

The German Environmental Movement and B.C. Forestry Practices:
An Analysis of Strategy Choices

by

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ABSTRACT


In the past few years, major policy changes have taken place in B.C. forestry practices. These changes can be, in part, attributed to the pressure exerted by both domestic and international environmental groups. The internationalization of the issue has served to heighten awareness for this issue and has played an important role in inspiring change.


The aim of this thesis is to examine the strategies used by public interest groups within the international sphere. Through the application of a case study, which examines the means of advocacy utilized by German environmental groups in the campaign aimed at B.C. forestry policy, I offer insight into the tactics and channels used in an indirect pressure campaign.

This study demonstrates that German environmental groups have focussed their interests on two main aspects: the issue as a matter of global interest and the importance of changing social values. Lobbying has been carried out with the intention of promoting the development of international regulations in forestry, and in the hopes of influencing trade relations; in addition, public awareness work has been undertaken in order to influence social values, and through consumer education provide market regulation of forestry practices.

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LIST OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A.G. Klima: Arbeitsgruppe Klima; Working Group on Climate, part of the Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung

A.G. Wald: Arbeitsgruppe Wald; Working Group on Forests

This group is part of the Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung (Forum on Environment and Development), which acts as a coordination point for a number of organizations which are active in the area of environment and development. It was formed in 1992, following the United Nations World Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro. The A.G. Wald coordinates the work of those groups active in the topic of forests in Germany. This group is working on outlining the basis of a global forest protection strategy. The Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung is financed by the Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit (the Federal Ministry for the Environment, Conservation and Reactor Security).

AKKU: Arbeitskreis Kanadische Urwälder; Working Group on Canadian Old-Growth Forests

BUND: Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland e.V.; German Alliance for Environment and Nature Conservation

DNR: Deutscher Naturschutzring; the German Nature Conservation Ring

Pro Regenwald: Pro Rainforest

TRN: Taiga Rescue Network

The Taiga Rescue Network was founded in October 1992 in Jokkmokk, Sweden, following a conference on boreal forests. It "facilitates and co-ordinates the work of NGO's and indigenous peoples and nations fighting for the sustainable use of the northern forests of the world." From: Taiga Rescue Network, *Beware of the Taiga Terminators!*, Naturinformation AB, Sweden.

Urgewald - Kampagne für den Regenwald: Urgewald - Campaign for the Rainforest

Waldsterben: A literal translation of Waldsterben is 'forest death.'

The term implies the progressive degradation and eventual loss of trees in Germany, due primarily to acid rain.

WWF: World Wide Fund for Nature

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DEDICATION

To Mikaela,

who accompanied my work every step of the way.
She never let me forget the important things in life!

INTRODUCTION

In the past few years, a number of policy initiatives have been introduced and implemented in order to improve British Columbia (BC) forestry practices. The most comprehensive change in this area is embodied in the Forest Practices Code, which is supplemented by such developments as the Protected Areas Strategy and the Forest Renewal Plan. The provincial government has, in addition, strived to respect the needs of industry, labour, environmental groups, aboriginal First Nations and local communities in the development of policy. Although these changes can be attributed in part to pressure exerted by local environmental groups, it is also important to recognize that international pressure has played an important role in prompting changes in BC forest policy.

Despite attempts to further the development of community-controlled resource use panels, disputes over resource usage no longer revolve solely around community interests. In the case of BC forestry practices, the world outside of the provincial, and in particular, outside of the international borders has served to heighten interest and awareness of this dispute. With only a small percentage of the world's old-growth forests still intact and the remaining forests threatened by harvesting, concerns have been raised by citizens internationally as to how economic and ecological needs in British Columbia should be coordinated.

Much of the international pressure has originated from Europe, and in particular, Germany. This is largely attributable to the fact that the problems associated with the conservation of forests are familiar to the German population. Having already recognized the extent to which German forests are affected by 'Waldsterben' (the progressive loss of trees due to air pollution), Germans have become aware of the detrimental effects of industry on the natural forests. This, together with a comprehensive campaign highlighting the destruction of the tropical rainforests, served to heighten the general awareness of such problems. In consideration of this background, it is easy to see how concern for the centuries-old tropical rainforest could be transferred to the temperate rainforests of Canada, a country which most Germans idealize.

Within Germany, the controversy concerning BC forestry practices has led to conflicting images of BC as an ideal tourist destination, and of BC as a 'Brazil of the North'. Every year, thousands of Germans travel to BC to enjoy the natural outdoors. Many tourists who have strayed away from the national and provincial parks have been appalled by large clearcuts and the

disruption of the natural environment through forestry. This, combined with a campaign within Germany outlining the problems associated with clearcut logging and the on-going destruction of old-growth temperate rainforests, has served to influence public opinion and to alert Germans to the acuteness of the situation.

This trend has not only affected the general public, but also German wholesalers and consumers of BC forest products. As a result of public pressure, a number of German publishers have either cancelled their orders with BC paper manufacturers or have indicated their willingness to do so in the future, if these suppliers continue to obtain the resources from either clearcut or old-growth areas. Such action demonstrates that access to international markets increasingly depends on environmental performance.

The threat of international boycotts has played an instrumental role in the changes to BC forest policy. Not only has this threat resulted in a comprehensive multi-million dollar counter campaign on the part of government and industry, but it has also aided the BC government in inducing the forest companies into compliance with many parts of the government's proposed program of changes. As demonstrated by the consumer boycotts of Shell stations in connection with the Brent Spar and by continuing attempts to boycott French producers, these actions are increasingly utilized in order to pressure governments or corporations to change policy. Due to the reliance of the British Columbia economy on the export of wood products, further reductions in European imports from BC could have a significant impact on the provincial economy.

Although the tactics utilized by local environmental organizations in attempting to influence change within the provincial or national sphere are familiar, what types of strategies are chosen by groups within the international forum? How do German groups attempt to influence policy development or public attitudes within BC? What are the strategies and channels employed?

In order to answer these questions, I intend to analyze the German campaign focussed on BC forestry practices. In specific, I plan to analyze *how* German environmental groups have tried to influence BC forestry policy, and what factors explain the choices they have made. As environmental groups often fight for political decisions in which ecological risks should either be limited, mitigated, or avoided, the strategy which is chosen to reach these goals is of particular interest in the field of political science. Furthermore, as these groups are largely unable to utilize traditional methods of direct lobbying of BC government officials in order to influence policy decisions, I would like to determine what types of strategies they have chosen in order to reach their

goals. Through the analysis of a specific case study, I hope to be able to make wider generalizations concerning the possible future behavior of environmental groups within the international sphere.

The first section of this paper is largely intended to introduce the reader to the actors involved in the issue. In order to understand the significance of this issue to British Columbia and to Germany, Chapter One, 'Setting the Stage,' offers an analysis of relevant background information. Through an examination of the economic, social and cultural factors which influence this discussion, the interests of these two main actors will become clearer.

The central portion of the paper focusses on an analysis of the strategies utilized by the various participant groups in order to reach their desired goals. Chapter Two outlines a theoretical framework, in which the factors influencing tactical choices, methods of advocacy, and target audiences are discussed. Chapter Three turns to an examination of the environmental groups involved in this campaign. It provides a practical application of the theoretical framework, in which the characteristics of each group are analyzed, and the strategies utilized by each group are outlined. This analysis is intended to provide a deeper understanding of where the strategic aims of these environmental groups lie. How do they attempt to exercise influence? Do these groups primarily focus on domestic or international audiences? Do they aim to influence government actions or civil society? What factors contribute to the choices made by the environmental groups?

The final section of this thesis is formed by a discussion of my findings. In Chapter Four, a detailed analysis of the main means of strategic action and channels of influence chosen are summarized. This is followed by a discussion of the relevance of the proposed strategy model, and of the theoretical perspectives employed. Chapter Five summarizes the conclusions reached in the paper.

An analysis of this type not only provides an interesting angle from which to observe possible new trends, it also provides further insight into a topic which is of prime importance to many residents of British Columbia. The focus of this work revolves around an exploratory case study of those groups involved in a single campaign issue. This thesis thus illuminates a dimension of pressure group activity that has become increasingly important as globalizing forces penetrate all aspects of society. It highlights a type of indirect pressure campaign which has not hitherto received much attention in the literature on either interest group or social movement strategies. It is hoped that this analysis will aid those interested in better understanding the dynamics of environmental group activity in the global sphere.

METHODOLOGY

This thesis applies a theoretical framework to a case study concerning the involvement of German environmental groups in the development of BC forestry policy. My primary objective lies in identifying the focal points for strategic choices within this particular campaign, given the diversity of groups in the German environmental movement. This study is not undertaken with the intention of evaluating the success or failure of the campaign; rather, it is an attempt to describe and explain the strategic choices and to highlight possible future trends in this area.

A case study is particularly helpful in an analysis of this type, as it aids in the practical portrayal of *how* a number of groups have aimed to exercise influence, and *why* they have acted in this way. Robert K. Yin succinctly explains the advantages of case study research:

In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.¹

Accordingly, this thesis examines how German environmental groups have sought to exert pressure for change in BC forestry policy. In specific, this is a comparative study which analyzes cases that "are similar in a large number of important characteristics but dissimilar with regard to the variables between which a relationship is hypothesized."² This study will ascertain which strategies have been chosen by what type of group, and it will examine why these particular channels have been chosen. By exemplifying the theoretical perspectives in the form of a case study, I hope to highlight more general trends in the arena of group strategy.

