups have had politically, socially and economically.
5. To find out how and why these groups have grown or declined over the years.
6. To speculate on the role(s) of these groups in the future.

It was decided that the best method of data acquisition would be a mailed questionnaire. Because of the diversity of the groups and the fact that most were run by overworked individuals, it was felt that this style of research would be best suited to the respondents as it gave them the option of providing as much or as little information about their organization as their schedule permitted. The questionnaire was, therefore, designed to solicit information in both an "open" format, which allowed for very subjective, anecdotal information and a "closed" style format geared towards obtaining quantitative information (Haring and Lounsbury, 1983). Although the personal interview was a valid option to the open response style section of the questionnaire, it was felt that by including it in the mail survey it would be easier to administer and would reach a wider range of individuals (Sheskin, 1985).

Although the results contained in Chapter 5 and the subsequent conclusions contained in Chapter 6 may only enforce our belief that the environmental movement is enigmatic and chaotic, there is little doubt that the more we understand this "ideology" the more we may realize how important it can be in our day to day living. As Capra points out, it is exciting to see how society responds to new ideas, particularly those of the environmentalists:

Although the cultural mainstream has become petrified by clinging to ideas and rigid patterns of behaviour, creative minorities will appear on the scene and carry on the process of challenge-and-response. The dominant social institutions will refuse to hand over their leading roles to these new cultural forces, but they will inevitably go on to decline and disintegrate, and the creative minorities may be able to transform some of the old elements into a new configuration. The process of cultural evolution will then continue, but in new circumstances and with new protagonists (Capra, 1982).

As our global community contemplates the ramifications of widespread ecological destruction, it will be necessary to reflect on the origin of our various value systems. Certain aspects of these systems are not conducive to maintaining a healthy environment in the wake of constantly expanding populations. Environmental advocates understand that bringing to light cultural practices that lead to ecological imbalances can be the first step in attempting to create a new environmental ethic (Examples of this are described in the last section of Chapter 3 : Environmental Advocacy and the Marketplace). The biggest step, however, in pursuing this modern environmental ethic, is to replace those regressive values by promoting the belief that "the things that make life worth living, that give depth and bounty to human existence, are infinitely sustainable" (Durning, 1991).

CHAPTER #2

Environmentalism and Culture

Introduction

In 1892, John Muir founded the Sierra Club to protect the wilderness of the Sierra Nevada (California). It was Muir's belief that if people could experience the wilderness and understand its value, they would cherish it and work to protect and preserve it. Almost one hundred years later, the Sierra Club is playing a key role as a volunteer-based organization addressing a variety of important environmental issues in both the U.S.A. and Canada. The historical basis of the conservation movement is traced to the 19th century and the works of such individuals as John Muir, Aldo Leopold, and Henry David Thoreau. These individuals appreciated the interdependence of humanity and the environment, and the importance of preserving wilderness as a means of preserving a part of our own spirituality. The goals of the individuals and groups these men inspired have remained virtually unchanged over the years, although the task of conserving natural areas has become somewhat more challenging.

The North American conservationists of the mid-nineteenth century did not spontaneously arrive at this new found concern for the environment. Their concerns were based on the realization that the natural resources of the Americas were being affected by an

unbridled pioneer spirit. Their response was to seek ways to protect the resources, and also reveal some of the tragedies associated with the onset of the industrial revolution. Henry David Thoreau, born in Concord, Massachusetts in 1817, was considered one of the most influential of the early conservationists. As the following quotation indicates, he sensed that the taming of the American wilderness would alienate humanity from its spiritual roots:

Most men appear never to have considered what a house is, and are actually though needlessly poor all their lives because they think that they must have such a one as their neighbours have... It is possible to invent a house still more convenient and luxurious than we have, which yet all would admit that man could not afford to pay for. Shall we always study to obtain more of these things, and not sometimes to be content with less? ... Why should not our furniture be as simple as the Arab's or the Indian's? I had three pieces of limestone on my desk, but I was terrified to find that they required to be dusted daily, when the furniture of my mind was all undusted still, and I threw them out the window in disgust. How then could I have a furnished house? I would rather sit in the open air, for no dust gathers on the grass, unless where man has broken ground (Henry David Thoreau, 1854).

Thoreau shunned village life for a sabbatical at nearby Walden Pond where he went in search of a lifestyle devoid of materialism, competition, and class struggle. By seeking out this simplest of existences, he found he could think clearly about what was important to him. The result was an inner peace and harmony;

a freedom from the anxieties of the world. His was an experiment in determining the difference between what people need and what people want... "the improvements of ages have had but little influence on the essential laws of man's existence." Thoreau's experiment yielded a "constitution" for environmentalism.

This constitution ran contrary to everything 19th century New England society stood for. But it was not just non-conformity for the sake of being rebellious, malicious or disrespectful. It was to demonstrate that alternative lifestyles could be more rewarding and more fulfilling. A lot of time has passed since Thoreau wrote from Walden, and it is clear that the tendency towards simplicity that he advocated has not been embraced. In fact the materialist ethic of the time was only amplified by the technological explosion of the next century. Indeed the task of adopting such a constitution has grown more difficult with each passing year. In the first part of this chapter the values and ideals that provoked the need for the development of such a constitution are discussed, and the second part focuses on the way in which the conservation movement grew in response to those values that it deemed threatening to the fragile ecosystems of our planet.

Our Western Culture

Paehlke (1989) sees environmentalism as an ideology whose time has come, but does not subscribe to the theory of impending ecological apocalypse. Others, such as Capra (1982) see environmental degradation as part of a world wide crisis that can only be addressed by transforming our cultural base. He tries to give some direction to what he sees as an inevitable, evolutionary process of restructuring our system of values and ideas. The success of the environmentalist will depend on his/her perception of the problem. We may not all be able to move to Walden but the more we identify with those values, the more we stand to gain as individuals and as a society as a whole.

Arnold Toynbee (in Capra, 1982) defined three elements that are responsible for our current cultural transformation, the first being the inevitable collapse of the patriarchy. The second, less controllable factor, is the decline of the fossil fuel age. The third is associated with:

what is now often called a paradigm shift
- a profound change in the thoughts, perceptions, and values from a particular vision of reality. The paradigm that is now shifting has dominated our culture for several hundred years, during which it has shaped our modern Western society and has significantly influenced the rest of the world.

This paradigm comprises a number of ideas and values that differ sharply from those of the Middle Ages; values that have been associated with the various streams of Western culture, among them the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, and the Industrial Revolution. They include the belief in the scientific method as the only valid approach to knowledge; the view of the universe as a mechanical system composed of elementary building blocks; the view of life in society as a competitive struggle for existence; and the belief in unlimited material progress to be achieved through economic and technological growth. During the past decades all of these ideas and values have been found severely limited and in need of radical revision (Capra, 1982).

External causes, such as the scarcity of fossil fuels, can transform a culture by necessity. However, the decline of the patriarchy and the paradigm shift that Capra refers to are more a result of individuals becoming aware of the inadequacies and inequities associated with the status quo. The individuals that recognize these problems are often marginalized by the cultural mainstream reinforcing the inert nature of the society as a whole.

Environmentalists, peace activists, and feminists are all attempting to dislodge age old values that shape our culture. The task is obviously monumental, but the message they carry is that we now face consequences of global proportion. One might think that this sense of urgency would be helpful but we must not forget that the dominating paradigm is one of scientific universality and many

think that science will save us from the problems we have created. Therefore, although the environmentalist is concerned with pollution and the peace activist is concerned with bombs, these movements must address, if not always consciously, the issue of human culture and its transformation (Roman,1989).

Thus, the question remains, what do peace activists and environmentalists do to transform a culture. It is obvious that fighting pollution in a lake, or preserving a wetland area are important, if not symbolic gestures of concern for the environment. Unfortunately, anyone who watches the "tree huggin' greenie" fight against a logging road being constructed realizes that for every tree being saved, thousands more are being destroyed elsewhere. Often we lay blame with the logger, who in the course of trying to earn a living, is made the villain in a situation where many are to blame. We often forget that our avaricious consumer demands as a society place strong demands on our natural resources. Those demands fail to consider the limits of our natural ecosystems, and as we become accustomed to reaping the economic benefits of unsustainable growth, we lose track of the future. The tree as a commodity, as a job for an unemployed worker, fails to hold any intrinsic value, and is therefore treated accordingly. The environmentalists may be able to save a tree, but undoubtedly their real challenge is comprehending and ultimately changing the attitudes and values of those who wish to cut the entire forest down.

Roman (1989) points out that the way we treat our natural resources is a reflection of our value systems and our meta-physical inclinations. If we can re-examine why we hold the beliefs that we do, it is possible that we may find fault with many of the assumptions we have taken for granted. From this we can propose a more responsible approach to our lifestyles:

If the premise is accepted that the ultimate source of pollution is modern culture rather than industrial drainpipes, then the systematic study of that culture is as important for the environmental movement as is the study of pollution levels in rivers and lakes. Without a concerted effort aimed at transforming modern culture in order to rid it of ecologically destructive values, environmentalism becomes an unwitting appendage of liberal ideology and a co-opted fad of North American consumerism at best (Roman, 1989).

That "systematic study of culture" begins in the 16th century with the onset of the scientific revolution. Although we can trace the ethic of domination of nature, at least, back to the book of Genesis, the interpretation of the scripture has led to a variety of views of the humanity-nature relationship. Genesis Chapter 1, Verse 26 says the lord created man... "to have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth and over every creeping thing..." (quoted from a discussion on Christian interpretations; Rubinoff, 1985). The debate over whether or not dominion, in this sense, means domination or stewardship cannot be considered in the absence of

some of the less contentious principles of Judeo-Christian teaching. Moral obligation to others, aversion to wealth, and the spirituality of the wilderness (associated with the days spent there by Jesus after Easter) all contradict any notion of a need or desire to dominate our natural environment. Although Christian attitudes may in fact hold the secret to reclaiming our relationship with the environment, many people throughout time, and most noticeably those associated with the scientific revolution, saw the increase in domination and control over nature as a means of glorifying God (Rubinoff, 1985).

The scientific revolution of the 16th century had many proponents. Among them was Rene Descartes who theorized that all "science is certain, evident knowledge" (quoted in Capra, 1982). The dualism that was created by Descartes separated mind and matter and ultimately separated spirit from matter. The predominant philosophy of the middle ages contradicted the Aristotelian image of nature as an organic, living, and spiritual universe, and replaced it with the metaphor of the Newtonian paradigm that saw the world as a machine (Capra, 1982). Humanity was set apart from nature and through scientific knowledge the world could be understood, manipulated and controlled to suit the needs of the masters. This dualism destroyed any notion of balance and by rationalizing this exploitation with the approval of God, the scientist became a revered member of society.

According to Pepper (1984), Francis Bacon, for example, thought that by understanding how nature worked, he could use that knowledge to make things better for humanity. The ethic of working to help one another was generous but when mixed with his belief that scientific knowledge equals power over nature, the result became a potent rationalization for all future discoveries done in the name of progress. Eventually all science and scientists were seen as philanthropic and, because of the apparent objectivity of their work, any given cause could legitimize its actions by equating itself with scientific fact (Pepper, 1984). Thus, alchemy, astrology, and metaphysics was relinquished in the pursuit of hard cold provable facts. This technocentric attitude made an icon out of the scientists and a fool out of any who dared to challenge the belief that all progress and development was ultimately in the best interest of humanity. And, as Capra points out, this ultimately transformed the way people approached their own spirituality:

This picture of a perfect world machine implied an external creator; a monarchical god who ruled the world from above by imposing his divine law on it. The physical phenomena themselves were not thought to be divine in any sense, and when science made it more and more difficult to believe in such a god, the divine disappeared completely from the scientific world view, leaving behind a spiritual vacuum that has become characteristic of the mainstream of our culture (Capra, 1982).

Since the industrial revolution in the 18th century, the world has experienced an incredible growth in population, and technological innovation (Mesthene, 1970). Increases in the amount of leisure time have provided the impetus for a network of inspiring innovations. Science was to be the 20th century's panacea for all the world's ills. Little did the pioneers of industry realize that two hundred years of engineering would bring the world to the brink of militaristic and environmental disaster. Technology facilitated the exploitation of what seemed to be an endless supply of natural resources in order to provide immediate happiness through an increase in the availability of consumer goods. The fascination with novelty has left little time for reflection and understanding of the long term effects of our creativity. Competitive and progressive, the acceleration of technology outstripped humanity's ability to understand the social and environmental ramifications of such frantic change.

Some see technology as our saviour and others as our demise. Both are very narrow views and create problems when dealing with environmental issues. Mesthene describes what he sees as one of three inadequate perspectives on society's response to the increase in new technologies:

Technology is said to rob people of their jobs, their privacy, their participation in democratic government, and even, in the end, of their dignity as human beings.

It is seen as autonomous and uncontrollable, as fostering materialistic values and as destructive of religion, as bringing about a technocratic society and a bureaucratic state in which the individual is increasingly submerged, and as threatening, ultimately, to poison nature and blow up the world (Mesthene, 1970).

The antithesis to this approach is that science alone will solve our social and environmental problems. That attitude is apathetic in the sense that it takes action out of the hands of the individual and places it in the hands of future generations. What is needed is a thoughtful understanding of the implications of new ideas, beyond the often encouraging economic benefits.