Forestry policy provides a particularly interesting case study, as it has emerged to be an increasingly important topic within interstate relations. In an all-encompassing study of the environmental movement, generalizations could be made concerning the movement as a whole. But, by focussing on a specific number of groups and a specific issue within the movement, more detailed conclusions pertaining to the strategic choices of these groups can be drawn.

This analysis covers all of the German environmental groups which have been or still are active in the issue of BC forestry policy: World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), 'Bund für Umwelt-

¹Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1989), 13.

²A. Lijhart, "The Comparable-Cases Strategy in Comparative Research," *Comparative Political Studies* 8 (1975): 159.

und Naturschutz Deutschland' (BUND; The German Alliance for Environment and Nature Conservation), Greenpeace Germany, Robin Wood, Big Mountain Aktionsgruppe (Big Mountain Action Group), Pro Regenwald (Pro Rainforest), and 'Urgewald: Kampagne für den Regenwald' (Urgewald: Campaign for the Rainforest) with its branch group, 'Arbeitskreis Kanadische Urwälder' (AKKU; Working Group on Canadian Old-Growth Forests). Although these groups are all involved in BC forestry, they differ considerably in their internal structures, their spectrum of interests, and in their approach to environmental issues. WWF, BUND and Greenpeace are among the older groups which have taken part in this campaign; these groups also represent a highly-structured, professional approach to environmentalism. The remaining groups - Robin Wood, Big Mountain, Pro Regenwald, Urgewald, and AKKU - represent a more grass roots approach to environmentalism.

I have limited my analysis to the actions of groups within Germany. Although I have been in contact with a number of Canadian environmental groups, BC government representatives, and forest companies, it is not within the scope of this analysis to include a comprehensive examination of their interests or actions. Their connections to German environmental groups, and the extent of coordination, information-sharing, or reliance on the advice of Canadian groups will however be discussed when relevant.

In order to carry out this study, I depended largely on publications by the groups (magazines, monograms and advertising material), and on secondary literature on these groups and their activities. This material is augmented by interviews with representatives of the member organizations. In the interviews, I used a semi-structured approach. The questions, derived in large part from my theoretical framework for strategy choices, were the same for all groups. The structure of the interview did, however, allow for personal input and variation. In the interviews, I covered such topics as the basic ideology and structure of the group, the campaign focus and strategy, and the desired audience for the campaign.

One difficulty inherent in this type of research is that of being dependent upon the willingness of those directly involved in the campaign for a large portion of the material; due to the controversial nature and the on-going relevancy of this case, many organizations have been hesitant in divulging information. There would, of course, have been advantages to being a 'participant observer,' but at the same time, it may then have been difficult to maintain objectivity.

For this project, I have established a time parameter from 1991 to 1994 (although background information originating prior to this date will be included). This period has been

chosen, as it marks a time in which the forestry practices of northern nations - inclusive of the boreal forests and the temperate rainforests - began to achieve a certain notoriety. On the international front, BC began to be known for its destructive forestry practices. In 1991, German television ran a prime-time film, 'Ein Paradies verkommt' (A Paradise Lost), by Hans-Gerd Wiegard (March 4, 1991, ARD TV), highlighting the massive clearcuts, the problems concerning the First Nations peoples, and the lack of sufficient regulations in BC forestry practices. This, in conjunction with growing interest on the part of a number of environmental groups, can be taken as a main entry point of public awareness in BC forestry policy. Locally in 1991, the New Democratic Party (NDP) was elected to government, with a platform promise of developing a comprehensive 'Forest Practices Code'. It is evident that this resulted not only from increased local pressure concerning areas such as Clayoquot Sound, Carmanah, Meares Island or Walbran, but also through international pressure.

A thorough case study identifying the extent of German involvement in this area necessitated an extended stay in the Federal Republic of Germany. By residing in the country, I have been able to conduct library research, attend public information seminars and slide shows, and follow the development of the campaign at this time. My ability to read, write and speak German offered the advantage of analyzing primary sources in both English and German, and of interviewing participants in their first language.

My choice of this area is also due to personal interest. As I have grown up in British Columbia, I have always taken the natural environment for granted. But, within the last few years, it has become increasingly clear that the future of a number of wilderness areas is highly uncertain. Having also lived for a number of years in Germany, where mainly small parcels of highly managed forests exist, I have realized why BC's forests are regarded to be an exceptional 'global' resource. Many Germans still consider Canada to be their 'dream land', where - unlike Europe - the vast expanses of land, forests, and mountains offer an incomparable recreational and spiritual experience.

CHAPTER ONE

SETTING THE STAGE

As this analysis revolves around a case study, a detailed discussion of the issue within its international context should aid in setting the groundwork for the study; it will explain *why* this issue is important to the primary actors - British Columbia and Germany. A thorough understanding of the issue of BC forest practices, as it relates to these two actors, is a prerequisite for further analysis of the strategic components of this campaign. The situational analysis is thus intended to give background information on the cultural, economic and social context, as well as to examine the possibilities for environmental group activity in British Columbia and Germany. The aim of this analysis is to generate an improved understanding of the two main arenas for action.

In examining the cultural components of a society, the general focus lies on such aspects as language, history, values and beliefs. These differences - especially those of history, values, beliefs, and in this case, the level of environmental awareness - are important in identifying the roots of a problem or issue. By including such aspects within this analysis, the reader will be better able to understand the differing cultural understandings of the forest and the differing extent of recognition accrued to environmental groups within each country. For example, the differences in the status of environmental groups determine the reception of a group's campaign; whereas Greenpeace is considered to be a well-respected, professional environmental advocacy group within Germany, many Canadians view it to be too radical in its aims and tactics.³

THE ACTORS

BRITISH COLUMBIA. There are a number of different ways of regarding the forests, the trees, or the natural ecosystem in general. Some people have traditionally understood the forest to be spiritual, a place for rejuvenation or revival; others have come to appreciate it for its recreational aspect. Due to the concentration on natural resources as a primary source of economic wealth in

³W.T. Stanbury, Ilan B. Vertinsky, and Bill Wilson, "The Challenge to Canadian Forest Products in Europe: Managing A Complex Environmental Issue," Working Paper 211, Forest Economics & Policy Analysis Research Unit (FEPA), (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, December 1994): 70.

British Columbia, the forest has been largely understood in financial terms. Therefore, discussion concerning the forests has traditionally revolved around the best methods of timber extraction and the rate of liquidation. Under this utilitarian approach to the forests, the trees are viewed as 'ours', simply as 'resources.'

The importance of this industrial facet is not to be underestimated. Canada is the leading exporter of pulp in the world, supplying approximately 30.4 percent of the world's exports.⁴ Together with the United States and Japan, one of its main customers is the European Union. Following Sweden, Canada is also one of the leading providers of pulp and paper to Germany, a country which has a yearly consumption of 190 kg. of paper per capita,⁵ with a population of approximately 81 million. With Germany being one of the higher volume importers of Canadian pulp and paper, the influence that German consumers could potentially exercise over Canadian producers is of significance. In 1993, Canada provided around 20.3 percent of the total pulp imported to Germany; for Canada, which still occupies the position of second highest exporter of pulp to Germany, this represented a decline of 18 percent as compared to 1992.⁶

A large proportion of Canadian forest product exports originates in British Columbia. The total dollar value of exports of all BC forest products in 1994 was \$14,153.5 million; this represents 43.7% of the total Canadian exports.⁷ The BC portion increases when looking at exports to the European Community (EC). Whereas Canada exported a total value of \$3060.7 million to the EC in 1994, BC alone exported \$1563.5 million, 51% of the Canadian total.⁸ Although BC exports to the European market rose steadily from 1985 to 1994,⁹ Canadian pulp exports to Germany have recently dropped. The reasons for this decrease are unclear, although a plausible explanation is the increasing focus on European products in the European Union. It is unlikely that the situation will improve, considering the recent publicity concerning BC forestry practices. Should Canada not find any new markets, any changes would likely hit BC hardest.

The British Columbia economy is basically an export-oriented, natural resource extraction economy. With 85 percent of British Columbia's area covered by provincial forests, the province's

⁴Verband Deutscher Papierfabriken, *Papier '94: Ein Leistungsbericht der deutschen Zellstoff- und Papierindustrie* (Köln: Kuhn, Kammann & Kuhn, 1994), 56.

⁵Ibid., 13.

⁶Ibid., 38.

⁷Council of Forest Industries of British Columbia, *British Columbia Forest Industry Statistical Tables* (Vancouver: n.p., April 1995). Table 19.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Exports to the European market increased from \$831.5 to \$1563.5 million from 1985 to 1994, a total increase of 53.2%. Ibid.

industrial focus has centered on the use of this readily-available resource. Although the commercial harvesting of timber began at the beginning of this century, it was not until post-World War II that the industry really began to flourish. Gradually, forestry came to be regulated according to the concept of 'sustained yield management,' through proper management, "the total amount of timber cut would not exceed the amount replanted,"¹⁰ in order to ensure a continual supply of harvestable timber. This management plan, however, failed to recognize the inherent value of old-growth forests; it focussed on the liquidation of old-growth forests, and their replacement by tree farms in order to maintain a constant supply of lumber.¹¹ Little in the way of secondary processing or manufacturing evolved in BC, despite its resource-rich base; it has, instead, remained dependent on the export of staples. Despite Canada's status as a member of the Group of Seven (G7) industrialized nations, its dependency on resource extraction for its economic livelihood has prompted comparisons to that of an underdeveloped country.¹²

As almost all of the timber land in BC is owned by the provincial Crown, the provincial government plays a prominent role in the development of policy in relation to timber usage. Aside from approximately five percent of forest land which is held privately,¹³ all of BC forest lands are under provincial government control, and therefore available for tenure - "the process by which the government grants cutting rights to timber on Crown land."¹⁴ Provincial land tenure policies determine, to a large extent, the dominant structures of the forest industry. Throughout this century, forest lands have been 'rented out' to forest companies in varying forms of tenures: temporary tenures, timber sale harvesting licenses, and tree farm licenses, just to name a few. The length of these tenure licenses has varied, although most have been available for longer terms (15-25 years), in the belief that by granting longer tenures, the forest companies would ensure a sustained yield through sufficient reforestation and adequate silviculture practices. Despite attempts to adequately regulate the forest industry (i.e. Royal Commissions), many environmental groups charge that the major forest companies have managed to obtain the greatest benefits from

¹⁰M. Patricia Marchak, *Green Gold: The Forest Industry in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1983), 80.

¹¹Jeremy Wilson, "Wilderness Politics in BC: The Business Dominated State and the Containment of Environmentalism," in *Policy Communities & Public Policy in Canada: A Structural Approach*, eds. William D. Coleman & Grace Skogstad (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1990), 143.

¹²Alfred Pletsch, "Ressourcenpotential und Umweltbedrohung in Kanada," *Ahornblätter: Marburger Beiträge zur Kanada-Forschung* 6 (1993): 36.

¹³Most of that total was given to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railroad Companies.

¹⁴Cyril Shelford, *Think Wood!* (Victoria: Shelford Publishing, 1993), 23.

these public lands by paying low stumpage rates¹⁵, practicing large-scale clearcutting, utilizing only the best logs, and spending little in reforestation or silviculture.

The BC economy is dependent upon international demand for its forest products; BC is therefore highly vulnerable to changes in consumer behavior or to market fluctuations. And, with changing technologies and new developments, it is possible that the demand for forest products could be substantially reduced. Electronic media, as well as forms of electronic data storage and transmission, are becoming wide-spread, and could theoretically reduce the demand for newsprint and paper. Other possible shifts in trends could result in decreasing use of disposable packaging, increasing regulations stipulating the content of recycled paper, or changes in building practices, which would result in a decrease in demand for lumber. Although these trends - such as that of paper consumption - have not yet proven to reduce demand, they could bring substantial changes to the future of the BC economy. In addition to this, the 'green' trend of European consumers could severely alter consumer behavior. It is therefore important for BC to address the interests of its trading partners, as BC's reputation for poor forest management could significantly affect market decisions.

Due to the lack of diversification within the BC economy, changes in the strength of the forestry sector also influence employment trends. Between 75,000 and 85,000 people are directly employed by the forest sector, which translates into 15 to 20 % of workers who are directly or indirectly dependent on the industry.¹⁶ As a result, the accustomed standard of living is also influenced by developments or set-backs in the forestry industry. A large number of these workers live in single-industry towns where little or no other industry exists - further exacerbating the problem of possible industry shut-downs. Whereas environmental concerns are often cited as a source of job losses, these losses often stem from an increase in mechanization. Through increasing use of technology in the forest industry - in harvesting procedures, transportation and production -, the number of jobs in this branch of the economy has dropped in relation to the capacity of wood harvested.

At the same time, a 'greening' of the Canadian public has occurred and as a result, the environmental movement has grown in both strength and numbers. There are at least 2,500 groups which are active in some aspect of the Canadian environmental movement; these groups range from

¹⁵"...an assessed fee based on a complex formula whereby companies remit part of the value of the timber they cut back to the government". *ibid.*, 20.

¹⁶Wilson, "Wilderness Politics in BC," 152.

multiple-issue to single-issue groups, radical to conservative groups, and conservationist to ecologist groups. This "diversity usually translates into resourcefulness and adaptability, making for a movement that is able to cover a wide spectrum of issues and draw on a broad repertoire of political methods."¹⁷

Within the BC environmental movement, the forest environmental movement has expanded to be one of the main issue areas. This could be attributed to both the importance of the sector to BC and the relatively small amount of old-growth forest protected in the province. The forest environmental movement generally supports two main concepts: "first, more of BC's remaining forest wilderness should be preserved; and second, the logging that is done should be carried out in a more environmentally sensitive fashion."¹⁸ The main focus of the movement is, however, on the preservation of wilderness areas. Up until 1991, the movement worked towards the goal of greater preservation of old-growth areas mainly on a valley-by-valley basis (i.e. Meares Island, South Moresby, the Stein Valley, Carmanah), with differing success.

The entrance of these groups has not been welcomed by industry. "The growth of the movement after 1965 fundamentally altered the province's "politics of exploitation," adding new layers of debate concerning environmental externalities to longstanding conflicts over the terms under which rights to Crown resources are granted to companies."¹⁹ But, with limited financial and personnel resources, the environmental groups have rarely been able to match the strength of corporate and government coalitions. Thus, they often appear to have had a greater impact within the general public than within actual policy-making circles.

In recent years, the environmental movement has placed greater emphasis on the international public as a means of pressuring for change within BC forestry. Beginning in June 1991 in Kyoquot Sound, Greenpeace and the Sierra Club invited journalists, politicians, and environmentalists from Canada, the United States, and Europe to British Columbia to witness the effects of clear-cut logging on the old-growth temperate rainforests of Vancouver Island.²⁰ This method of exercising pressure was extended to the dispute concerning logging in Clayoquot

¹⁷Jeremy Wilson, "Green Lobbies: Pressure Groups and Environmental Policy," in *Canadian Environmental Policy: Ecosystems, Politics, and Process*, ed. Robert Boardman (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), 112.

¹⁸Wilson, "Wilderness Politics in BC," 142.

¹⁹Ibid., 141-142.

²⁰Hal Quinn, "A clear-cut fight: BC logging becomes an international issue," *Macleans* Vol.104, No.23 (June 10, 1991): 50.

Sound²¹. Following the release of the NDP's Clayoquot Sound land use plan - the so-called Clayoquot Compromise - in April 1993, not only did the issue become one of prime importance in British Columbia, but it became one of international (primarily European and American) attention. This is, to a certain extent, due to the efforts of BC environmental groups, which recognized that their interests may be better represented in the international arena.

Many [groups] no longer expect their concerns to be addressed appropriately within their own nation-state, and so, increasingly during the last few years, they have appealed to the international public, the media, and international organizations... Thus, the catch phrase of sustainable development - "think globally, act locally" - has been reversed, as populations seek outside support for their causes to "think locally, act globally."²²

BC has thus been internationally condemned for its large clearcuts, single-use forestry practices, and lack of sufficient standards.

A portion of the international campaign launched by the BC environmental movement has focussed on an international boycott of BC forest products. In March 1993, the Friends of Clayoquot Sound called for a boycott to be supported by Europeans. In June of that year, a group of European Green Party Members of Parliament declared their support for the boycott of BC lumber due to destructive forestry practices. As the European campaign progressed, buyers of BC pulp and paper in Germany and Britain were approached by environmental groups to terminate their contracts with those suppliers who either practiced clearcut logging, or who obtained their wood from old-growth forests. Much of the emphasis was directed at MacMillan Bloedel, the forest company which retains the right to harvest a large portion of Clayoquot Sound.

In face of the threat of boycotts, an extensive counter-campaign was launched by the forest industry, in conjunction with both the BC and Canadian governments. This campaign was based on the acknowledgement that mistakes had been made in forestry practices in the past, but that the new legislation would ensure environmentally-sound forest practices. The focus of the campaign was, thus, an attempt to change European impressions of BC forestry, as Europeans were viewed

²¹Clayoquot Sound is a 2,637 km² area of coastal inlets and old-growth rainforest, located on the west coast of Vancouver Island. With the Clayoquot Compromise from April 13, 1993, the area of protected areas within Clayoquot Sound was increased from 14.9 to 33.4%; the remaining area is classified as 'General Integrated Management' and 'Special Management'. Throughout the summer of 1993, blockades were held in Clayoquot Sound, protesting further logging in the area. In total, over 800 people were arrested.

²²Mary L. Barker & Dietrich Soye, "Think Locally, Act Globally? The Transnationalization of Canadian Resource-use Conflicts," *Environment* Vol.36, No.5 (June 1994): 14.

to be 'misinformed'.²³ Premier Mike Harcourt and Forestry Ministers Art Charbonneau and Andrew Petter have travelled to Europe as advocates of BC's forest practices in the international sphere. Here, they met with representatives of industry, environmental groups, and government officials; press conferences were held for journalists. Members of the European Parliament were likewise invited to Canada to view BC forestry practices for themselves. Media advertising and lobbying (esp. in Brussels) have also been used extensively by industry and government in order to further publicize their stand on the issue.