The problem associated with technologies, such as the automobile, is not always implicit in their design or function but often is implicit in their byproducts or obsolescence. Innovation and production is often a linear concept and ignores any notion of a "cradle to grave" responsibility. For example, the environmental and social costs associated with driving, and ultimately disposing of, a vehicle are not considered anywhere in the production or operating equation. Ultimately, the creative process is not what is necessarily destructive or constructive but rather it is society's ability to absorb all the intangible costs (what economists refer to as externalities) that is problematic. An individual's costs and benefits can differ from those of society and, therefore, what is "external" from an individual's perspective

may be "internal" to society. As the magnitude of technological change increases, it will become more difficult to compensate for the negative impacts associated with our obsession with innovation.

It is argued here that proper resource planning depends on understanding the human and environmental effects of new technology and development, before it is widely applied. It may not be possible, or necessary, to slow the advance of science, but it is possible to be more effective through assessing, regulating, and controlling the effects of new development. Certain advancements, in fields such as genetics and bio-engineering, require an exhaustive analysis of the ethical and moral implications of their worth. It is also necessary to see that funds are made available for research and design of environmentally helpful technologies that may not yield economic benefits, and may in fact cost millions of dollars, but may yield a return to society valued in non tangible terms.

Einstein, quantum theory, and the "new physics" of the 20th Century would undermine the thinking of Descartes, Bacon, Newton, and their disciples. For now it became apparent that science could not only improve the lot of humanity, but also destroy it completely. It also became apparent that the world could no longer be reduced to a series of building blocks but would be better described as "one indivisible, dynamic, whole whose parts are essentially interrelated and can be understood only as a pattern of

a cosmic process" (Capra, 1982). According to Capra, this holistic approach forms the basis for the new paradigm which advocates non-linear growth, soft energy paths, and disaggregation of western style economies.

This new paradigm which environmentalists have adopted, in varying degrees, comprises so many components that are so inexorably linked that it is impossible to know which hold the highest priority. Because our Western culture may be difficult to dismantle from the bottom up, environmentalists have attacked the wide spectrum of issues on a variety of fronts. Still, many feel that the underlying theme of domination over nature has yet to be dispelled. Social ecology, developed by Murray Bookchin and his colleagues, "emphasizes the embeddedness of human consciousness in nature, a radical ecological critique of hierarchy and domination, and the historical unity of ecological and social concerns" (Tokar, 1988). Bookchin links the view of dominating nature to the rise of social hierarchies:

Domination, is not intrinsic in nature; neither has it ever been an appropriate response to the needs of human survival. Rather, the patterns of the natural world call upon us to embrace the values of co-operation, complementarity and unity in diversity, both in our relationships with the rest of nature and within the human community (in Tokar, 1988).

Environmentalists must continue to recognize that whether they are addressing the issues of nuclear energy or wildlife management, the real problem lies in the social, environmental, or humanitarian ethics that we espouse. Often it is difficult to see evidence of a real commitment to abating pollution when the nations of this planet spend 1 trillion dollars annually on the arms race and employ over half of our top scientists in weapons research (W.C.E.D., 1987).

In summary, it seems obvious that the structures we have in place (political, industrial, economic) make it very difficult for us, as a society, to surrender certain values that have become so entrenched. Although the world of Walden seems more distant every day, it is becoming apparent that the traditional ethic held by Thoreau, and others, is more valuable now than ever. The new paradigm is, in essence, an expression of old ideas, in that we must appreciate beauty in simplicity, and understand and respect our relationship with the biosphere.

The North American Conservation Movement

The ecological wisdom of the early North American conservationists of the 19th century provided the initiative for the formation of a series of local groups embracing the constitution of conservation and preservation. The result of this would be an increase in understanding and education about the wild and natural areas of what were two very young countries. The history of the local conservation movement dates back to 1879 and the founding of The Ottawa Field Naturalists by James Fletcher. The objectives of the club at the time were to investigate the natural history of the vicinity. Not unlike the early conservation groups of the United States, The Ottawa Field Naturalists Club have maintained a consistent orientation but have broadened their concerns. These are:

To promote the appreciation, preservation and conservation of Canada's natural heritage; to encourage investigation and publish the results of research in all fields of natural history and to diffuse information on these fields as widely as possible; to support and co-operate with organizations engaged in preserving, maintaining or restoring environments of high quality for living things (Ottawa Field Naturalists Club, 1991).

Although there was a smattering of concerned individuals and loosely knit wilderness groups that "had an emotional interest in the preservation of nature for its own sake", the early North

American conservation movement was a response to the need for proper development of natural resources for sustained economic benefit. The wasteful destruction of resources scarred the American landscape long before such problems became apparent in Canada. However, the early work of U.S. conservationists such as Gifford Pinchot made a lasting imprint on the conservation movement in both countries. Pinchot, appointed head of the U.S. Forestry Service in 1898, was concerned with maintaining a public responsibility when it came to developing resources, so that the benefits of the development would accrue to the nation as a whole rather than a number of select individuals (Burton, 1972). He was not interested in the preservation of wilderness areas for their own virtue but for the sake of sustained economic benefit:

I have run over this matter very briefly and rapidly and I have one word to say in conclusion: forestry is a business proposition. We do not love the trees any less because we do not talk about love for them, but the owners of forest land in the mass will never protect their forests for merely sentimental reasons. It has been tried and failed. If however, you can show these owners that it is worth their while to practice forestry, that forest land can be cut over under the methods suggested by a true system of forestry at a profit now and a profit to follow, then you can convince them that forestry is a business and therefore worthy of their attention (Pinchot in Thorpe: Resources For Tomorrow, 1961).

These comments, made in Canada, in 1906, at the first of a series of forestry conferences, indicated that although there was

no "sentimentality" there was a need to control the reins of business and industry, as they wantonly exploited our natural resources.

Forestry was not the only key issue: Frederick Newell, a soil and water engineer, became the first director of the U.S. Reclamation Service which studied and implemented major dam projects (Burton, 1972). Not unlike Pinchot, his concerns were for the more practical, anthropocentric, principles of the conservation movement:

The building of large structures for water conservation and for the reclamation of land is not, however, the ultimate object. These works in themselves are notable, but their importance to the nation comes from the fact that they make possible opportunities for the creation of small farms and building of homes for independent citizenship (Newell, in Burton, 1972).

The concerns of these individuals were expressed, along with the concerns of other delegates from The United States, Canada, and Mexico, at The North American Conservation Conference in Washington in 1909. This conference inspired then president Theodore Roosevelt to plan a world conference on conservation and, coincidentally, motivated Sir Wilfred Laurier to form a Canadian Commission of Conservation. The Commission dealt with a wide range of issues under the auspices of six sub committees: forestry, lands, fish and wildlife, water, minerals and fuels, and public

health (Thorpe in Resources For Tommmorrow, 1961). Clifford Sifton, in his opening address to the first meeting in 1910, described the objectives of the committee in light of the differences and affinities of the American initiative:

... it is evident for instance that our circumstances differ materially from those of the United States in important particulars. There they have a large population, and the development of their resources has proceeded very far. In our case the facts are different. Our population is sparse, our resources in an initial stage of development. So much so is this the case that I have heard the view expressed that what Canada wants is development and exploitation not conservation.

This view, however, is founded upon an erroneous conception which it must be our work to remove. If we attempt to stand in the way of development our efforts will assuredly be of no avail either to stop development or to promote conservation. It will not, however, be hard to show that the best and most highly economic development and exploitation in the interests of the people can only take place by having regard to the principles of conservation (Sifton in Thorpe: Resources For Tommmorrow, 1961).

The differences between the two countries were also evident in the motives for establishing the two National Park Systems. The dedication of Yellowstone National Park in 1873 was a result of public concern and pressure. By contrast, the establishment of Rocky Mountains (Banff) National Park in 1887 was "initiated by an apparently unprovoked federal government fiat and developed by skilful federal civil servants" (Paehlke, 1989). The extraction of

resources from the park reserve, and the recreational and tourism potential of the hot springs at Banff, was characteristic of the rather anthropocentric beginning to the Canadian conservation movement. Although resource exploitation and development still place heavy demands on our National and Provincial Parks, the gradual evolution of the park system, and park policy, has meant the preservation of more "natural areas of Canadian significance."

The Commission of Conservation was dismantled in 1921 because of a variety of political reasons. This was the beginning of a long decline in the both public and private interest in resource management. However, as Kruger and Mitchell point out, the importance of the Commission in the history of resource management policy in Canada cannot be ignored:

The Commission conducted and commissioned research which provided much needed information about Canada's renewable and non renewable resources. The commission provided an important national forum for the discussion of natural resource policy and management. The concepts of co-ordinated management of groups of resources, multiple purpose resource use, the integration of resource management with urban and regional planning, the impact of management of resources on public health through pollution effects, and the idea that development and conservation are not necessarily conflicting activities, were formulated and propagated across the country. Many ideas picked up and developed later by academics and resource managers, and many programs initiated later by governments and private enterprise, had their origin in the various activities of the short lived Conservation Commission (Kruger and Mitchell, 1977).

The loss of government leadership in the years following the demise of the Commission left a vacuum in the conservation movement. Field naturalist and conservation groups continued to grow but their presence was limited as they pursued the more subtle goals of learning about, enjoying, and appreciating those areas that had remained undisturbed. The conservation movement in the United States comprised at least 78 national and 256 state based conservation organizations by 1955 (Paehlke, 1989). The earliest available statistics on memberships in Ontario clubs comes from The Federation of Ontario Naturalists. When the Federation was formed in 1931 it comprised seven charter clubs and a total of 28 individuals. By 1956, the Federation had grown to 32 affiliated clubs and 1650 individual members (FON, 1981). The group now includes 78 groups and 15000 individual members and "a network of 30000 people working together to protect our environment." Although conservation and field naturalists groups have been tackling a profuse number of issues, these types of organizations represent only one component of the environmental movement.

The New Environmentalists

A new era of environmentalism was ushered in with the publication of Rachel Carson's book, Silent Spring in 1960. The emphasis shifted away from preservation and conservation to the

more pressing issue of chemical contamination of the air, water, land, and food. People became increasingly more vocal when they found out the degree to which their health was being affected by the alterations in the natural environment. It became more obvious that the world was indeed "one indivisible, dynamic, whose parts are essentially interrelated," and that there were certain "limits to growth" (Club of Rome, 1972). Paehlke and Schnaiberg (quoted directly from Paehlke, 1989) identify four differences between the contemporary environmental movement and the traditional conservation movement:

1. The environmental movement from the mid-1960's to the present, from anti-pollution proponents to those opposing nuclear power and toxic wastes , is largely political and ideological in its perspective. Unlike conservation and most other modern ideologies, environmentalism has an anti-technological dimension.

2. Environmentalism is not concerned only with forest and wilderness far from population centres, as was the conservation movement. Environmentalists are oriented to the protection of wilderness principally in the sense that it is part of the viability of the global biosphere.

3. New environmental groups questioned the logic of private investment decisions and the conventional treadmill model of production expansion to generate economic growth.

4. The environmental movement harbours a strong asceticism, embedded in doubts about the North American lifestyle. Asceticism, was of course, much a part of Thoreau's, Muir's, and some other early conservationists messages. But in mid-twentieth-century North America such moral or aesthetic predilections seem in themselves to challenge directly both the ethos and the socioeconomic structures of the day.

The new concern with pollution, allied with the growing social awareness of the nineteen sixties, gave rise to a new genre of environmental groups. These groups explored issues such as toxic waste dumping and pesticide use. The discussion of these issues gave people a perspective on ecological concepts such as bioaccumulation, natural resistance, and natural dispersion (Pepper, 1984). An understanding of these principles was a critical first step in realizing that the environment was not an endless sink for the disposal of our wastes. Everything that was dumped, buried, or injected was not to disappear for ever. To affect the biosphere was to affect all living things in that biosphere, humans included. Unfortunately, many of the problems associated with the careless use of non-organic compounds showed up long after their introduction, sometimes in a surprising and deadly debut (Carson, 1960).

As the environmental movement of the 1960's became more "political and ideological in its perspective," the challenges

associated with finding new ways of voicing its concerns intensified. The environmentalist had to learn to compete with every other interest that existed in an increasingly pluralistic society. To do this, environmentalists were compelled to not only understand how the political process worked, but, ultimately, how it could work to further their objectives. The next chapter describes some of the ways groups, and individuals, attempt to make their concerns political, and some of the problems that they encounter in the process.

CHAPTER #3

Interest Groups and Advocacy Planning

... pressure groups are an essential part of Canadian politics. They create day-to-day connections between public officials and private citizens, alerting both to new trends and facilitating the implementation of government decisions. Often considered illegitimate themselves, their advice and support contribute to the creation of acceptable public policy and give it legitimacy in the community. Their presence makes for a dynamic and healthy political system (Pross, 1975).

Interest groups can be rather loosely defined as "collectivities organized around an explicit value on behalf of which essentially political demands are made vis-a-vis government, other groups, and the general public" (Presthus, 1973). Although the number and variety of interest groups (also referred to, interchangeably, in this paper as pressure or advocacy groups) demonstrates a wide array of concerns and issues, there is common ground in the role that they play in attempting to influence policy at all levels of government. Because there is a multitude of divergent ideas that confront politicians, it is necessary for citizens' groups to substantiate their needs by showing solidarity, and by providing facts and information that would authenticate their position. Although the techniques used for promoting a group's ideas can be as individual as the cause itself, certain

organizations have been more effective in delivering their message than others. This can be attributed to the varying degrees of efficiency of the operational framework of such organizations, their ability to attract professionals or technically capable advisors, or possibly other externalities such as changing social values. Regardless, the process of bringing the interests of this wide variety of groups and, consequently, the concerns of the average citizen closer to the political arena ultimately means government will be more open, responsive, and democratic.