Under the threat of boycotts, trade blocks and international disrepute as a result of its logging practices, BC has been forced to face the tension between environmental protection and economic sustainability. The New Democratic Party has been working, since its election into office in October 1991, to develop a workable, consensual solution to the current situation. The need for both provincial stewardship as well as global political leadership has been recognized. The tension faced - to balance environmental protection, economic vitality, and human welfare - is difficult however, as jobs, politics, science, profit, emotions and beliefs are all involved.

GERMANY. The following analysis serves to clarify how the topic of BC forestry practices fits into prevailing attitudes towards the natural environment in Germany. This is premised in the belief that the ways in which citizens of a state react to certain situations can be traced back to previous involvement in conservationism or environmentalism. Not only does an historical analysis uncover the roots of many traditional German beliefs, it also reveals similarities in both the situations and the basic ideals of the consecutive phases of environmental interest and action. This analysis is undertaken in the hopes of clarifying the bases for current environmental action in Germany.

In the first few centuries A.D., the Germanic lands (primarily northern and middle European area) were covered by a primary forest of beech and oak trees. Evident in their cultural history, this geographic characteristic influenced the spiritual beliefs of the Germanic peoples. The trees and the forests became the central point of cosmological, anthropological and religious beliefs, which in turn influenced the development of customs. In connection with trees, thoughts of age, strength, size, life, longevity, destiny and fertility were awakened; humans were equalled to trees ('der Mensch ist ein Baum'), with bark being skin, the crown of the tree the head, and the innards of

²³This was cited by former Forests Minister Art Charbonneau in "Trying to Change Perception Rather Than Reality," *Forest Planning Canada* Vol.8, No.6 (6 December 1992): 4.

trees comparable to those of humans.²⁴ At the same time, forests were equalled to religious sanctuaries in which the deity resides. Trees were thus worshipped as an important part of spring, the summer and winter solstices, weddings, and the harvest; by erecting a tree for these occasions, these peoples expressed their joy and thankfulness, as well as their hopes for past and future fertility.²⁵

Consequently, the forest is also represented in fairy tales, folk songs, legends, sagas and poetry. The figures portrayed in these forms of folk literature vary, at times being portrayed as good, at times as evil. In sagas and fairy tales, the forest is inhabited by mysterious, usually threatening, beings, such as dragons, witches, giants, and dwarves.²⁶ Some portend that these beings embody all of the dangers, with which young people must come to terms with in the process of growth.²⁷ In the Grimms fairy tale collection alone, there are 48 fairy tales which are, in some way, connected with the forest.²⁸ In contrast to this threatening portrayal of the forest, the spirit of folk songs is cheerful and carefree; they act as a celebration of the beauty and mysticism of the forest.

With the conversion to Christianity, attempts were made to destroy the aforementioned pagan rituals. One of the methods best believed to impress upon the peoples the uselessness of their beliefs was to cut down trees which had been dedicated to the heathen gods.²⁹ As this measure was futile - as it did not destroy their faith in the supernatural beings believed to abode in the trees - the Catholic church eventually adopted some of the pagan rituals. Thus, the winter solstice tree is the origin of what we now know as the Christmas tree.³⁰

Further contributing to the destruction of forest lands were the mass migrations of the seventh and eighth centuries (Völkerwanderungen). Due to the massive influx of inhabitants, clearings for agriculture, and wood for fuel and for the construction of homes and wagons were needed. At this time, the inhabitants were cited to have used eight times the amount of wood per person as is needed today.³¹ Throughout the following centuries, the use of the forest rose and sank dramatically, according to the historical period; the forests suffered largely due to substantial

²⁴Kurt Mantel, *Wald und Forst in der Geschichte: Ein Lehr- und Handbuch* (Alfeld-Hannover: Verlag M. & H. Schaper, 1990), 114.

²⁵Ibid., 117.

²⁶Irene Meichsner, "Der Deutschen liebster Mythos," *Natur* 4 (1994): 49.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Mantel, 131.

²⁹Ibid., 127.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹"Fabelhafte Bäume," *Der Spiegel* 48 (November 28, 1994): 61.

population growth and the incidence of wars, but subsequently sank due to the reduction in population as a result of epidemics.

Since the development of industrial society, a 'conservationist/environmental consciousness' has continued to play a role within German society. The beginnings of conservation awareness can be traced back to the mid to late 1800's, when the first conservation groups appeared. But, it was not until almost 100 years later, that the environmental movement as we know it today, came to be. R. Dalton divides these two phases into the first and second wave of environmental action.³² An alternative approach is offered by D. Rucht, in which he employs a threefold typology, differentiating between conservationism, environmentalism, and ecologism.³³ By categorizing the phases of environmental awareness, it is easier to explain the characteristics which are typical for each phase, but it is also necessary to view these phases as part of a continuum in order to realize the extensive similarities that exist between them.

The terminology used to distinguish between these phases is of particular significance in identifying the particular attributes of each phase.

Conservation refers to the protection of nature for aesthetic, ethical, and/or religious reasons. Nature, that is, particularly the rich variety of flora and fauna and the beauty of idyllic landscapes, is considered as a gift to human beings, a place for leisure, recuperation, and contemplation that should be respected in its originality and with its own 'rights'.³⁴

Conservation is typified by the fact that people worked within the system or establishment in order to create areas of natural preservation, to protect threatened animal or bird species, or to have natural historical monuments (i.e. large, old trees) recognized under state protection laws. Environmentalism, on the other hand, is a pragmatic response to the threats of modern industrial society. "In contrast to conservationism, environmentalism recognizes the political arena as an important battleground in influencing concrete policies that may or may not guarantee a healthy and clean environment."³⁵ Environmentalists strive to protect the entire ecosystem from the destruction which is caused by problems of modern industrial society such as nuclear power or acid rain. Ecologism differs from modern-day environmentalism in that it does not focus solely on the

³²Russell J. Dalton, "The Environmental Movement in Western Europe," in *Environmental Politics in the International Arena: Movements, Parties, Organizations, and Policy*, ed. Sheldon Kamieniecki (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 41.

³³Dieter Rucht, "Environmental Movement Organizations in West Germany & France: Structure & Interorganizational Relations," in *International Social Movement Research*, ed. Bert Klandermans (1989), 2:64.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

problematic inherent in industrial society and policies needed to change them. A term which was first coined by Ernst Haeckel in 1868,³⁶ it "implies a holistic vision of a decentralized, democratic, and egalitarian society existing in harmony with nature."³⁷ Ecologism recognizes that society is shaped by the 'system' in which we live; therefore, in order to change our practices concerning the natural environment, the 'system' must change. Despite the thoroughness of this threefold typology of environmental groups, I will concentrate this analysis upon two foci - the first and the second wave of environmental action.

It was at the time in which Germany was transformed from an agricultural to an industrial state (between 1890 and 1910), that a break in the process of cultural adaptation to industrialization - in the form of a new conservationist consciousness - appeared.³⁸ As a result of the industrial revolution the predominant structure of society had changed considerably. The severity of this change is evident in an analysis of the new-found mobility of the population. Whereas a mere 4.8% of the population lived in cities in 1871, by 1910 it was 21.3%.³⁹ Parallel to this change is that of the rural population (in villages of under 2000), where the population dropped from 63.9% in 1871 to 40% in 1910.⁴⁰ Due to rapid urbanization and industrialization, numerous environmental problems arose, which were at the time inadequately understood. Water pollution increased as a result of both human and chemical waste being directly emptied into rivers (leading to cholera epidemics); the expulsion of untreated chemical wastes resulted in contamination of the groundwater and air pollution (leading to lead poisoning, etc.). In addition, hydroelectric power stations, coal mines, factories, and the straightening of waterways all contributed to a decrease in the aesthetic beauty of the countryside. "Urbanization and industrialization had transformed landscapes, and the harmful effects of these processes were destroying "natural" areas and wildlife, as well as polluting the environment."⁴¹ These changes led to a questioning of the value of industrial society and to the *first wave of environmental action*.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, a number of conservation groups were founded, which aimed to "protect wildlife, preserve natural areas of national significance, and conserve

³⁶Dirk Cornelsen, *Anwalte der Natur: Umweltschutzverbande in Deutschland* (Munchen: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1991), 9.

³⁷Rucht, 64.

³⁸Ulrich Linse, *Okopax und Anarchie: Eine Geschichte der okologischen Bewegung in Deutschland* (Munchen: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG., 1986), 14.

³⁹Ibid., 14/15.

⁴⁰Ibid., 15.

⁴¹Dalton, 42.

nature."⁴² Although citizens had formed temporary groups to defend particular interests prior to this date, it was in 1899 that the first main conservation group was founded, the Deutscher Bund für Vogelschutz (DBV; German Association for Bird Protection). The Bund Naturschutz in Bayern (Bavarian League for Nature Conservation; est. 1913) was to follow.⁴³ The reasons for the development of this conservationist consciousness lie with the increasing urbanization and industrialization, and with the 'romantic' period, which had spread throughout Western Europe.