Canada's first interest groups had their roots in business, labour, agriculture, and professional services - these included the Agricultural Association of Quebec (1792) and the Quebec Chamber of Commerce (1890) (Presthus, 1973). The typology (i.e. business and agriculture) of these groups reflected a society that was rather homogeneous in nature and stratified along traditional social and economic class divisions. Inevitably, the lifestyle changes brought on by technological advances and cultural diversification would slowly break down these societal categories and propagate a wide variety of social and value-laden issues. It is possible that the proliferation of interest groups was a response to the inability of the decision-making institutions to deal with the rapidly changing world of the 19th Century. Or, more simply, people may just have found a more effective way of exercising their democratic rights. Whatever the case, the surge in social and political institutional reform resulting from Canadian

confederation meant that the communication of ideas between politicians and their constituents would no longer be an elementary process.

As the number of advocacy groups, and their respective memberships grew, so did their credibility as an element of the political process. However, although lobbying had been accepted as an integral part of politics, achieving credibility as a legitimate interest group could be a long, at times discouraging, journey. Groups such as the trade unions and professional medical associations that have strong memberships and well defined objectives, have found their niche in the system (Presthus, 1973). Such groups are well established and represent long term interests. However, certain social and ideologically-based phenomena that give rise to a large subset of interest groups with more specific goals, objectives, and lobbying procedures are not as easily classified. These groups display characteristics that definitely defy the boundaries of social and economic class, and although these groups share some of the same principles, differences exist in all aspects of the lobbying process.

It is not hard to argue that North Americans in the late 1960's and the early 1970's were experiencing one of the most explosive periods for new social movements and experimentation with new forms of political expression. This era best exemplifies the switch from the simpler, old style politics, based on issues of economic growth, distribution, and security, towards a new, more open system that was forced to consider the implications of social and ideologically-based crusades (Offe, 1985). This age of "discontinuity and rupture" was aimed at dislodging the conventional agendas of parliament by raising issues of ethical and moral temperament. Offe argues that although the new social movements had a diverse range of concerns, the common values that they shared, although not new, were:

...given a different emphasis and urgency. Most prominent among these values are autonomy and identity (with their organizational correlates, such as decentralization, self government, and self-help), and opposition to manipulation, control, dependence, bureaucratization, regulation, and so on. Frequently used (although problematic) ways to describe the difference between the old and new values include classifying them by dimensions such as concerns with scarcity versus concerns with alienation, zero-sum games versus non-zero-sum games, quantitative versus qualitative demands, the pursuit of interest versus the pursuit of identity, having versus being, material quality versus freedom, and the like (Offe, 1985).

Although it may be difficult to pinpoint the catalyst for such an unprecedented mood of social awareness, it is rather obvious

that certain groups played a key role in forming the basis for this apparent paradigm shift. Identifying exactly what that role was, and tracing the path that saw these new ideals and values filter through society is a difficult task. Under the umbrella of the peace, urban, and ecological movements was a myriad of expression bound together by a very loose string. This presents a challenge for both the academic and the politician because, as Arthur Bentley (in Pross, 1987) states, "If we cannot determine who belongs to a group or what exactly a group has done, we cannot really say much about that group's role in the process of government." The only thing that is certain is that the growing diversity of groups, interests, and anxieties has destroyed any notion of a static political process and continues to reflect the dynamic disequilibrium that exists between the voters concerns and the policies of government.

The first step in addressing Bentley's challenge of classification is to determine the degree to which a group has achieved a high level of stability and organizational structure. This depends on a variety of factors including personnel, history, and the nature of the interests being addressed. Pross identifies a categorization of pressure groups that has "institutionalized groups" at one end of the spectrum and "issue oriented groups" at the other:

The ideal institutional pressure group... rarely exists, and is probably non-existent in Canada... most Canadian groups, even those such as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, that we would consider highly institutionalized, are required by their supporters to operate with extremely limited resources.

... we see issue oriented groups as having the reverse characteristics of institutional groups. They have limited organizational continuity and cohesion; most are very badly organized. Their knowledge of government is minimal and often naive. Their membership is extremely fluid. They encounter considerable difficulty in formulating and adhering to short range objectives and they usually have a low regard for the organizational mechanisms that they have developed for carrying out their goals (Pross, 1975).

Because the characteristics of social movements are such that concurring groups may cover the whole range from "single issue" to "institutionalized" it is necessary to expand our analysis by looking at "modes of action."

Modes of action typically involve two aspects: the way individuals act together to constitute a collectivity (internal mode of action), and the way they confront the outside world and their political opponents (external mode of action). The internal mode is already referred to by the term social movements; the process by which multitudes of individuals become collective actors is highly informal, ad hoc, discontinuous, context sensitive, and egalitarian.

In other words, while they have at best rudimentary membership roles, programs, platforms, representatives, officials, staffs, and membership dues, the new social movements consist of participants, campaigns, spokespersons, networks, volunteer helpers, and donations. Typically, in contrast to traditional forms of political organization, they do not employ the organizational principle of differentiation in either the horizontal (insider versus outsider) or the vertical (leader versus rank and file members) dimension. On the contrary, they seem to have a strong reliance on synthesis - the fusion of public and private roles, instrumental and expressive behaviour, and community organization - and, in particular, a poor and at best transient demarcation between "members" and formal "leaders" (Offe, 1985).

Although the more institutionalized groups obviously exhibit a higher potential for growth and the proliferation of ideals, the degree of success of a given group can be augmented or diminished as a result of decisions made regarding the external modes of action. Generally speaking, the more institutionalized a group becomes the more they tend to work within the system to achieve their goals. They have a greater understanding of how governments work, and have established a network of contacts with the senior bureaucracy. They feel that their interests are better addressed through consultation and dialogue. Interest groups that have gained respect from both political and non political figures because of their solid, consistent work ethic, will more likely be asked to participate in decision making forums than those groups of dubious origin. However, groups failing to adhere to this model have managed to spell out success by more novel means.

At the other end of the spectrum are the groups that resort to more flamboyant, and sometimes illegal, means of bringing their concerns to the attention of government (Pross, 1975). Classic examples of this include the scaling of smokestacks by Greenpeace activists, and the blocking of logging roads in the Temagami Wilderness (Fox, 1991; Egan, 1990). In many instances the primary goals of such acts of civil disobedience are to educate the public, and raise awareness for their given cause. The power of the media is used to foster support, and eventually move what often originate as apparently radical causes into the political mainstream. As Galipeau points out, these publicity stunts, performed more commonly by environmentalists and peace and animal-rights activists, tend to be problematic:

The shock tactics of these groups have done more than show the tenacity and verve of their members; they have focused public attention on the ecological effects of human exploitation of particular species, if not the ecosystem itself. Nonetheless, their views are often derogated as "single issues". This common tag for the views of ecologists and animal-rights groups obscures the general nature of their critiques of our interchange with nature. Political parties can easily skirt "radical" and new issues by merely asserting that such concerns are "particular" ones. As ostensible representatives of the general and national interest, political parties are in a privileged position to delegitimize certain critical assessments of social and economic organizations. They can do this easily with demands and critiques emanating from groups using unorthodox tactics and questioning the North American consensus that nature is an infinite fount of resources for human projects (Galipeau, 1989).

According to Fox (1991), groups such as Greenpeace have had to come to terms with the trade-off that exists between raising awareness and gaining respectability as a professional lobby group. Unfortunately, few within the group can agree on where the line is to be drawn.

Single issue groups have had to come to terms with what is commonly called the law of the inclusive middle. Galipeau (1989) explains that the present political structure in Western Societies (Canada in particular) works on a brokerage system. This is because politicians need to broker a diversity of ethnic, religious, socio-economic, geographic, and linguistic cleavages. Therefore, Canadian political parties have a tendency to straddle the middle of the traditional left-right ideological continuum. In Galipeau's analysis, what this means is that parties fail to establish any sound ideological platforms, but try instead to marginalize issues that could cause controversy and concentrate on maintaining the status quo. In many instances this means politics is "reactive" instead of planned and structured. This causes problems when dealing with issue such as the environment or the economy that require strategic anticipation and prudence when policy is being formulated.

In Galipeau's view, because political parties fail to adhere to any sound principles, single issue groups that belong to a

larger ideological movement have to dislodge the process of disaggregation that has become ingrained in our political systems. Groups are, therefore, faced with the dilemma of either working within the boundaries of the present bureaucracy, or finding means of stepping outside of it or potentially altering it. Unfortunately our politicians are elected on a regional basis, and do not have to represent specific interests. This means that solidarity regarding certain single issues must be spatially congruent for it to be represented in the legislature. Issues that represent broader ideological phenomena fail to recognize the arbitrary boundaries of our constituencies. It is necessary, therefore, to run a political party based on given set of values, morals, and ethics in hopes of shifting a much larger nationalistic, or global paradigm. Lyon discusses the likelihood of the Green Party making progress in a country, such as Canada, "imbued" with a materialist ethos:

The ecological views of fledgling parties, like the Greens, which criticize the equation that progress equals economic growth, will continue, no doubt, to make few inroads in the present ideological climate. For while it is true that our single-member district electorate system erects barriers to the entry of new parties, it is also true that the consensus amongst the major parties that economic growth is the main goal of public policy effectively discounts the worth of those critiques which question the legitimacy of the modern dream that social happiness flows invariably from industrial production (Lyon in Galipeau, 1989).

The following excerpt from The World Commission on Environment and Development report entitled "Our Common Future" is a statement made by Charles Caccia, a member of the Canadian Parliament, regarding this prominent ethic:

How long can we go on and safely pretend that the environment is not the economy, is not health, is not the prerequisite to development, is not recreation? Is it realistic to see ourselves as managers of an entity out there called the environment, extraneous to us, an alternative to the economy, too expensive a value to protect in difficult times? When we organize ourselves starting from this premise, we do so with dangerous consequences to our economy, health, and industrial growth.

We are now just beginning to realize that we must find an alternative to our ingrained behaviour of burdening future generations resulting from our misplaced belief that there is a choice between economy and the environment. That choice, in the long term, turns out to be an illusion with awesome consequences for humanity (Caccia in W.C.E.D., 1986).

Ironically, this MP does not belong to a fringe party. Environmentalists find this discouraging because it demonstrates that hypocrisy and rhetoric are often substitutes for true political leadership. On the other hand, it is encouraging to see that such ideas are moving toward the middle of the political road. Unfortunately, the apparently inert nature of the political process makes it difficult for members of any party, with strong beliefs, to challenge the status quo and be successful.

Although the concerns of these new social movements have made their way, rather precariously, onto the agenda of the more popular parties, the seriousness with which these issues are dealt is questionable. Still the fact that ... "parties have stretched their brokerage capacities to include women's issues, peace issues, the demand for gay rights, a clean environment, and a host of other special and general interests" (Galipeau, 1989), has meant that growing public sentiment over such issues has required politicians to do more than merely pay lip service to these concerns. Canadian parties such as the New Democratic Party (NDP), have attempted to internalize some of these ideological platforms at the risk of being seen as radical aberration of the old paradigm embracing economics, business, and industrial growth. The fact that NDP gained power in Ontario in September of 1990, meant that either the electorate was ready to accept a new style of governing or they were merely voting in protest of the incumbent party. Regardless, it will be interesting to see how far the new government "stretches their brokerage capacities" in an attempt to challenge the law of the "inclusive middle".

The way that interest groups challenge the existing political system and the extent to which they control or possibly act as an invisible hand in the entire process is the subject of extensive academic debate (Pross, 1987). This can best be explained by looking at the concept of pluralism.

Once again, Pross identifies a theoretical continuum that puts pluralism and corporatism at opposing ends...

... the one describing a form of state-group interaction in which groups are virtually joined to the state apparatus and exercise an essential representational role in determining and implementing policy, while at the other end of the continuum pluralism could be seen as describing a dynamic, self regulating political system (Pross, 1987).

Arthur Bentley, described by Pross (1987) as one of the earliest and most controversial pluralists, saw pressure groups as the basic force in society ... " The society is nothing other than the complex of the groups that compose it... All phenomena are phenomena of groups pushing one another, forming one another, and pushing out new groups and group representatives (the organs or agencies of government) to mediate the adjustments." Bentley's theory basically renders the constituent style electoral process irrelevant, making the state nothing more than an "umpire in the contest of group demands". Although the origin of groups may be in response to the inadequacies of the democratic system, it does not necessarily follow that the system itself is completely ineffective and at the mercy of organized interests.

The post pluralists argue that the invisible hand that regulates the variety of interests and concerns in a pluralist society does not promote fair and equitable access of all members of the community. Pross points out that:

...though there may be a common right to participate there is no common opportunity to participate... Contrary to pluralist theory, politics is not a competitive market place for policy options. Instead, the majority of participants consider politics a vehicle for limiting competition and for securing a tranquil environment for themselves and their enterprises. Just as in business many entrepreneurs attempt to control their environment by forming cartels or in other ways limiting competition, so in politics various actors try to achieve consensus and to avoid conflict (Pross, 1987).