A romantic, idealized view of nature (Romanticism) and a criticism of the culture (Zivilisationskritik) combined to stimulate the founding of conservation groups and to consolidate public pressure for conservation legislation.⁴⁴ Due to increasing anti-industrial sentiments, scepticism in Rationalism and Enlightenment thought emerged. These reactions appeared to represent both a disapproval of the changes that had taken place and a rejection of the path in which modern society appeared to be going. Romanticism, in contrast, portrayed nature as "a source of artistic inspiration," as "a healer and moral teacher," and as "a source of aesthetic enjoyment."⁴⁵ Many famed German literary figures - including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller - found inspiration in nature and utilized nature as a topic for their writings. "An idealized view of nature provided a source of stability and reassurance in a rapidly changing world; these sentiments also stimulated actions to protect (or create) this image of the natural order."⁴⁶ The conservationists also came to emphasize the importance of 'German nature'; a pride in nature was equalled to German pride in its heritage.

It was at the beginning of this century that the return to nature became somewhat of a 'popular movement'. Whereas conservation efforts up until this point had been advocated by a number of social, political, and literary figures, the movement now experienced a broadening of interest amongst the working class. Due to industrial developments, the concentration of a larger portion of the population in urban areas, and the necessity of providing a release from the tensions that technology, machines, and the structured workworld had created, the working class also began to appreciate the benefits that the forest had to offer.⁴⁷ People turned to the forest as a release from

⁴²Ibid., 41.

⁴³Although a large number of groups were formed at this time, I cite only two, as they are groups which still remain active in Germany today.

⁴⁴Dalton, 43.

⁴⁵Raymond H. Dominick III, *The Environmental Movement in Germany: Prophets & Pioneers, 1871-1971* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 25.

⁴⁶Dalton, 43.

⁴⁷Mantel, 141.

the tensions of everyday life. It offered a place for spiritual contemplation, relaxation, recreation, and physical activity.

This early start to the conservation movement suffered a period of stagnation in the following decades. The structures that were in place tended to be strong enough to survive, but few new groups were formed. On the one side, the government had adopted the role of policy development in environmental matters, and thus lessened the urgent need for groups to maintain pressure. On the other side, there tended to be a shift of emphasis in matters of importance, due to the two World Wars, postwar reconstruction and the Great Depression. "The mobilization wave of 1880 to 1910 had raised the European environmental movement to a certain level and created the organizational infrastructure necessary to remain at this level, but the interwar years generally represented a continuation on the same plateau."⁴⁸

The number of conservation groups failed to increase during the period of National Socialism, due also to the extent to which conservation concerns were endorsed. Conservationists and Nazis both demonstrated a scepticism in relation to the impacts of technology, modernity and materialism; the main link between the two was, however, the belief in 'blood and soil' (Blut und Boden). Blood and soil propaganda integrated various reservations in regards to modern society; it "extolled the virtues of a rooted peasantry while it condemned the erosion of tradition, the collapse of the social order, the decay of morals and...the destruction of the natural environment."⁴⁹ Following the war, this cooperation with the Nazis took its toll on the conservation movement.⁵⁰ "Years would have to pass before the embarrassment of Nazi connections would fade and a resurrected ecological vision, one untarnished by blood and soil, could mobilize a new generation of environmental enthusiasts."⁵¹

It wasn't until the late 1960s and the 1970s that environmental concerns once again emerged. This *second wave of environmentalism* developed in order to deal with the problems which emerged in post-war Germany. Although it does demonstrate similarity to its predecessor, and at times overlaps and reinforces conservation goals, it tends to be more political than the conservation movement. The public's growing environmental interest frequently focussed on those

⁴⁸Dalton, 48.

⁴⁹Dominick, 93.

⁵⁰Aside from the establishment of the Schutzgemeinschaft Deutscher Wald (SGW; the Alliance for the Conservation of German Forests), which was formed in 1947 in order to prevent the destruction of forest lands by the Allied occupation powers, little emphasis was placed on the conservation movement at this time.

⁵¹Dominick, 115.

issues long discussed by conservationists, but just as often it involved "the new environmental problems experienced by advanced industrial democracies: nuclear power, resource shortages, toxic waste, acid rain, and protection of the quality of life."⁵² Similar to the period at the end of the 1800's, Germany once again faced a massive increase in industrial and technological developments following the destruction of WWII.

The 1968 'revolution' marks a definite turning point in German social interests. Although this period signifies a time of general upheaval in many western societies, the intensity within Germany was particularly strong due to its previous involvement with National Socialism. The German baby-boomer generation was not only dissatisfied with the direction of modern society, but it was dissatisfied with the means - namely a change in focus to economic concerns - in which the previous generation had used to deal with its involvement in National Socialism. Whereas the post-war generation focussed its energies almost exclusively on the 'economic miracle,' the new generation rejected this primary focus on materialism and consumerism. New social movements arose in all areas of life, including environmentalism, feminism, peace, and other life-style movements.

In speaking of 'the' environmental movement, such an all-inclusive term can be deceiving. Despite a general agreement on the topic area, the movement is marked more by its diversity and fragmentation than by its cohesiveness. The member groups range from citizen action initiatives which are loosely organized and locally-based, to interest groups, research organizations, umbrella organizations, and political parties. Thus, there is a wide range of diversity within organizational levels, structure, ideology, and strategy. There are, however, explicit advantages in having such a wide-ranging movement; not only is there 'something for everyone,' ranging from conservation through to research or ecology, but there is a variety of groups which exert pressure at several points in both the political and social systems.

Contemporary Germany is a highly industrialized, densely populated country. It has a population of approximately 81 million - which translates into a population density of approximately 240 inhabitants per km², in comparison with 100 in France and 3.7 in BC -, combined with a highly developed infrastructure and industrial base. As a result, few recreation or protected areas exist and those that do are unable to comfortably accommodate the number of people interested in using them. As there is little or no space for garbage, Germans are forced to

⁵²Dalton. 50.

consider the environmental impacts of their actions (i.e. through recycling). Due to the high level of industrialization, sprawling urbanization, and Germany's location in central Europe, Germany suffers under severe environmental problems.

Consequently, environmental protection is a popular topic within German society. This is particularly evident in both their attention to environmental issues in economic matters, and the general support for environmental concerns. Environmental groups are, in general, respected by the German public as a trust-worthy, reliable source of information. In a survey of youth in *Der Spiegel*, 64% of the respondents listed Greenpeace as the most trustworthy organization in comparison with 15% for the church, 8% for corporations, and 5% for political parties.⁵³ In addition, "it is estimated that 60% of the German population believes almost anything Greenpeace says."⁵⁴ Many view environmental action or support for environmental groups as a moral duty which serves the common good. This focus on moral action can also be viewed as a post-materialist 'guilt' which is "projected onto environmental issues."⁵⁵ The support of environmental issues offers the public a safe 'valve' in which they can express support without having to significantly alter their lifestyle.

The issue of paper consumption and forest conservation is not new to the environmental movement. As Germans supply a mere 15% of total demand, 85% of German paper is imported in the forms of pulp, cellulose or paper.⁵⁶ The majority of environmental campaigns focus therefore not only on the need to change forestry practices, but also on the need to reduce domestic paper consumption, which rose from 79 kilograms per person in 1960 to 210 kg. in 1989.⁵⁷ Although Germany still boasts a relatively high percentage of forested areas for a European country (with 30%), the health of these areas is quickly deteriorating due primarily to 'Waldsterben'.⁵⁸ As a result, the Germans are losing their favorite areas for their 'Sunday afternoon walk,' especially the

⁵³"Jugend '94 - Wann möchten Sie sterben?," *Der Spiegel* 38 (Sept. 19, 1994): 70. This was in response to the question 'Welche der folgenden Organisationen und Persönlichkeiten halten Sie für glaubwürdig?' (Which of the following organizations and personalities do you hold for trustworthy?).

⁵⁴Stanbury et al., 18.

⁵⁵Stanbury et al., 18.

⁵⁶Martin von Hohnhorst, "Kampf gegen den Kahlschlag," *Natur* 4 (1994): 41.

⁵⁷As this data refers to West Germany, it should be noted that consumption has since then statistically dropped, due to the reunification. Christian Weber, "Papier: Wende zum sauberen Blatt," *Natur* 4 (1994): 46.

⁵⁸A literal translation of Waldsterben is 'forest death.' Please refer to the List of Terms and Abbreviations for further information.

larger and semi-natural high-elevation ones. German sensitivity to the topic of 'Waldsterben' has undoubtedly contributed to the German interest in forestry world-wide.

In the mid-1980's, interest in forest conservation gradually spread to the international arena. Attention was first focussed on the tropical rainforest, which led to an eventual consumer boycott of wood from the inflicted areas. Close to a decade later, people noticed that enormous forest areas in highly-developed areas such as Canada, Scandinavia and Siberia were falling victim to the pulp and paper needs of the industrialized nations. At this point, little was known in Europe concerning the biological significance of these northern forests and the extent and long-term consequences of their destruction. Through gradual contact with local groups, interest has been extended to include Canada, a country which most Germans idealize.

Canada has always been a sort of 'dream land' for the Germans, who still tend to view it as a country in which the borders of the natural environment are limitless. Being such a vast country with a relatively small population, "Canada is widely perceived by outsiders as a kind of wonder of nature."⁵⁹ Many Germans are unable to understand how such large wilderness areas could be destroyed; the Clayoquot Sound is comparable in size (even larger than) to the federal state of the Saarland, which has an area of 2,570 square kilometers and a population of 1.1 million. The size and age of the trees, the expanse of the forests, and the mystical nature of old-growth forests represent an element of the 'exotic' for Germans who are accustomed to groomed European forests.