Similar to the law of the inclusive middle, Pross describes a situation whereby politicians tend to marginalize certain issues by controlling the means through which various interest groups gain access to the political process. E.E. Schattschneider refers to this (in Pross, 1987) as organizing some issues into politics while organizing others out. He feels that because politicians generally represent a certain socio-economic class in society they tend to have a bias towards certain issues that would affect them directly. As certain sectors of society are not as privileged as others, some interests are obviously not as well represented as others. By manipulating the bureaucratic process, political figures can make it more difficult for groups that represent less influential, or economically disadvantaged components of society from gaining

access to the decision making process. Whereas groups such as business that have traditionally had strong links to government have distinct advantages because of the availability of resources and the apparent class related sensitivity of the polity to their concerns.

Although there still appears to be a system of elite representation in the political process, the emergence of the new broadly-based ideological movements attacks the notion of parliamentary class structure. The old paradigm that saw political decision-making revolve around economics and security only stood to solidify class divisions. However, movements such as the environmental movement and the feminist movement transcend the boundaries of economic class. Although it is possible that an entire range of lower, middle, and upper income workers may work within a given interest group to achieve the same goal, it is not always the case that the group represents a cross section of society. The more affluent generally have more time and more resources at their disposal to confront issues of concern. Once again, the lobbying of politicians is conducted by a select portion of society even though the specific issues may be classless.

The social issues that are coming to the forefront in recent years represent a more human component and although interest group make-up may be skewed with those representing the middle class, the goals and objectives of these groups focus on more altruistic

concerns. These are concerns that political parties have failed to accommodate because they disregard not only class but also traditional party political codes (left or right, social democrat versus conservative) that define and can somewhat intentionally restrict their mandate as a means of avoiding thorny issues (Offe, 1985). Therefore, because these groups represent such a cross section of society, and because many people are a part of many groups, solidarity and institutionalization becomes important once again. The post-pluralists will argue that without an established lobbying framework, "sub governments" (i.e. ministerial support staff and corresponding bureaucracy) can effectively filter out those whose concerns seem trivial. Those in charge of soliciting public opinion can force interest groups to adhere to the guidelines set up within the institutions themselves, therefore limiting access to those groups who are familiar with, or able to conform to, a process that can be rigid, unforgiving and at times undemocratic.

Environmental Advocacy and the Marketplace

It is the goal of numerous environmental organizations to attempt to manipulate the habits of consumers in the marketplace as a means of creating more environmentally responsible attitudes. These include buying goods with less packaging, returning and refilling containers and making sure products are manufactured using resources that were properly managed (Johnson, 1990). The

depletion of the rainforests has sparked a campaign against the use of tropical hardwoods, such as teak, mahogany, and rosewood, which are exported to industrialized countries to be used in a variety of products from expensive furniture, to veneer on television to cheap shipping crates and chopsticks (Johnson, 1990). Recently, Greenpeace and The Sierra Club have started to raise awareness in the German marketplace about the environmentally questionable forestry practices used in B.C. (C.B.C. Morningside, May 28, 1991). This is causing a lot of concern in the B.C forestry industry, because being labelled as the rainforest of the north is bound to bring further damage to the province's biggest supplier of jobs.

Appealing to the consumer through information supplied by advocacy groups is becoming a more and more effective way of making people aware of where things come from and what happens to the by-products and wastes from such goods. This of course puts pressure on business to respond to the demand in the marketplace, with what have been termed "environmentally friendly products". There is concern that business will unfairly capitalize on this new awareness in the absence of any guidelines that dictate what is actually an environmentally friendly product. For example, many products are "recyclable" but are not made from "recycled" materials. Little discrepancies in interpretation have sent bureaucrats at all levels scrambling for a way to hold manufacturers responsible for any claims that cannot be substantiated.

The transformation of people's buying habits is forcing business to adapt to a changing climate of awareness. However, many feel that people rationalize by assuming that purchasing a few "friendly" products will in some way endear them to a new environmentally sensitive lifestyle. Some argue that environmentalism is nothing but a fad perpetuated by "yuppies" in their spare time. However, a poll conducted for the Southam Environment Project by Angus Reid (Table 3.1) would, apparently, indicate that Canadians take environmental issues seriously : The question asked was: Have you in the last year participated in environmentally correct activities, and will you next year ?

Table 3.1 Participation in Environmentally Sensitive Practices

	Do already %	Will next year %	Will not %	Unsure %
Avoid styrofoam packaging	52	19	23	6
Seek biodegradable products	51	17	24	7
Separate garbage to recycle	48	24	22	6
Car pool, walk, public transit	37	14	42	7
Make Donations	32	26	33	9
Write govt. or lobby group	13	22	55	10
Demonstrate	13	20	56	11
Belong to a group	9	18	63	10

Source : Citizen, October 1989.

A couple of important things to note here are that although only 9% of respondents said that they belonged to a group, it is likely that a large proportion of the lifestyle changes that they have adopted have come as a result of public awareness campaigns waged by advocacy groups.

The survey also indicated that 19% of the people would definitely support a political party whose primary objective was the environment while 52% would seriously consider it. The majority of those polled also said they would be willing to pay more for a cleaner environment. One can't help but see a glaring contradiction between what people say they want and what government is doing. This would indicate that either the politicians are convinced that these concerns are rhetorical and part of "the fad", they can't read the polls, or they have a clearer understanding of our priorities than we do. Although individuals may be forcing change in the marketplace, it is uncertain whether they are forcing the government into a regulatory role when it comes to imposing restrictions on destructive manufacturing procedures. This is necessary to ensure that we can all distinguish fairly between those companies that practice environmental protection and those that sell lies.

In conclusion, it appears that the environmental advocate, or the environmental advocacy group, is faced with a number of options when deciding how they can attempt to make the political process

more accountable to them. Advocacy groups can choose from a variety of "internal and external modes of action" and attempt to adapt them to the particular goals and objectives of their group. However, because there is a multitude of groups under the banner of environmentalism, there must be an attempt to channel the various modes of action in a common direction. Although western political systems may be inadequate and outdated when it comes to addressing the concerns of special interest groups (Toffler, 1971) and social movements, it is argued here that environmentalists, and environmental groups, should always support a candidate that adheres to "green" principles. Ultimately, growing support for green candidates will either make an impression on other politicians, or demonstrate the difficulties that environmentalists are apparently having in making their concerns political. The next two chapters will describe the means by which environmentalists are presently trying to become political and encourage others around them to do so also.

CHAPTER #4
Survey Research Design

Choosing a Survey Technique

Arthur Bentley's challenge, described in Chapter 3, was to find out who belongs to a group and what they have accomplished, as a means of discovering what role they play in the political process. In order to address this challenge it was necessary to approach the groups to find out about their history, their motivation for forming, the concerns that influence their course of action, and the characteristics of the members that drive these organizations. Because of the diversity of the groups that are associated with a social movement such as environmentalism, it was necessary to use a research instrument that would allow the various groups to adequately describe themselves and the work that they are doing. In other words, it was not enough to simply find out if a particular organization was successful in achieving their goals without understanding the context within which they were working. In order to achieve this, a mail survey was used that would not restrict either the quantity or type of information obtained.

By using a mail survey, it was possible to contact advocacy groups from all over the province without having to spend a lot of money on travel. As well, it would have been very expensive, and

time consuming, to arrange visits with these groups as many are run by volunteers in their spare time. Because many of the advocacy groups in Canada have head offices, or branches in Ontario, it was possible to access information about advocacy organizations that dealt with national and international issues. Being able to reach a wide spectrum of organizations was important in order to determine how the size, and institutionalization of a particular group influenced their effectiveness.

The mail survey consisted of a covering letter, and a two part questionnaire. The first series of questions were very subjective, and it was anticipated that this would yield historical/anecdotal responses. The second part of the questionnaire was designed so that certain quantitative information about the groups' structure and membership could be obtained. Haring and Lounsbury (1983) advocate using both the "open" and "closed" response forms in order to solicit information from both extremes, so as to allow the freedom of personal comment and also to obtain some structured responses for analytical purposes. The covering letter is contained in Appendix A, and the questionnaire in Appendix B.

Questionnaire Design

Part A of the questionnaire was designed in the "open style format". The questions were formulated in order to achieve some

insight into why and when the group was formed, what goals the group has, and whether or not they have been successful. The questions were designed to see how certain "modes of action" were used to achieve the goals and objectives of the group and subsequently comment on their effectiveness.

Part B of the questionnaire was designed using the "closed style format" in order to find out about the growth of the group and the make-up of the groups membership. With the exception of questions one and five, which only required nominal data, this was done by using a ranking scale design (Haring and Lounsbury, 1983). Because the advocacy groups being surveyed had limited accurate information (Canadian Environment Network, 1991) on the socio-economic make-up of their group members, the questionnaire was designed to have the respondent describe group characteristics rather than provide statistical data. Sheskin (1985) refers to these as attitude questions because they reflect how the respondent perceives certain group attributes.

Because the mailed questionnaire has been used so extensively over the years, there is a tendency for individuals to ignore them. Haring and Lounsbury (1983) and Sheskin (1985) provide a list of suggestions for improving the number of survey returns. The following is a description of the key elements that were incorporated into designing the research instrument :

1. Ask only for information not available from other sources - this was done by noting in the preamble to part A that supplemental information would be helpful in providing a better picture of the group make-up.

2. Try to develop a reason for the respondent to answer - this was done by promising a summary of the research results to the respondents.

3. Do not use humour or personal reference; and send an explanatory cover letter with the questionnaire, but unattached.

4. Use a questionnaire that is not too lengthy. Although the questionnaire is fairly lengthy it was emphasized in the covering letter that the respondent only provide as much information as they could, given their time constraints.

5 Include a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

6. In addition, because the survey was being sent to environmental groups, it seemed appropriate to have the questionnaire and the covering letter printed on recycled paper and to have the mobius loop displayed on the bottom of each page. The questionnaire was also printed on both sides, in order to save paper.

The Ethics Committee of The Faculty of Graduate Studies

Both the covering letter and the questionnaire were approved by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research to ensure that adequate provisions were made for anonymity and confidentiality.

Questionnaire Pre-Testing

In order to ensure that the design of the questionnaire was appropriate it had to be tested. In lieu of a pilot test mailing to a few groups, which would have been quite time-consuming, the covering letter and the questionnaire were given to an environmentally concerned local businessman (dealing in recycled products and printing materials) who is active in two Ottawa environmental groups, to see if any improvements were needed. The feedback was positive, but it was suggested that a question regarding the income range of the groups members be omitted. This recommendation was accepted and the question was left out of the survey.

Survey Administration

The names, addresses, and a brief description of each environmental group's agenda, is included in The Ontario Environmental Resourcebook (1988). From this list of 306 groups, 100 were originally chosen to receive a questionnaire as a means of gauging response. Of the 100 sent out, in mid-february of 1991, 24 were returned by the groups and 15 came back "return to sender". Because of the relatively low return rate, and the fact that 15 surveys came back "return to sender" it was felt that a more up to date mailing list would be needed before a second round of questionnaires were sent.

The Ontario Environment Network provided an updated mailing list of 480 groups, in lieu of the 1991 Resourcebook, which had been held up in printing and was unavailable at the time of mailing. The list, therefore, did not include a description of the groups agenda but was updated on a daily basis and proved very effective. It was felt, based on the first mailing, that if another 90 questionnaires were mailed out to a list of groups that included those whose questionnaires came back "return to sender", an acceptable sample could be obtained. This made a total mailing of 175 questionnaires. The second batch of questionnaires was mailed out in mid-march 1991 and because of the success of the second mailing (overall return rate of 41.71%), it was decided that no further mailing would be necessary.

A list of those groups sent a questionnaire is included in Appendix C. Instead of selecting the groups randomly from a list, a nonprobability (purposive) sample (Sheskin, 1985) was used based on a series of subjective criteria. Groups fighting a particular, local project (i.e. opposing a garbage dump in their municipality), were ignored because, generally speaking, these groups are not seeking solutions to environmental problems but are simply concerned about protecting themselves from environmental hazards. The survey was mailed to a wide range of groups (from nuclear awareness groups to naturalists clubs) in order to gain some understanding of the common links between groups that have apparently different objectives. Similarly, selections were made from as many different regions of the province as possible, and included groups with both international and national affiliations.

CHAPTER #5
SURVEY RESPONSE

Introduction

The mail survey yielded a wide variety of responses within the questionnaire framework as well as considerable supplemental information and letters. Many of the people who returned the questionnaire expressed a genuine interest in the research and provided invaluable information as well as inspiration. Of the 175 questionnaires sent out 73 were returned, for a response rate of 41.71%. One group, Friends of the Earth, had just completed a membership survey (1991) and included their results in Part B of the questionnaire. Another survey, done for the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON) by Kretchman and Eagles of the University of Waterloo (1989), was included with the supplemental information provided by the FON. This allowed for comparisons between the surveys and helped in determining whether or not there are definite similarities concerning the socio-economic characteristics of group members.

Results - Part A (Open Questions)

Responses to part A ranged from a sparse description of the group to a series of newsletters, pamphlets, and publications that outlined the goals, objectives, and achievements of their organization. Although there was a wide variety of issues being addressed by the various organizations, many echoed similar sentiments about the problems associated with bureaucracies and the time consuming struggle to rally support for their given cause or causes. It seemed that although the groups had different goals and objectives, and many different ways of attempting to achieve them, the problems that they encountered along the way were surprisingly similar.

Because there was such a wide variety of responses to the open questions in Part A, it was necessary to establish a framework to present and assess the data. A matrix (table 5.1) was used to summarize the data in a format that allowed for generalized observations to be made.

The information is classified by data of formation starting with the earliest, or oldest groups. This was done because formation data appears to be the most important variable in determining similarities between motivations for forming goals, methods of achieving goals, and longevity. Because of the

confidentiality clause in the covering letter that accompanied the questionnaire it was not possible to identify particular groups in the matrix. It was also necessary, in order to adapt to the matrix format, to summarize the methods, and motivations as well as notate only the most significant successes and failures.

TABLE 5.1 RESULTS PART A

Legend:

Progress:

Column A - highly successful - achieved goals

Column B - moderate success - achieved some goals

Column C - success difficult to gauge - pursuit of goals ongoing

Column D - having trouble achieving goals

Column E - did not achieve goals - changing direction or disband

Scope
 L = Local
 R = Regional
 N = National
 I = International

FORMATION DATE	SIZE	SCOPE	MOTIVATION	METHODS	PROGRESS					KEY SUCCESS	KEY FAILURE
					A	B	C	D	E		
1870	117	I	Conservation	Field trips - lectures		X				Cancellation of racoon dog farming	Allowing development of South March Highland
1882	1176	N	Conservation	Education - awareness			X				
1900	175	R	Conservation	Education - data base		X				Preserving natural areas - promoting recycling	"Won battle, lost war" on preservation issues
1923	1500	L	Conservation (naturalists)	Education - lobbying			X			Herbicides and pesticides cut back in some areas	Expressing views to politicians and business
1928	600	L	Conservation	Education - awareness		X				Study, appreciation	
1931	13500	R	Conservation	Education - awareness		X					
1945	330	N	Land & water management	Research - resource centre			X			Multidisciplinary approach of organization	
1949	704	R	Forest management	Education		X				Legislative change and fire prevention	Need more support - lack of focus
1950	750	R	Education	Networking - lobbying		X				Environmental studies has grown as teaching subject	Active support
1955	110	L	Conservation (naturalists)	Education - awareness			X			Media attention	Group is not close knit or dynamic
1957	401	N	Natural resource management	Submissions to government			X			Government policy advice	"A single strong voice is needed"
1968	200	L	Conservation	Research - education			X			Government policy advice	"Forums attract the already convened"
1969	28000	N	Global environmental issues	Education - research		X				Good growth and media attention	Eddorsed "Green Products"
1970	12	L	Conservation (naturalists)	Networking - awareness			X			Science fair	
1970	1660	R	Conservation	Education - awareness			X				Member participation

FORMATION DATE	SIZE	SCOPE	MOTIVATION	METHODS	PROGRESS			KEY SUCCESS	KEY FAILURE
1971	350000	I	All environmental issues	Every, and all methods		X		Widespread awareness of environmental issues	Growing pains
1971	20000	N	Northern development	Research, awareness, advisory		X		Changed attitudes of southerners towards north	
1971	797	R	Outdoor education	Networking workshops			X		
1973	600	L	Animal rights	Awareness - education		X		Good media attention	
1975	150	L	Conservation (naturalists)	Awareness - research		X		Identifying sensitive natural areas	
1976	84	L	Conservation (naturalists)	Education - appreciation		X		Land preservation and waste collection	Trouble recruiting "new blood"
1976	250	R	Protection of agricultural land	Opposing plan amendments			X		Lost 3 OMB bearings
1976	2100	N	Organic farming	Expand availability of produce			X		Slow progress - lack of funds
1978	6	L	Nuclear responsibility	Lobbying - writing letters					
1979	1000	L	Pollution (water)	Promoting local conservation			X	Election of NDP government	Continued drilling in township
1979	700	R	Agriculture	Education - resource base				Awareness	Pollution has increased since group started
1981	50	L	Conservation (naturalists)	Education - awareness			X	Awareness about ecological agriculture	
1981	11	L	Education	Resource Centre - discussions			X		
1981	140	L	All environmental issues	Education - awareness		X		Increase knowledge and understanding of issues	Speeding up the process
1982	2500	I	Militarism - native rights	Protesting			X		
1983	1200	L	Conservation	Resource Centre - discussions		X		Attendance for programs increasing - awareness	
1983	240	R	Botany	Information network		X		Participation in government activities	Failure to maintain publication
1983	-	I	Great lakes clean-up	Lobbying - networking		X		Good reference centre	Failure to get government funding

FORMATION DATE	SIZE	SCOPE	MOTIVATION	METHODS	PROGRESS				KEY SUCCESS	KEY FAILURE
1984	143	N	Conservation	Education - land purchasing			X		Awareness	
1984	10	N	Wildlife habitat protection	Research - policy advisor		X			Legislative, policy change - education	Financial problems
1984	140	L	Organic farming	Operating organic farms				X		Ceased business in 1990
1985	375	L	Environmental health	Support services - legal action		X			Health, housing and revenue assistance	Recognition and financial problems
1985	250	R	Water quality	Education - awareness		X			Legislation and high profile	Failure to stop development burn out - weak newsletter
1985	150	I	World development	Resource Centre - Education		X			Support for local food banks and affordable housing	Difficulty setting up funding base
1985	12	L	River valley development	Land appropriation	X				Achievement expropriation from developers	Expropriation was expensive
1985	100	L	Conservation	Lobbying - legal action		X			Amendments D.O.P. raising awareness	Growing pains and group dynamics
1986	1040	I	Environmental education	Networking		X			Improved teaching practices	Overworked volunteers
1987	25	R	Conservation of wetlands	Awareness - networking		X			Initiated clean-up of wetland areas	Slow pace of raising awareness
1987	1200	R	All environmental issues	Networking - education		X			Withdrawal of government funding for expressway	Slow process in getting charitable status
1987	-	L	Development		X				Stopped redesignation of 1200 acres	Need more work on municipal election campaigns
1987	100	I	Waste management	Databases - workshops		X			Recognizable source of information	Keeping up with new trends
1987	25	L	Watershed protection	Awareness - appreciation				X	Awareness	Money - active participation
1988	450	L	Opposing development	Opposing plan amendments			X		Good media attention - awareness	Lack of funding
1988	9	L	Conservation - urban sprawl	Lobbying			X		Being "integral part of larger movement"	Lack of support from pro development municipal council
1988	80	L	Landfill - conservation	Awareness - lobbying		X			Raising public awareness and participation	Slow progress

FORMATION DATE	SIZE	SCOPE	MOTIVATION	METHODS	PROGRESS				KEY SUCCESS	KEY FAILURE
1988	30	L	Protecting Niagara escarpment	Opposing development				X	Support from other local groups	Difficulty having existing legislation enforced
1989	670	R	Environmental forum	Resource network			X		Growing membership	
1989	2000	N	Sustainable development	Lobbying "at all levels"			X		Good membership support	
1989	20	L	Landfill - pollution	Education - Recycling programs				X	Initiated township recycling program	"Success is a matter of degree"
1989	7500	R	Conservation	Education - awareness			X		Influenced protection of rivers	
1989	1000	I	Impact of diet on environment	Newsletter - Events			X			
1989	1700	L	Waste management	Legislation - awareness		X			Keeping Metro's garbage from rural areas	
1989	320	L	Recycling - lifestyle changes	Education			X		Wide recognition of aims	Failure to get hazardous waste program going
1989	350	L	Environmental education	Meetings - local activities		X			Planted 4500 trees - 12 months	Reluctant council regarding new recycling programs
1989	9	L	Providing accurate information	Networking - forums			X		4 forums per year	
1989	12	R	Conservation	Public forums - lobbying		X			Clean up & closing of old mine site	
1989	400	L	Waste management	Lobbying - recycling programs		X			Stopped proposed incinerator re-focused on recycling	Application for funds rejected
1989	10	L	Air, water pollution	Lobbying		X			Refinery forced to set up action plan	Slowness of response

The matrix allows the following general observations to be made.

1. The earliest organizations were, on average, formed as conservation (naturalists) clubs and had a tendency to stress education, awareness and appreciation of our natural resources.

2. These groups generally used more "passive" methods of advocacy but were often forced to actively lobby to preserve natural habitat areas. Networking is an important component of conservation groups because local, regional, national and international organizations often share the same methods and goals.

3. Since the 1960's a wider variety of environmental groups have started up. Graph 5.1 (page 84) and the subsequent discussion reinforce this point.

4. The newer groups have a wide range of methods for achieving their goals and many of the issues that they are dealing with are more specialized or involve multiple jurisdictions.

5. The new groups represent a wider range of issues but both the comments and personal observation would suggest these memberships are volatile and vary with changing issues.

6. The newer groups tend to practice more "active" forms of advocacy. For example, lobbying and legal action supplement the more traditional methods of environmental education and appreciation.

7. In many instances the newer groups had a better idea of whether or not they had been successful because their goals were more focused.

8. Newer groups tended to be more realistic about their success, noting that "success is a matter of degree".

The matrix identifies the wide spectrum of organizations, ideas and pursuits that exist within the environmental movement. The responses indicated that the full spectrum of group classifications, from "single issue" to institutionalized" were equally represented. In order to expand on the generalizations derived from the matrix, two particular categories of groups were identified on the basis of their goals.

The first comprises those groups that "recognize and focus on winnable issues" (Action Awareness for Animals, 1991). These are the groups that have specific concerns and a specific means of achieving resolution of those concerns. Single issue groups such as the Acid Rain Coalition focus on a particular goal (getting the United States Congress to pass legislation restricting emissions), and disbanded after waging their battle (Valorzi, 1991). More

institutionalized groups such as The Canadian Wildlife Federation, address a series of environmental issues (including seeking legal action against the government in order to have the Rafferty-Alameda dam project submitted to an environmental review) in a continuous fight to promote conservation (C.W.F. Annual Report, 1991). It is usually very easy to determine whether or not these groups have been successful in achieving their goals because they are seeking either a specific piece of legislation or a court decision. Often, as is the case of the Alameda-Rafferty dam project, there may be small victories along the way but in the end advocates of the environment come up short.

The second category of groups are those which attempt to raise public awareness about environmental problems through education and by encouraging environmentally sound practices. Many of the naturalists clubs promote appreciation of our wilderness areas (by organizing events such as nature walks) as a means of altering attitudes that indirectly effect the environment as a whole. Other groups organize projects geared towards recycling, avoiding the use of pesticides and herbicides for farming and domestic use, and conserving energy. These projects are designed to encourage people to adopt a lifestyle that consciously respects the unwritten laws of prudent environmental stewardship. Although the results may not be immediate or tangible, these issues attack the very root of the old paradigm and seek the kind of real change that grassroots environmentalists envision.

It appears that a lot of the "winnable issues" are directed at business through the parliamentary and/or legal structures. However, from a political standpoint a lobby can rarely be successful without waging a public awareness campaign at the same time. In this respect even those groups fighting a "winnable" issue must also promote the ideals of environmentalism in the broadest sense. An excellent example of success in this regard would be the acid rain lobby. The Acid Rain Coalition, founded in 1981, "had two clear goals : cutting acid rain emissions by 50 per cent and raising public awareness of the issue" (Valorzi, 1991). When the U.S. Congress passed acid rain legislation in 1991, the single issue lobby group could celebrate victory (the survey that was mailed to them came back return to sender - they managed to put themselves out of business). Although groups that address "winnable" issue place varying degrees of emphasis on public awareness and education, they recognize that their campaigns indirectly benefit the environmental movement as a whole and increase the chances of success, particularly political success, in the future.

In many ways the effective environmental lobbyist is a high pressure salesperson - and the better the talent when it comes to moral persuasion - the better the chance of reaching, and convincing, others of the need for solutions. The following list, directly transcribed from a letter from Jo-Anne St. James, co-founder of Hamilton Township Concerned Citizens (formed in 1985 to preserve the local environment), details how advocacy groups can be

more effective. Their group has had some success stories, including fighting off a 2000 acre development project, getting amendments to the official plan, and quashing a proposal to have a T.V. tower built in the middle of Township farmland.

1. Educate yourselves about the issue - if possible, get experts to volunteer advice; for example, a letter we had prepared by a professional planner had Council's staff Planner paying serious attention..
2. Recruit local expertise and skills - local scientists, farm experts, graphic artists, computer programmers, writers, historians, etc.
3. Use the media at all levels to raise awareness whatever way you can. Learn to make a statement around, or in spite of, the interviewer's questions.
4. Use letters to the Editor column as a forum for education. These are usually not edited and are widely read.
5. Be creative in getting your message across; for example, the same man who floated a balloon to show how huge an unwanted transmission tower was going to be, prepared a slide show in another situation to bring home in lush colour exactly what fertile fields were about to be lost.
6. Keep membership informed through a newsletter which can provide your analysis of local situations and encourage attendance at public meetings. Keep it informative but not dry. Use graphics, cartoons, maps, colour, for variety.
7. Make contacts with other levels of government. It's possible to find provincial or federal allies in a municipal struggle.
8. Understand and respect the local area where you operate. Encourage local residents of long-standing to join your cause.
9. Articulate what you want in the chairperson of your meetings, for example firmness but flexibility.
10. Set aside a portion of the meeting that is not structured and geared to the agenda for a free wheeling, brainstorming session.