It is important to reiterate the special affection that the Germans have traditionally possessed for the forests. The fairy tales, folk songs, and sagas, which tend to deal to a large extent with the forest, are not only a part of their history but a continuing part of German tradition and culture. The emotions towards the forest which developed in the Romantic period are also still noticeable today, in the typical Sunday afternoon walk in the woods and in the preservation of 'Naturdenkmale' (natural historical sites), to name a few examples. In addition, it would be erroneous to view the actions of environmental groups today within an isolated context; the similarities to the actions of the conservationists over 100 years ago demonstrates that this is not a 'new' area of concern, but merely that the increasingly complex world-wide communications systems have now facilitated the possibility of action on a global scale. Furthermore, due to the increasingly global character of finance and politics - and the therefore resulting decrease in the importance of local or national level finance and politics - environmental groups have been forced

⁵⁹J.G. Nelson, "The Environment: Perception and Reality in Canada," *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien*, Band 27, Nr.1 (1995): 48.

to respond and adjust their actions to a different situation than existed decades ago.⁶⁰ Increasing environmental problems have ensured continual support for environmental protection schemes within Germany. Although society has changed, the basic beliefs of the German peoples are as noticeable today as they were 100 years ago.

⁶⁰Matthias Geis, "Die Stunde der Ruhestörer: Organisationen wie Greenpeace gewinnen Einfluß auf die Politik - eine Chance?." *Die Zeit* 31 (July 28, 1995): 1.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework is a necessary part of any case study. It provides an overview of the pertinent factors involved and sets out a structure within which the subsequent analysis will take place. Furthermore, this framework is the "means by which a generalization to new cases can be made."⁶¹

In a practical examination of the strategies applied in the campaign aimed at BC forestry practices, a number of theoretical perspectives can be applied. Two common means of analysis are to either focus on the actors as 'interest groups', or as 'social movement organizations,' which lead to the use of either interest group theory or social movement theory. Interest group theory serves to highlight the close connections between groups and policy-makers, while social movement theory focusses primarily on the need to influence civil society. This disciplinary division between two areas of study has, on the one side, contributed to further specialization within the particular fields, and on the other, it has contributed to the fragmentation of knowledge.⁶²

This distinction is viewed to impede rather than to enhance the process of analysis. As it is difficult to analyze strategy choices without first identifying the entire spectrum of tactical choices available to an environmental group, both interest group and social movement theory are incorporated into this theoretical framework. This combination of possible strategic directions has already been recognized to be of importance to environmental groups in Canada by Jeremy Wilson: many groups "practise a kind of dual politics, mixing the pressure group's pragmatism with the social movement's commitment to the goals of societal transformation and its sensitivity to the dangers of co-optation."⁶³ In her study of peace and environmental groups in the United States, Betty H. Zisk also chose not to differentiate between interest groups and social movement organizations, as she viewed exclusion to be unproductive when the analysis is conducted at the

⁶¹ Yin, 54.

⁶² Claude Galipeau, "Political Parties, Interest Groups, and New Social Movements: Toward New Representation?" in *Canadian Parties in Transition: Discourse, Organization, and Representation*, eds. Alain Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Canada, 1989), 404.

⁶³ Wilson, "Green Lobbies," 110.

group level.⁶⁴ Viewed together rather than individually, these perspectives offer a much more comprehensive understanding of the ways in which environmental groups are active within both civil society and the political sphere.

The structure of this chapter presents the necessary building blocks involved in gaining a more complete understanding of group strategy. This section begins with a brief literature review of strategy in both interest group and social movement theory. Subsequent to this, the model of group strategy which will be applied to the case study is presented. The remainder of the chapter offers further discussion of the individual components of this model. First, a variety of internal and external factors that could potentially influence a group's choice of tactics are examined. This is followed by a discussion of the methods of advocacy open to a group, and the target audiences which could be aimed at in this campaign. A brief summary of the issues and arguments that will be specifically addressed by the case study completes the chapter.

LITERATURE REVIEW

By referring to 'strategy,' reference is made to the general approach or the broad plan of attack which an organization adopts in order to exercise influence in its areas of interest.⁶⁵ The concept is understood to include both the tactics employed - the actual actions undertaken by the group in order to further its strategic plans in a concrete situation⁶⁶ - and the channels or specific targets chosen. Bert Klandermans defines strategy to be "the manner in which an actor deploys the available resources in view of a specific goal"⁶⁷; it is the means, forms and methods of interaction chosen by a group, within a particular context.

The discussion of strategy in group activity is treated in both interest group and social movement literature. Although these two areas are normally approached as separate fields of study, there are a few authors who have chosen to integrate both approaches into their work. In his book *Organisierte Interessen in der Bundesrepublik* (Organized Interests in the Federal Republic; Chapter 3 'Strategy'), Ulrich von Alemann introduces interest group theory as a theory originating from the 1950's and 1960's which describes the actions of pressure groups and lobbies. Implied in

⁶⁴Betty H. Zisk, *The Politics of Transformation: Local Activism in the Peace and Environmental Movements* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1992), 18.

⁶⁵Joachim Raschke, *Soziale Bewegungen* (Frankfurt a.M./New York: Campus Verlag, 1985), 368.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Bert Klandermans, ed., *International Social Movement Research* (n.p.: JAI Press Inc., 1989), 2:124.

the terminology used, the focus of these groups' actions are to exercise 'public pressure' and to lobby. He continues his analysis of strategy by examining how the social movement theorists primarily focus their attention on influencing public opinion. In *Environmental Groups in Politics*, Philip Lowe and Jane Goyder juxtapose social movement, organizational and interest group perspectives in order to better highlight both the ways in which British environmental groups work, and their potential prospects within this environment. In the following analysis, the applicable literature on interest group theory will first be discussed, followed by that on social movement theory.

Interest groups exist between individuals and the state, and are a means in which individuals - via the groups - are able to express opinions and interests on a continuous basis (both during and between elections). The strategy chosen by an interest group is the means by which it constructs this bridge to the state. The strategies adopted by interest groups are in most cases limited to lobbying and public pressure. Although these methods can, in end effect, also influence public opinion and the media, the main focus tends to be on the political system, on what Pross terms to be the 'policy community'.⁶⁸ Thus, this literature tends to primarily concentrate on those groups, and the strategies chosen by those groups, which are an accepted and recognized part of the political process.

Works such as *Group Politics and Public Policy* by A. Paul Pross, *Policy Communities and Public Policy in Canada: A Structural Approach* by William Coleman and Grace Skogstad, and *Canadian Environmental Policy: Ecosystems, Politics, and Process* by Robert Boardman examine a number of questions which are salient to this discussion. These books not only provide an overview of the central components of public policy and interest group involvement, but many also provide a diverse array of essays, which present practical applications of these points. In particular, essays by Jeremy Wilson, Wyn P. Grant, and George Hoberg provided inspiration in the area of Canadian environmental policy. *Challenges to Federalism: Policy-making in Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany* by William M. Chandler and Christian W. Zöllner was also instrumental in highlighting the receptiveness of each government system to the implementation of environmental policy. *Lobbying for the People: The Political Behavior of Public Interest Groups*

⁶⁸The policy community is defined to be that part of the political system "that - by virtue of its functional responsibilities, its vested interests, and its specialized knowledge - acquires a dominant voice in determining government decisions in a specific field of public activity, and is generally permitted by society at large and the public authorities in particular to determine public policy in that field." A. Paul Pross, *Group Politics and Public Policy* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986), 98.

by Jeffrey Berry lends further elaboration on the topic of public interest groups⁶⁹, an area that is less explored in the bulk of interest group literature.

Comprehensive works on interest groups in Germany are offered by Klaus von Beyme (*Interessengruppen in der Demokratie; Interest Groups in a Democracy*) and Jürgen Weber (*Die Interessengruppen im politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland; Interest Groups in the Political System of the Federal Republic of Germany*). Despite their primary focus on unions and business interests, they provide a thorough analysis of the factors influencing interest group decisions, the primary target audiences, and the common methods of advocacy utilized. Consequently, a large portion is also applicable to environmental groups. In addition, the book, *Lobbying: Wirtschaft und Politik im Wechselspiel* edited by Manfred Strauch, provides an in-depth look at an important area of interest group action - lobbying. This work combines a comprehensive discussion of the concept of lobbying with an overview of lobbying in both Germany and in the European Community.

Although interest groups have offered citizens a means of representing and defending their interests, by the early 1970's, this means of influence was - in many circles - viewed to be unsatisfactory.

Many environmentalists developed new modes of thinking that can be characterized as holistic, systemic, integrative, long-term, and planet-wide; they recognized that societal transformation would be necessary to preserve the viability of the planet's life systems.⁷⁰

As the traditional interest groups are usually institutionalized, they are unable to advocate a radical transformation of society; consequently, a number of groups arose in a new form - in the form of extraparliamentary opposition. This change is particularly noticeable in Germany, where a number of citizen action initiatives (Bürgerinitiativen) formed at the grass roots level, as part of the anti-nuclear movement. Regarding the established interest groups with scepticism, these citizen action initiatives exercised a fully new method of protest, focussing in large part on direct action amongst other unconventional methods of advocacy. This trend soon spread to the women's, peace,

⁶⁹"A public interest group is one that seeks a collective good, the achievement of which will not selectively and materially benefit the membership or activists of the organization." Jeffrey M. Berry, *Lobbying for the People: The Political Behavior of Public Interest Groups* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), 7.