11. Before taking on any issue, have a meeting about basic process. Evolve guidelines for encouraging each other to listen with greater openness, to respond respectfully to others' ideas, better ways of handling disagreements. This is important for any group. The effort taken at the beginning to establish boundaries will save you much time and frazzle in the long run.
12. Take breaks in slow times to prevent burnout.
13. Celebrations and social gatherings help restore each other and the group.
14. Work towards equitable and shared distribution of labour and responsibility; for example use phone trees.
15. In public meetings used to establish membership, promote an atmosphere that empowers shy people to speak, as well as more extroverted individuals. (Go around, etc.)
16. Before any public action, allow enough time the evening before that is free from details of business for the group to connect emotionally. This is particularly important to establish solidarity if you are walking into a situation where any hostility might be expected.
17. Prepare alternate tactics for any public action and-or position yourselves closely enough together so that you can go into a huddle if Plan 'A' suddenly needs changing.
18. Hold core meetings in public places if possible to make them more accessible and less insular.
19. If holding a public meeting to recruit membership, make clear the broad outlines of what your group stands for.
20. Encourage new membership for committees and core group to prevent burnout and provide fresh ideas, and expand mailing and phone lists.
21. Establish good record-keeping habits. Keep minutes, correspondence files, press clippings indexed in an archives, videos or tapes of interviews, if you have them.
22. Solicit support from sympathetic organizations. Form coalitions where possible. Talk to groups working on similar issues and share information.
23. Use petitions, surveys, booths at local events, door- to-door or letter campaigns to publicize your cause and-or solicit membership.

24. If timing works, make your cause an election issue, particular at an All-Candidates meeting. Support a candidate.
25. Above all, always focus on positive alternatives and futures. (St. James, 1991)

These ideas are helpful for groups working on a community level, and they are definitely aimed at expanding the membership, mandate and power of the organization. The most important feature of these suggestions is that they address what appears to be the most consistent concerns of advocacy groups: frustration over the apparent lack of progress, volunteer burnout, and the need for creative ideas when dealing with an apathetic public and a seemingly unapproachable bureaucracy. St. James expresses this frustration in a footnote to the questionnaire:

Why is the onus on volunteer, unpaid citizens groups, many of whose members must work at two jobs just to survive, being forced to do the work of governing and protecting the country (St. James, 1991).

Although the solutions that are offered include taking breaks, sharing responsibility, and focusing on positive alternatives and futures, the most essential element of the process is to maintain a clear focus and set realistic goals. This sentiment is best expressed by Adele Hurley, co-founder of the Acid Rain Coalition:

Give people half the bloody chance and they will rally. Give people jobs they can accomplish... The system works (quoted in a Citizen editorial, 1991).

Local groups such as the Hamilton Township Concerned Citizens, depend more on volunteer work and have limited resources. As a

group expands and becomes more institutionalized, a whole new set of opportunities emerge, along with some growing pains. With a large membership, groups can afford to pay a support staff to handle administrative duties and hire legal experts, researchers, and qualified lobbyists.

The trade-off that exists, however, as a group expands, is that control over direction may become blurred as more people provide input into the organizations agenda. With more players and more ideas, controversy often develops over what are the best lobbying methods, what are the most pressing issues, where the money should be directed and who should make the decisions. When a group loses a clear path, those that support the group, and those the group are attempting to reach, receive mixed signals (Mowat, 1990). This has clearly been a problem for at least two well known environmental advocacy groups.

Pollution Probe, formed at the University of Toronto in 1969 by concerned citizens and staff (Chant, 1970), received a lot of criticism for sleeping with the enemy when they backed a large supermarket's attempt to introduce environmentally "friendly" products (Munro and McIlroy, 1989). Many thought it was an endorsement of a selfish money-making endeavour while others conceded that while profit was being made from this new found concern for the environment it was, nonetheless, a positive step in the right direction. This altercation created divisions amongst

the group's executive and alienated a lot of supporters and potential supporters. Occurrences such as this force a group to re-examine the goals and objectives originally set out by their founders, and possibly adjust their direction.

Greenpeace has probably suffered more growing pains than any other group as a result of their high profile tactics, and need to sensitise their pursuits to suit a more environmentally educated populace. Founded in Vancouver in 1971 to protest nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific, Greenpeace now has 350000 members in Canada (over a tenfold increase in the last three years) and is expanding rapidly on the international scene (Fox, 1991). However, many see this growth as a distraction from the work at hand. Instead of hiring activists and adventurers, they have been hiring managers and accountants to sustain the expansion and raise money. As a result, one of the founding members, Paul Watson, left the group, concerned that Greenpeace had become "just a multinational eco-corporation". He also says Greenpeace's door to door fund-raising efforts have made members "the fuller brush men of the environmental movement" (Fox, 1991).

The organization spent 38% of its 1989 expenditures of 7.6\$ million on fund-raising and maintaining office space; a far cry from the days of indebtedness and spontaneous, radical, reckless but always creative activism. Although Greenpeace has attempted to achieve a higher level of credibility they have maintained their

niche as "a group strong on public awareness, but weak in political follow up" (Fox, 1991). Some argue that remaining independent of the political process allows them to stick to their ideals while others argue that consultation and input on advisory committees and policy forums would strengthen their effectiveness; undoubtedly the debate will continue.

Other groups, such as the Canadian Wildlife Federation (CWF) have used a high level of institutionalization to attack larger scale problems that require seemingly endless inputs of time and money. Canada's largest conservation group, the Canadian Wildlife Federation, has a sponsorship of 620000 members, and has incoming revenues of over 11 million dollars (CWF, 1991). Tasks such as taking the government to court over the Rafferty-Alameda Dam project and maintaining a close watch on endangered species are only some of a wide range of undertakings. Their group seems to use every means available to address a seemingly limitless set of objectives. Consulting with government on certain issues and meeting them head on in court on others indicates a willingness to put the semantics of principles aside and simply address each particular issue in what appears to be the most effective way at the time. Accompanied with an education program, backed by children's and adult's periodicals, the CWF is tackling our environmental dilemma in the largest sense. Whether the number of accomplishments is proportionate to the growth, or size, of the organization is difficult to gauge, but there are certain problems

that can only be tackled with a large base of personnel, experience, and monetary resources.

In summary, the response to Part A indicates that under the umbrella of the environmental movement there exists a wide variety of groups that employ numerous internal and external modes of action to promote environmental advocacy. Although many of the respondents indicated that there is a need for more networking amongst the groups in order to better organize the movement as a whole, it is argued here that disaggregation is not only inherent but helpful in many ways. Although exchanging information and providing moral support are obvious benefits of networking, often the business of maintaining a collectivity detracts from the task at hand. Environmentalism has traditionally been a spontaneous, local, grassroots movement and has thrived on individual creativity and hard work. It seems that many small independent groups can accomplish more than a large organization that may have trouble agreeing on modes of action and coordinating projects. In this sense, it seems that the growth in the number of groups, and the local success stories that accompany them, is of more importance than an increase in the size of a few larger organizations whose members take less of a hands on approach.

Results - Part B (Closed Questions)

As previously anticipated many of the groups, being essentially volunteer organizations, had very little documented, accurate, information to assist them in filling out the questionnaire and thus many of the returns were incomplete. Of the 73 returned, 64 contained useable quantitative information (Part B). Some questions were answered reasonably well while other responses were rather sparse, and did not have complete rankings. The following list shows which questions in Part B generated a useable response :

Table 5.2 Results Part B

Question #	Responses (out of 73 returns)
1. Formation Date	64
2. Growth Rate	11
3. Age	58
4. Profession	38
5. Education	54
6. Participation	60
7. Role	55

Formation Date of Groups (Question #1)

Although it is obvious that the number of Ontario environmental advocacy groups is growing, along with a corresponding increase in group memberships, the first question attempted to define the actual rate at which this growth is taking

place. The following graph (5.1) identifies the years in which the groups were formed. Out of a sample of 64 returns, it was found that 34.37% of all groups began operation in the last 5 years.

GRAPH 5.1

The majority of the groups that formed before 1960 were mostly naturalists clubs and conservation groups. The genre of groups that originated in the sixties as a result of the concerns about chemical pollution represented the beginning of the new wave of

environmentalism. Although the number of naturalists clubs and their corresponding memberships has grown steadily since the turn of the century, the last twenty years, and particularly the last five years, has seen a profound increase in the number of new groups. If we only include the groups formed after 1960, we find that 40.74% of these groups began operation in the last five years. Although the naturalists clubs continue to do excellent work, these new groups represent the more active, issue oriented, groups that tend to focus more on the "winnable issues". This gives the movement, as a whole, a wider spectrum of approaches and potential solutions.

Growth Rate (Question #1)

Only 11 of the groups were able to provide data describing the rate of increase in their particular membership since inception. Those groups that provided the list only had detailed information for the last five years. Information regarding membership numbers for the years preceding 1985 was so sparse it is not worth noting here. The following table (5.3) shows the average, aggregated, percentage increase of these 11 groups membership over that time period.

Table 5.3 Aggregated Percentage Growth in Membership (11 Returns)

YEAR	% INCREASE IN EACH YEAR
1985 - 1986	22.38%
1986 - 1987	20.93%
1987 - 1988	29.20%
1988 - 1989	50.42%
1989 - 1990	22.38%

Although there are no exact figures on the total number of people belonging to all the groups in the province, membership growth rates of twenty to fifty percent, annually, clearly indicates an explosion of new support from a large segment of the Ontario population. We do not know how many people belong to many of the groups, and to what extent their participation as a "member" influences the effectiveness of that particular organization. It is also not known what motivates these people to join an environmental group. Obviously, as indicated by the growth in memberships, there is a growing awareness or interest in environmental issues and people are looking to the advocacy groups as a means of becoming involved and/or finding out more about what they can do.

Age, Occupation, and Education of Group Members

Although environmental advocacy groups are supported by individuals of every social and economic class, group membership exhibits certain characteristics and trends. Questions 2, 3, and 4 attempted to classify the background of group membership in terms of age (#2), profession (#3), and education (#4).

Age (Question #3)

The majority of the respondents revealed that the most prominent age category was between thirty and forty years. Graph 5.2 (next page) shows the age distribution based on a combination of rankings. When the number of second place rankings are taken into consideration, the forty to fifty year old category is shown to be equally as prominent. Out of a sample of 58 respondents, 70.69% of the members were considered to be in the 30-50 year range.

GRAPH 5.2

According to projections from Statistics Canada's (published in 1990) most recent major census, the 30-50 year old category represented 29.9% of the Canadian population in 1989. This age group includes what is commonly referred to as the baby boomer generation (age 30-45). Although this group represents an aberration in Canadian demographics, the questionnaire results would still indicate that this age group is, proportionally, better represented than the other age categories. It is hardly

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coincidental, that the baby boomers that grew up during the heightened social, political, and ecological awareness of the sixties are now the main proponents of environmental advocacy in the nineties.

Occupation (Question #3)

The question that dealt with occupation type was only completed by 38 of the respondents. Out of those responses 86.84% ranked the following number 1: professional, teacher, retired, homemaker, and student (in order). Although there was a low number of response, the fact that professional and teacher were ranked first and second would indicate that the traditional image of the radical "Greenpeace" activist does not accurately reflect the mainstream of the environmental movement. In fact, organizations such as "Greenpeace" have made a point of hiring highly educated, professionals to manage their operations in order to place less emphasis on the highly contentious style of activism that most associate with their early years (Fox, 1991).

Education (Question #4)

Given the results of the previous question, it is not surprising that the level of education of organization members would be quite high. Out of a sample of 54 returns, 50% felt that

University would best describe the level of education achieved by their members. Graph 5.3 describes the perceived distribution of education amongst each groups members. Again, this is done by showing the number who ranked each category first, the number that ranked each category first and second, and the number that ranked each category first, second, and third.

GRAPH 5.3

The results from the age, occupation, and education questions would indicate that the main supporters of environmental advocacy groups demonstrate characteristics synonymous with what we commonly refer to as "yuppies". Although this is not surprising, it is interesting to consider the apparent contradictions that exist between the values that we commonly associate with the "yuppy" lifestyle and the values advocated by the grassroots environmentalists. Unfortunately, the study does not provide any insight into how the role of those who do not fit the "yuppy" description differs from those who do. Although the "yuppies" may be well represented on advocacy group membership lists, they may not necessarily be the most active, most influential, or the most financially supportive of environmental advocacy groups.

Active Participation By Group Members (Question #5)

Question number 5 attempts to discover to what extent a given groups members actually take an active role in a group's endeavours. Table 5.4 groups, in ten percent intervals, the perceived rate of participation by group members.

Table 5.4 Active Participation by Group Members (60 Returns)

% ACTIVE PARTICIPATION	PERCEIVED PARTICIPATION OF GROUP MEMBERS
0 - 10%	20
10 - 20%	12
20 - 30%	13
30 - 40%	4
40 - 50%	4
50 - 60%	1
60 - 70%	1
70 - 80%	1
80 - 90%	1
90 - 100%	3

One third of the respondents said that less than ten percent of their members actually took an active role in the group. Three quarters of the respondents said that less than thirty percent of members were helpful from other than a monetary standpoint.

In many instances it seemed evident that a few key "mavericks" were responsible for about 99% of the work. However, it is of course vital that these people have the financial backing provided by this growing list of non-active members. In many instances the membership fee not only provides financial and moral support but is also a subscription fee for any publications an organization may have. This is an excellent way of making people aware of new developments, problems, and solutions on a variety of environmental issues. This promotes education, and hopefully

inspires the readers to act on the concerns raised in these periodicals, whether this be by actively lobbying government or adopting certain lifestyle changes.

If the members cannot be active participants, the money that they pledge allows organizations to acquire the personnel and infrastructure necessary to address environmental problems. For example, in 1974, The Canadian Wildlife Federation launched a campaign to attract new members and was very successful as an additional 25,000 members (nationally) brought in new revenue of about \$250,000 (CWF,1986). This type of backing is necessary, as very little funding is provided by the federal government for environmental groups. In fact, the federal government has an annual grant of only \$150,000 for all the environmental groups in the country. This money, allotted through the various government funded "environment networks", would amount to about \$150 for each of Canada's 1200 environmental groups (Mowat,1990). Obviously, groups need a combination of money and ambition to achieve their goals.

Role of Advocacy Groups (Question #6)

The final question asked how environmental advocacy groups perceive their role as proponents of change. Graph 5.4 shows the ranking of the role perceived to be most important by the groups spokesperson.

GRAPH 5.4

Out of a sample of 55 returns in which this question was asked, 81.81% said that raising public awareness, and educating the public were the most important targets of their organization. Most were quick to point out that the two are essentially the same. Of the remaining responses, 12.73% said lobbying was the most important, and the rest were divided amongst a variety of other goals. The "other" category yielded a variety of interesting roles such as communicating between groups (networking), providing

lifestyle alternatives (composting, recycling, tree planting), fundraising, providing venues, structures and systems for the dissemination of ideas, teaching by example, and doing research.

The results from question #6 would indicate that although working and fighting against winnable issues is important, the first, and most important step, is to make people aware of the problems and the possible solutions. Many of the items included in the "other" category can be related to education and awareness because they provide avenues through which the ideals of environmentalism can be promoted. It is interesting to note that research was not considered a key component, possibly because people realize that the solutions to the problems are available provided the public and the politicians have been sensitized to the issues and subsequently have prioritized environmental concerns.

Discussion of Results

When the results of this survey are compared with two others provided by the respondents, there appears to be significant similarities. The Friends of The Earth survey just completed (1991) indicated the age of the majority of their members is in the 30 - 50 year old category.

Their survey found a similar ranking of occupation type. Their list, in order from highest to lowest, was as follows : Professional, other (unspecified), retired, teacher, homemaker, student, clerical, and sales. It should be noted that certain groups were made up of people belonging to one specific occupation type. For example, Artists Alliance for the Environment was founded out of "a desire to provide a forum for exploration of concerns particular to our group". Groups founded by and for teachers serve a dual purpose as they provide a forum for the exchange of ideas on how to fine tune the techniques they use in teaching others about the problems of environmental degradation. The Friends of the Earth (1991) also found that of those who responded to their survey, the highest number said they had a university degree. The second most frequent response was post-graduate studies, followed by college, high school, and public school. Although post-graduate studies ranked higher in the Friends of the Earth survey, the two studies indicated a comparably high percentage of university graduates amongst group members.

Although the income question was deleted from this survey, a recent study by Janice Kretchman and Paul Eagles (FON, 1989) sheds some light on this aspect of a group's membership. The survey done for the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo in 1989, gives an analysis of membership based on participation in nature excursions organized by the Federation of Ontario Naturalists. Their data provides some insight into the

average household income of group members. They found that 50% had household incomes over \$60,000, and 10% had household incomes over \$130000. According to Kretchman and Eagles (1989), the average Canadian household income (1988) was \$37, 827.

Kretchman and Eagles also found that the average age of the participants was 49 years old, and 89.3% have post secondary education, of which 72.3% have a university degree (they indicate that out of the general Canadian population 12.4% have university degrees, and 36.5% have some form of post secondary education).

Although the responses to part B of the questionnaire did not provide accurate statistical insight into group dynamics, definite patterns could be formulated by the perceptions of the respondents, and from the two additional surveys. The astonishing level of growth in group membership, the relative conformity of member characteristics, and the apparent consensus as to which is the most important role played by advocacy groups all would indicate that the environmental movement does have some identifiable traits. In response to Bentley's challenge we must now attempt to speculate as to how these identifiable components of the environmental movement affect our political systems, the marketplace, and the public.

CHAPTER #6CONCLUSIONS

Although many modern environmentalists may not be familiar with Henry David Thoreau's experiment at Walden, there is little doubt that they share essentially the same concerns, and are attempting to seek solutions to essentially the same problems, as Thoreau was back in the 19th century. As our Western society becomes increasingly more pluralistic, environmentalists have learned to be more creative in voicing their concerns. Many argue that our political and social institutions have not been able to respond to the needs of the myriad of special interest groups (Toffler, 1971). If this is the case, interest groups and social movements must overcome obstacles that are not necessarily directly related to their particular cause. The quantity and variety of "modes of action" employed by interest groups would indicate that promoting a given cause is definitely a multi-dimensional task. Only the message has remained relatively consistent over the years.

The data collected from the advocacy groups would indicate that group participation has exploded in the last five years at unprecedented levels. The membership of these organizations is made up of what appears to be a rather middle class, professional, highly educated sector of society. Having some spare time and money is, apparently, a pre-requisite for concerning oneself with

problems aside from merely trying to make a living. Middle aged and generally financially secure, it seems that the majority of environmental advocates are taking up an ideological hobby. Paying extra for goods that may be environmentally friendly, or donating to groups that generally hold registered charity status, can hardly be considered overly sacrificial. However, it is difficult to be too cynical about these generalizations because regardless of the motive or appearance of a double standard, it is obvious that positive progress is being made that will eventually benefit all segments of society.

Due to the confidentiality outlined in the covering letter, it was not possible to link specific groups to the information as it was "aggregated for analysis". This was unfortunate because it was not possible to determine whether or not there was any bias regarding who returned the questionnaire, and also whether or not the type or size of organization had any bearing on its success or if certain types of groups had specific membership characteristics. The matrix (table 5.1) was used to present the qualitative data in a manner that allowed for general observations to be made about the motive of the organizations, the most obvious of which is the relationship between formation date and group type. A more controlled study of a select number of new and old, highly institutionalized and single issue, groups would yield more specific comparisons. However, this is also problematic owing to the subjectivity involved in measuring success. An example of this

can be found in the qualitative responses. Two organizations that are addressing the problems associated with cleaning up the Great Lakes Ecosystem have completely different ideas on how they are progressing.

The Center for Great Lakes (a binational, non profit policy research institute) reports great progress in achieving their goals (1991). However, Operation Clean Niagara (1991), a local group that deals with a specific component of the ecosystem points out that although their organization has contributed greatly to the awareness of the problems in the environment..."The Niagara River is probably as polluted as when I started... I have become totally pessimistic that we as a species will be able to turn things around."

This contradiction seems to run through the majority of the qualitative data that was returned. Although there was a number of groups who reported success in terms of raising awareness and educating the public (and also, as in the case of the CWF getting a court injunction while opposing the Rafferty-Almeda Dam) it is not possible to gauge from these little victories whether or not the environment as a whole is any better off today than it was yesterday. In fact, even though we may have dramatic increases in environmental advocacy groups, and in group memberships, as well as an overall increases in awareness for environmental issues here in Ontario, the pollution report card for the global community of

which we are a part may be getting worse. It has often been argued that our biggest problem is that we continue to exceed the human carrying capacity of our planet. Indeed the task of managing problems of global proportion is becoming increasingly more cumbersome in the wake of growing populations, expanding resource use, and explosion of new technologies that has widened the gap between the haves and the have nots.

The multitude of groups here in Ontario also reflects the inability of a given government or governments to effectively deal with the problems of pollution. Obviously if we as Canadians are expressing a growing concern about the state of our environment, there should be a public body available to address the issues. The large number of established and fledgling groups lack the overall organization and efficiency that one solid well managed central body would have. Our governments could, and should, provide a stable network to coordinate environmental management, but they are apparently not as concerned with addressing the problems of the environment as they are with dealing with the economy or health care. A large scale management scheme such as the "Green Plan" is a good idea because it addresses the intricate nature of environmental issues. However, a plan is of little use unless it is fully implemented and supported. Apparently governments seem to believe that environmental issues can be marginalized without severe political backlash. What this means is that if environmental groups wish to hold government responsible for the

type of environmental management they expect, they are going to have to take their votes elsewhere in protest of a system that is apparently failing them.

Accountability, not only to the environmentalists, is an issue that is coming to the forefront. As Michael Adams (pollster hired by the Federal Liberal Party as a consultant) states..."Canada is suffering a crisis of confidence in the political system (in Bryden, 1991)." Somehow we are not getting the politicians or the politics we want. For the environmentalist this means becoming more political and making the system more accessible in order to ensure the priorities we espouse as Canadians are shared with our political leaders.

So have the environmental groups succeeded in translating public concern into political action? We don't have to look any further than the blue box on the corner to see the results of grassroots lobbying. Groups asking for a ban on the use of chemical lawn sprays are being heard by city councils. However, what legal systems are in place to ensure a proper environmental impact assessment is undertaken for the James Bay Project. It should not be necessary to fight these developments on an individual basis. This is why most of the respondents measured their success in terms of the number of people they had reached through their public awareness campaigns and educational programs. Little mention was made of actually swaying a political decision or

affecting legislation. Obviously, it was felt that an environmentally educated electorate would ask better questions at election time and would expect better results from those elected. What was also a very important measure of success to the groups was their ability to show others how they could adopt lifestyles that often considered the ideals of the grassroots environmentalists.

Campaigns that promote awareness and educations about environmental issues filter through society so that all age categories, social, and economic classes are given a chance to participate in any way that they can. This is why it was very obvious that education and awareness were the key goals of the majority of advocacy groups. In many ways this was in response to a fear of tackling issues through more political means. The simplest form of lobby is the one whereby you tell the people you know about the problems and eventually public concern becomes so widespread that politicians can't help but realize an opportunity to appeal to a large group of constituents. "Canadians for a Clean Environment" expressed these views in a letter attached to their questionnaire, indicating that the only problem with this method of lobbying is that it is slow:

We are a public information, education and participation group. We are multi-issued... The list of activities, programs, and methods is too extensive to list... Our organization has been more successful than we had ever hoped... This came about as a result of public demand. The public demand was generated by an increase in knowledge and understanding of the issues. This came about as a result of concerned groups and individuals, and their efforts. Legislation and politicians followed... Everything takes ten times longer than you originally anticipate. Speeding up the process has proven to be the biggest challenge (Oleksuik, 1991).

In most instances the results that these groups reported have been positive. In many instances the biggest problems are the aforementioned laziness of the process and the torpid response of a rather apathetic population. Although success has been achieved through direct lobbying with government and through court action, this path is more likely to be effective in a climate that has been primed by the ideals of environmentalists. In this sense, I feel that it is impossible to point to any particular method of achieving success for an advocacy group; rather, using all and every means available is a more enduring avenue. For years those in the music business, especially those in the folk-rock genre, have embraced causes relating to social awareness; whether people sing, dance, paint or preach is irrelevant as long as they channel their specific talent in a positive direction; their message is bound to be heard. In fact the wider the range of professions that incorporate environmental thinking into their day to day work, the

greater the possibility that these ideas will reach all segments of society.

Unfortunately, this rather lethargic approach has been criticized for lacking "the guts" to chase politicians and hold them responsible. It seems that it is no longer acceptable behaviour to campaign with the fervour of the early Greenpeace activists. In this respect, the environmentalists are indeed not obtaining the status required to "pull political weight". They have obviously been losing to the more traditional, powerful, business lobby. This is the main battle and it cannot be viewed in absence of the ties between our political parties and the business community. This battle must be fought at the ballot box and in the backrooms. The electorate's tendency to avoid the political fringe has meant that politicians have, to this point, been successfully able to throw band-aids at environmental issues while holding the line on their economic policies. This causes problems for environmental groups who spend a lot of time consulting with government on issues, with hopes of achieving substantive change in policy, only to be included in the photo-opportunity and excluded on the legislative table. Although environmental groups have fought long and hard to be recognized in decision making forums, the extensive requests for consultation have placed incredible strains on groups that are strapped for funding and time :

The most substantive threat posed by becoming trapped on the endless merry go round of consultations is the loss of our direction. Our energies go into those topics that government and industry choose to consult us on. By dropping everything to participate in their consultation programmes, we cease to set our own agendas. As a result, government and industry priorities become our priorities (Jackson, 1990).

The ability of government and industry to dictate all of our social concerns is a direct reflection of the inert nature of those cultural traits discussed in Chapter 2. Because the majority of those who support environmental advocacy groups hail from a specific economic class, it is unlikely that they will unilaterally alter their lifestyle in a fashion that would embrace the environmental constitution prescribed by the "deep ecologists". Similarly those in the lower classes have priorities that often put economics and job security well ahead of environmental issues. This leads one to believe that environmentalism is going to progress only through the conservative mainstream and fail to dislodge the very components of society that exacerbate the environmental problems. As David Suzuki points out our pre-occupation with the economist remains our greatest enemy:

... Ask a politician why he or she is running for office. Ask what the objectives of her or his party are. Chances are, the response will recite the goal of maintaining a healthy economy, maximizing growth and carving out a Canadian share of the global marketplace. Our society and our government are driven by these economic imperatives.

Indeed, the way we measure success and progress is by economic indicators.

... We live in a world which the public has recognized the urgency of the ecological crisis, yet our leaders in business, academics and government continue to base their planning and priorities on economics. It's foolhardy so long as economics remains so tragically myopic in both time and ecological breadth (Suzuki).

Although there is an apparent movement towards an environmental revolution, there is a strong undercurrent that is defined by the Western market economies. As the Soviet Union attempts to escape from the centrally planned economy, the so called western capitalist societies continue to grapple with the inequities and failures of their "model" system. The failures of such a system are well documented in the context of all social and environmental problems:

Without a social contract whereby people direct their government to define the limits of production, distribution, and consumption, the market will simply turn out more of everything desired by those wielding some kind of power. More arms for the military, more profits for business, more goods and services for the consumer : to each according to his rank.