⁷⁰Lester W. Milbrath, "The World is Relearning Its Story about How the World Works," *Environmental Politics in the International Arena: Movements, Parties, Organizations, and Policy*, ed. Sheldon Kamieniecki (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 32.

environment, and alternative lifestyle movements, which aimed to radically alter the form, content and aims of 'interest politics.'⁷¹

In comparison to interest group theory, which primarily analyzes the relationship between groups and the political structure, social movement theory focusses on the relationship between groups and society. It focusses on those new groups which are entering the political process - on those which seek to expand both the notion of the 'political' and the accepted methods of political participation. Such groups are unconventional in their methods of protest, as they haven't become institutionalized participants in the political system. Accordingly, the main strategic means of change is through 'social transformation.' This means that these groups tend to focus their activities on civil society, where they attempt to stimulate a progressive change in values, instead of within government circles, where they could attempt to directly influence policy development. With the main focus for strategy being social transformation, the means of action revolve around public awareness and use of the mass media.

A thorough introduction to the workings of social movements is provided by the two volume work, *International Social Movement Research*, edited by Bert Klandermans. Particularly helpful is Volume II, in which a number of organizational areas of social movements - such as structure, management, decision-making, and organizational effectiveness - are discussed. The general introductions to each section are complemented by the contributing essays, which expand on and explain the particular points of interest. In *The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control, and Tactics*, edited by Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy, further elaboration of the issues central to social movements is offered in a number of papers. Zald and McCarthy base their research on the resource mobilization approach, whereby the capabilities of social movements are judged to be dependent upon the resources available to the movement.

The most comprehensive work on social movements in German is *Soziale Bewegungen* (Social Movements) by Joachim Raschke. In this book, Raschke traces the historical roots of social action, and analyzes the various factors which are of central importance in the study of social movements. For this study, his chapters on 'Forms of Action' and 'Strategy' are most useful. For a briefer look at the developments in Germany since the 1960's, Roland Roth offers a concise analysis in his essay "Neue soziale Bewegungen in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik - eine

⁷¹Ulrich von Alemann, *Organisierte Interessen in der Bundesrepublik* (Opladen: Leske Verlag & Budrich GmbH, 1987), 178.

vorläufige Skizze" (New Social Movements in the Political Culture of the Federal Republic - A Provisional Sketch).

Within this area of study, a number of authors have also focussed their interest on the environmental movement. Although they have not directly discussed the concept of strategy in relation to environmental groups, the overviews offered tend to highlight general trends. The essays "Environmental Movement Organizations in West Germany and France: Structure and Interorganizational Relations" and "Von der Bewegung zur Institution? Organisationsstrukturen der Ökologiebewegung" (From a Movement to an Institution? The Structure of Organizations in the Ecology Movement) by Dieter Rucht are two prime examples. The thesis offered by Dieter Rucht is that differences between national movements stem primarily from the external structural setting, rather than from the internal factors. Although other sources do exist, their main focus tends to be on an historical review rather than on the political influence of these movements.

While most European literature focusses primarily on the origins, mobilization and survival of social movements, the most directed studies of strategy are to be found in American works. William Gamson's *The Strategy of Social Protest* and Betty H. Zisk's *The Politics of Transformation* are two prime examples. Gamson's empirical study of interest group success is, however, primarily directed at determining the permeability of the American political system for different types of groups. Zisk's case study of peace and environmental groups in the U.S.A. is an in-depth analysis of the methods of strategy used, and their success within the American social and political system. Despite her focus on American groups, she offers a complete overview of the tactics available to and used by these groups, complemented by a discussion of her rating of 'success.'

Unlike these studies of strategy, which aim to determine the success of strategy choices, this study is undertaken with the aim of examining the types of strategies that are utilized in an issue which is bound to the international sphere, in addition to examining the reasoning which stands behind a strategy decision.

Similar studies examining strategy choice have been undertaken by Jo Freeman, as outlined in her essay, "Resource Mobilization and Strategy: A Model for Analyzing Social Movement Organization Actions," and by W.T. Stanbury, I.B. Vertinsky, and Bill Wilson, in their working paper entitled "The Challenge to Canadian Forest Products in Europe: Managing a Complex Environmental Issue." In her study, Freeman takes a structuralist approach to the development of strategy within the women's liberation movement. In doing so, she constructs a model of strategic

decision making⁷² which encompasses mobilizable resources, possible constraints on these resources, social movement organization structure, and potential targets. While recognizing that this model is neither dynamic (it only examines a situation at a single point in time) nor able to reflect the complexity of the real world, Freeman nonetheless recommends this model as a means of analyzing the strategy options and actions of social movement organizations.

Stanbury, Vertinsky, and Wilson offer a comprehensive overview and analysis of the conflict concerning the internationalization of BC forestry practices. This examination, which focusses to a large extent on the involvement of both government and the forest industry in this conflict, tends to highlight the actions and interests of these two primary actors. Greenpeace and the United Kingdom branch of the World Wide Fund for Nature, and their 'strategic advantages' are also examined within the paper. The conclusions reached within the paper are, in essence, suggestions of how government and the forest industry could better manage this situation. In addition to a wide array of valuable information concerning the main issues in this conflict, Stanbury, Vertinsky and Wilson devise a model outlining the channels that environmental groups have used, in an attempt to influence change in BC forestry policies. This model, "Targets and Intermediaries in Environmental Groups' Efforts to Influence Forestry Policies in BC⁷³," focusses on the tactics, channels, and target audiences within the campaign set forth by environmental groups. The model demonstrates that environmental groups have focussed their efforts at both pushing for changes in public policy (in BC, the Canadian federal government, and the European governments), and for changes in the actions of forest companies.

MODEL OF GROUP STRATEGY

In order to provide an overview of the theoretical framework applied in this thesis, a model of group strategy is presented. As every action takes place within a defined set of conditions, an analysis of these conditions within a predefined model should aid in the determination of the outcome. This model is therefore designed to visually portray the general components involved in

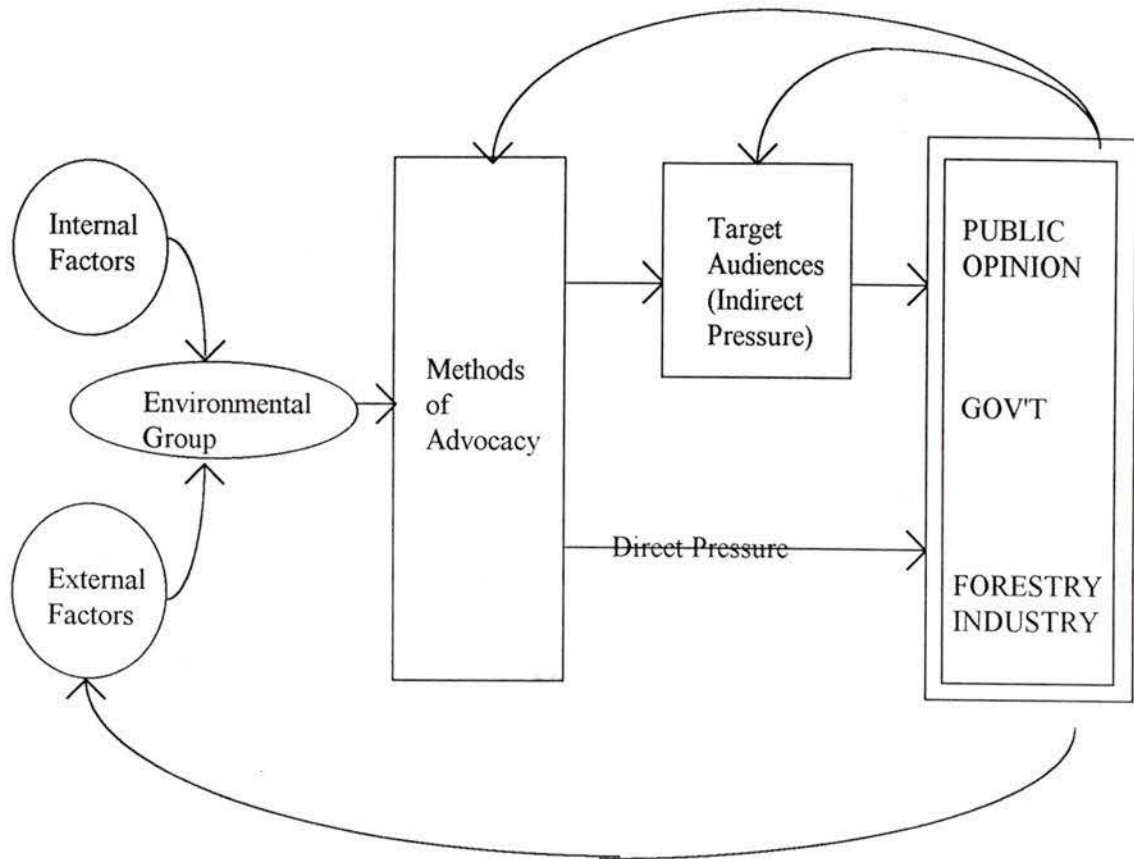
⁷²Jo Freeman, "Resource Mobilization and Strategy: A Model for Analyzing Social Movement Organization Actions," in *The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control, and Tactics*, eds. Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers Inc., 1979) Figure 1, 171.