The market is not equipped to consider and report that, as a byproduct, it also produces more misery for the underclasses, more health hazards for the community, more drugs and crime for the cities, more carbon dioxide for the greenhouse effect, more depletion of the ozone layer, more destruction of rain forests and loss of genetic varieties.

In some cases, costs can be internalized and be reflected in market decisions, but competition will prevent this from happening unless there is regulation by public authorities. Competition of the marketplace will also prevent newly empowered business elites from producing a fairer set of rules : for instance, entrepreneurship in the hands of women or of new minority groups seems incapable of moving values other than the sacrosanct bottom line (Trudeau, 1991).

We are therefore faced with Capra's dilemma of turning from this political/ideological paradigm to the society envisioned by the deep ecologists of small, co-operative communities utilizing the soft energy paths advocated by Amory Lovins (1977). A move towards a post industrialized society that incorporates communal, possibly Judeo-Christian beliefs in the purest sense, defined by the constitutions of the early conservationists, would seem rather utopic even to the healthiest of imaginations. Unfortunately the pace of linear growth dictated by our economies and our inability to internalize non tangibles such as environmental degradation leads one to assume that we are on a collision course that will result in the shift of this cultural paradigm by desire or by necessity. Capra views the former as the more likely scenario, whereas Paehlke views a more neo conservative future based on the paths undertaken by the groups mentioned in this paper. The fact that one resides in Los Angeles and the other in Peterborough may account for the divergence in their perspective but it is likely that the crystal ball will show us a future that incorporates both aspects. The fact of the matter is the stronger the environmental

movement becomes, the easier it will be to move towards a society that embodies a more holistic and spiritual lifestyle.

Although it is obvious that this movement is gaining strength, particularly on the home front, it appears that challenges are taking us to a larger more global scale. The disparities created by our socio-economic system are amplified when we consider the circumstances of those in third world countries. This is enforced by the realization that the industrialized nations are responsible for the biggest use of resources and emit the largest proportion of pollution. Undoubtably this is the third phase of modern environmentalism : taking our experiences at the regional level and applying them to a world with such a complexity of political and cultural institutions. The multifarious conditions that perpetuate such environmental and social neglect are well documented in State of The World and, of course, The Brundtland Commissions Report. The need to move towards an era of sustainable development is necessary so we can not only savour peace of mind from maintaining a world worth living, but also allow our children to experience a legacy of pride rather than penitence.

It is from this that we can conclude that education plays the most important role in the proliferation of ideals associated with environmentalism. The most impressionable, young minds, must not however, be taught environment issues in a vacuum that fails to recognize the roots of our problems. They should not be presented

with a one sided perspective, but rather, an overview of what constitutes certain problems and what solutions seem most rational. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) environmental education should follow certain guidelines. Certain important areas are as follows:

1. Consider the environment in its totality.
2. Be a continuous lifelong process.
3. Be interdisciplinary in its approach, drawing on the specific content of each discipline in making possible a holistic and balanced perspective.
4. Examine major environmental issues from local, national, regional, and international points of view.
5. Focus on current and potential environmental situations while taking into account the historical perspective.
6. Promote the value and necessity of local, national, and international co-operation in the prevention and solution of environmental problems.
7. Explicitly consider environmental aspects in plans for growth and development.
8. Emphasize the complexity of environmental problems and, thus the need to develop critical thinking and problem solving skills.

The benefits of teaching environmental awareness from an early age are invaluable. Learning to notice what is around you and how easily it can be destroyed by irresponsible action, can lead to a sensitivity that appreciates the environment as something other than an externality of our daily activities.

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Appendix A

Cover Letter

Dear Fellow Environmentalists :

The network of environmental advocacy groups in the province of Ontario is growing rapidly. Although we all ultimately share the same concerns about our environment, we employ a variety of techniques in order to achieve our respective goals. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find material that documents the accomplishments of groups such as yours. With your help, I would like to identify the important role that interest groups play in promoting environmental awareness. In doing so, it may be possible to assess how effective these groups are in influencing others to respond to the challenges we face.

I have attached a questionnaire which seeks both a quantitative and a historical-anecdotal perspective of your particular organization. The information will be used for an M.A. Thesis (Geography) and the results will be made available, in summary form , upon request.

As the quantitative data will be aggregated for analysis, specific organizations will not be identified. However, if you wish any portion of the qualitative information to remain anonymous please indicate on the questionnaire.

For your convenience, I have enclosed a self addressed, stamped envelope and I would be grateful if you could provide as much information as possible given your time constraints. The research schedule is such that I would hope to start analyzing the responses by the beginning of March.

If you require more information about this research, I can be contacted at the following address. I thank you for your help.

Bill Mulcahy
514 Denbury Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario
K2A-2N7
(613) 729-3615

Appendix B

Questionnaire

ENVIRONMENTAL ADVOCACY
QUESTIONNAIRE

Part A

If the space provided below is insufficient please feel free to elaborate on a separate piece of paper. Additional supplemental information (i.e. brochures, newspaper articles) would be helpful in providing an accurate picture of the nature and goals of your group.

Background :

1. When was the organization founded and by whom ?

2. What was the original motivation for forming the group and how has this changed over the years ? - Please give a historical perspective of how the organization has evolved over the years .

3. What problems or specific concerns influenced the path the group has taken ?

Goals, Objectives :

1. What are the current goals of your group and how have you, and will you, go about achieving them ?

2. In your opinion, what progress has your organization made towards achieving its goals and objectives? Do you feel that it can be measured in terms of legislative changes, generation of new policy, community programs, educational forums, media attention, or other means ?

3. Have there been any failures, in your view, in achieving your objectives and, if so, what do you feel that you have learned from them?

Part B

- Please answer these questions on this sheet -

1. How many members does your organization have (please indicate if the entries are actual or estimates) ?

End of 1990 :	1980 :
End of 1989 :	1975 :
End of 1988 :	1970 :
End of 1987 :	1965 :
End of 1986 :	Before 1965 :
End of 1985 :	

2. Please place a 1 beside the age group that you think best describes the majority of your members (place a 2 for the second, etc.).

Under 20 :	50 - 60 :
20 - 30 :	60 - 70 :
30 - 40 :	Over 70 :
40 - 50 :	

3. Please place a 1 beside the occupation type that you think best describes the majority of your members (place a 2 for the second, etc.).

Teacher :	Management :
Student :	Clerical :
Professional :	Entrepreneur :
Sales :	Industrial-Trade :
Unemployed :	Homemaker :
Retired :	Other :

4. Please place a 1 beside the level of education that you think has been attained by the majority of your members (place a 2 for the second, etc.).

Public School :	University :
High School :	Post Graduate :
College :	

5. What percentage of your members take an active role in your organization (i.e. don't just pledge monetary assistance)

0 - 10 % :	50 - 60 % :
10 - 20 % :	60 - 70 % :
20 - 30 % :	70 - 80 % :
30 - 40 % :	80 - 90 % :
40 - 50 % :	90 - 100 % :

6. Please place a 1 beside the role that you see as being the most important for environmental advocacy groups (place a 2 for the second, etc.).

Raising public awareness :
 Educating the public :
 Lobbying politicians :
 Taking legal action :
 Acting as political consultants :
 Other (please specify) :

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP ! If you wish to receive a summary of the results please check ().

Appendix C

List of Groups Mailed
a Questionnaire

1. Act for Disarmament
2. Action for Animals
3. Action for Social Change
4. Advocacy Group - Environmentally Sensitive
5. Alternatives - Mother Chapter 62
6. AlterNET Communication Association
7. Appeal
8. Argyle Environment Alert
9. Artists Alliance for the Environment
10. Association of Municipal Recycling
11. Aurora Friends of Nature
12. Atikokan Citizens for Nature
13. Bancroft Area Conservation Alliance
14. Baptiste Lake Conservation Society
15. Botany Conservation Group
16. Brampton Environmental Association
17. Britannia Park Coalition
18. Bruce Trail Association
19. Canadian Arctic Resources Committee
20. Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain
21. Canadian Council for Children and Youth
22. Canadian Environmental Defence Fund
23. Canadian Environmental Law Association
24. Canadian Environment Network
25. Canadian Friends Service Committee
26. Canadian Nature Federation
27. Canadian Organic Growers
28. Canadian Parks and Recreation Association
29. Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society
30. Canadian Society of Environmental Biologists
31. Canadian Wildlife Federation
32. Canadians for Conservation of Tropical Nature
33. Canadians for a Clean Environment
34. Canadians Responsible for Nature
35. Centre for the Great Lakes
36. Change - Haliburton
37. Citizens Acting Now
38. Citizens Coalition of Essex County
39. Citizens Network on Waste Management
40. Citizens for Conservation
41. Citizens for a Safe Environment
42. Clean North
43. Cobourg Area Environmental Association
44. Collingwood Naturalists Club
45. Committee on Ravine Preservation
46. Conservation Council of Ontario
47. Council Against Pollution
48. Council of Outdoor Educators of Ontario
49. County of Lanark Environmental Association

50. Credit Valley Preservationists
51. Development Education Centre
52. Ducks Unlimited - Ontario
53. Durham Region Field Naturalists
54. East Coast Ecosystems
55. Eco-Action
56. Ecological Farmers Association
57. Ecology House
58. Ecology Awareness - Acton
59. Ecovision
60. Elora Environmental Action Group
61. Energy Educators
62. Energy Probe
63. Environmental Action Ontario
64. Environmental Forum - Toronto
65. Environment North
66. Environment Watch
67. Essex County Field Naturalists
68. Families Against a Toxic Environment
69. Federation of Ontario Cottagers
70. Federation of Ontario Naturalists
71. Field Botanists of Ontario
72. Forests for Tomorrow
73. Friends of Bill Mason
74. Friends of Foodland
75. Friends of Hudson
76. Friends of the Earth
77. Friends of the Magpie
78. Friends of the River
79. Friends of the Valley
80. Future Forests
81. Ganaraska Trail Association
82. Great Lakes Institute
83. Great Lakes Tomorrow
84. Great Lakes United
85. Greenpeace - Toronto Regional Office
86. Green Teacher
87. Green Future
88. Green Door Alliance
89. Guelph Environmental Council
90. Guelph Field Naturalists Club
91. Grenville-Carleton Conservation Association
92. Halton and North Peel Field Naturalists
93. Hamilton Environmental Action Committee
94. Hamilton Naturalists Club
95. Hamilton Township Concerned Citizens
96. Human Ecology Foundation
97. Harmony Foundation of Canada
98. Human Ecology Foundation
99. Idea - Burlington

100. Informed Citizens Act to Return the Environment
101. Ingersol Nature Club
102. International Institute of Concern
103. International Wildlife Coalition
104. Junction Triangle Anti-Pollution Group
105. Kawartha Field Naturalists
106. Kawartha Institute of Applied Ecology
107. Keep the Environment Protected
108. Kingston Field Naturalists
109. Kirkland Lake Nature Club
110. Kitchener-Waterloo Field Naturalists
111. Lambton Anti-Pollution Group
112. London Environment Task Force
113. Manitoulin Environmental Awareness
114. Marmora Takes No Trash
115. Midland-Penetang Field Naturalists
116. Minto Environmental Group
117. Mississauga Citizens Environmental Committee
118. Muskoka Field Naturalists
119. Muskoka Recycling Association
120. National Campers and Hikers Association of Ontario
121. National Survival
122. Nature Conservancy of Canada
123. New Internationalists
124. Niagara Ecosystems Taskforce
125. Niagara Falls Nature Club
126. Nipissing Naturalists Club
127. North Hastings Citizens for Nuclear Responsibility
128. Ontario Association for Geographic and Environmental Educators
129. Ontario Environment Network
130. Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters
131. Ontario Forestry Association
132. Ontario Public Interest Research Group
133. Ontario Society for Environmental Management
134. Ontario Society of Environmental Educators
135. Operation Clean Niagara
136. Orillia Naturalists Club
137. Ottawa Field Naturalists Club
138. Peninsula Field Naturalists Club
139. People Against Chemical Sprays
140. Peterborough Field Naturalists Club
141. Pollution Probe Foundation
142. Preservation of Agricultural Lands Society
143. Probe International

144. Protect our Water and Environment
145. Public Focus
146. Quetico Foundation
147. Quinte Environmental Resources Association
148. Recycling Council of Ontario
149. Residents for Controlled Development
150. Rideau Valley Field Naturalists
151. Rural Action on Garbage and the Environment
152. Saugeen Field Naturalists
153. Save the Rouge Valley System
154. Second Marsh Defence Association
155. Sierra Club of Ontario
156. Sierra Club of Eastern Canada
157. Society for the Preservation Wild Culture
158. Soil and Water Conservation Society of America - Ontario Chapter
159. Student Centre for Public Issues
160. Sudbury Naturalists Club
161. Sydenham Field Naturalists
162. Temagami Wilderness Society
163. Temiskaming Environmental Action Committee
164. Thunder Bay Field Naturalists
165. Toronto Environmental Alliance
166. Toronto Field Naturalists
167. Toronto Recycling Action Committee
168. Trees for Today and Tomorrow
169. Tree Watch
170. Walpole Island Research Centre
171. Wildland League
172. Wildlife Habitat Canada
173. Windsor - Clean Water
174. World Wildlife Fund
175. Wye Marsh Wildlife Centre

END

2/1.12.92

FIN