⁷³Stanbury et al., Figure 1, 73.

group decision-making; it encompasses the internal and external influencing factors, the environmental groups, the methods of advocacy utilized by these groups, and their target audiences.

The first section of the model demonstrates that the internal and external factors influence a group's options and decisions in strategy development. The internal factors include the resources and characteristics of each group which limit or enhance its choice of tactics, whereas the external factors are those factors in the external environment which effect strategy choices. Through an intermix of these influences, in addition to an element of chance, the tactics or methods of advocacy are determined. Accordingly, these tactics identify the channels through which each group intends to exercise influence. A group not only attempts to influence its targets directly, but also aims to influence those organizations or political bodies which, in turn, could further a group's strategic goals of affecting social or political change. Furthermore, this model is not static. Changes in the external factors, the methods of advocacy, or in the indirect pressure used through other target audiences could be caused or influenced by the actions and/or reactions of the three main target audiences (public opinion, BC or Canadian government, and the forestry industry). As a result, the environmental groups involved must exercise flexibility in order to react to new circumstances.

Figure 1: Model of Group Strategy



The detailed application of the model to a specific case study will aid in ascertaining the helpfulness of the model in generating insights into group strategy development. It is important to note that the main focus of this thesis will be on the second stage of the model presented; although a brief discussion of the internal and external influencing factors is included, the thesis is designed to primarily examine the tactics and, therefore the channels, utilized by German environmental groups in this particular campaign. The conclusions reached in this thesis will, thus, be applicable to further research conducted in the area of indirect pressure campaigns.

INFLUENCING FACTORS

Neither the choice of tactics nor the choice of strategy is arbitrary. "The choice of tactics is subject both to internal constraints, particularly of resources, and to external constraints, in relation to the political channels open to the group."⁷⁴ These constraints influence or limit potential options and decisions.

The resource mobilization approach to social movements depends heavily on the analysis of internal resources and external constraints in analyzing group actions. Important to this approach - which has primarily been advocated by Americans - is the aggregation of resources. "It examines the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements."⁷⁵ Resource mobilization theory emphasizes that groups - through the successful accumulation and utilization of resources - are able to define, create, and manipulate grievances and discontent through their actions.⁷⁶ The significance of this perspective is that it does not treat the existence of grievances as a central factor in the creation of a movement; of prime importance rather, is the organization of the grievance.

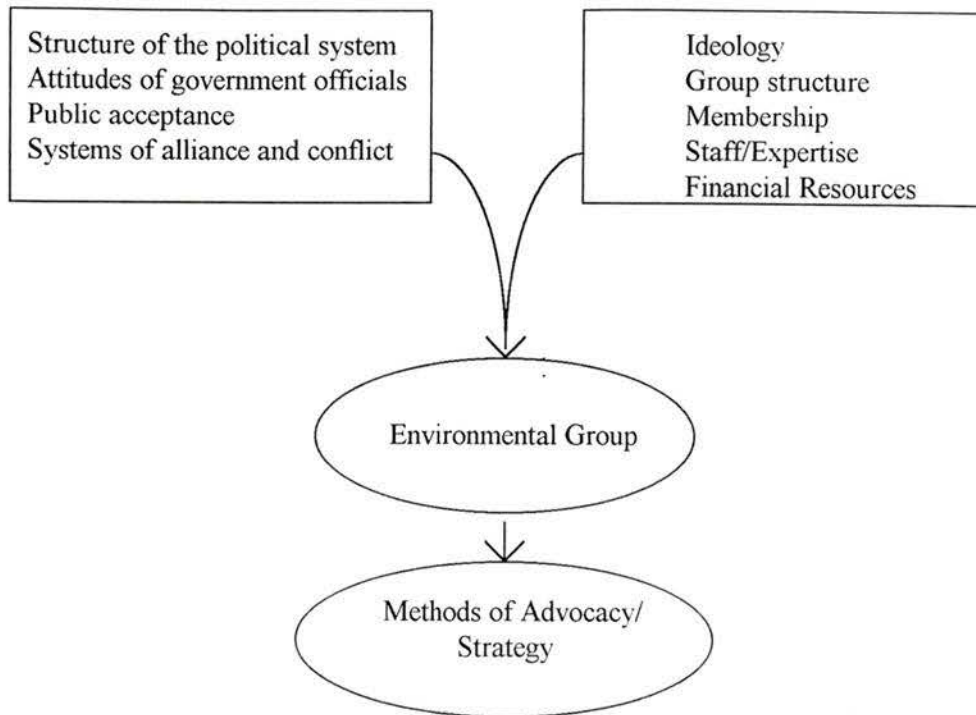
The factors analyzed within this work can be categorized under two general areas: (1) the external factors and (2) the internal factors. The external factors which influence strategy choice include: the structure of the political system, the attitudes of government officials, the public acceptance of these groups, and the system of alliances and conflict. These will first be presented, in order to establish the political context within which these groups function. The analysis of these external factors is supplementary to Chapter One, in which the social, economic and cultural contexts of the areas involved are explicitly described. The ideology, membership, organization, expertise or staff, and financial resources are influencing factors which are considered to be internal. A look at these factors offers insight into the reasoning behind a strategy decision; it aids in the understanding of *why* a certain strategy is chosen over another.

⁷⁴Philip Lowe and Jane Goyder, *Environmental Groups in Politics* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), 84.

⁷⁵John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (1977), 1213.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 1215.

Figure 2: Model of Influencing Factors



Adapted from Jürgen Weber, *Die Interessengruppen im politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 187.

EXTERNAL FACTORS In different countries, organized groups have varying degrees of power and acceptance, and therefore varying degrees of success in exercising influence over both policy development and over civil society. Groups exist in most political systems, but they never operate entirely in a vacuum; they operate within a network of institutions, procedures and shared beliefs. As a result, the strategies chosen by these groups are dependent upon the context, or the political culture, of the area. Such external factors as the structure of the political system, the attitudes of government officials, the extent of public acceptance towards the group, and the strength of competitive or counter-groups are central in determining possible strategy choices. Dieter Rucht refers to these as the 'national parameters', the social and political features of a society, which act as determinants of political action.⁷⁷

The *structure of the state* plays an important role in determining how groups are able to seek influence. The potential influence of pressure groups depends not only upon the groups that are established within the system, but on "whether they have one dominant party or several

⁷⁷Rucht, 65-66.

competitive political parties; a Presidential system or a Parliamentary system; a free press or a controlled press; and numerous other institutional factors. It depends, in short, on their country's political structure."⁷⁸ Canada and Germany are both postindustrial democracies, based on a federal system of government. Nonetheless, the two nations possess rather distinct governing institutions and political cultures. These differences not only have implications for the development of attitudes concerning the environment, but also for the development of group strategy.

The German political structure is quite favorable to the expression of group concerns. Although environmental policy is legally under federal jurisdiction, a large degree of cooperation exists between all levels of government. The federal states are involved in policy development, and are "empowered to enact supplementary rules in order to complete federal legislation."⁷⁹ This translates into a large number of leverage points for the expression of environmental concerns. In theory, the German democratic system is open to participation from societal interests. Policy development is not exclusively confined to government bodies, but works as a part of a "nation-wide discussion," incorporating interests and information from research institutions, administrative bodies, associations, and political parties.⁸⁰ In practice, however, the federal government rarely takes the recommendations put forth by environmental groups into consideration.⁸¹

The electoral system of Germany, a mixed system of proportional representation, is favorable to minority parties, as it allows entry of new parties, such as die Grünen (the Green Party), into the established party system through the 5% hurdle.⁸² The relative balance of power between the conservative and progressive parties has also resulted in an important position for third parties, who, through their choice of coalition partners, are at times able to determine who governs. Due also to the saliency of environmental concerns, government officials have been particularly responsive to citizen interests. In comparison with earlier periods in which the Green Party represented more radical thoughts, all larger, established parties have now incorporated environmental concerns into their party platform.

⁷⁸Ronald Inglehart. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), 6.

⁷⁹Jost-Dietrich Busch, "Environmental Policy: Its Aims and Instruments in the Federal System of West Germany," in *Challenges to Federalism: Policy-making in Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany*, eds. William M. Chandler and Christian W. Zöllner (Kingston, Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1986), 253.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 255.

⁸¹Cornelson, 58.

⁸²Parties which receive less than five percent of the vote are unable to claim seats in the national legislature.

Although Canada is also governed under a federal system of government, the Canadian system differs substantially from the German in the degree of independence each level of government possesses. "Due to the provinces' ownership of natural resources within their borders,"⁸³ forestry is legally an area of provincial jurisdiction, but "by virtue of its legal authority to regulate export and interprovincial commerce,"⁸⁴ the federal government also develops national policy in the area. This situation can be beneficial, by ensuring greater degrees of responsibility, innovation and creativity in resolving problems;⁸⁵ but on the other hand, the danger of duplication and ineffectiveness exists.⁸⁶ The need for decentralization in Canada is nevertheless important, due to its geographically large size and its regionally diverse needs. In the end, environmental groups are able to protest at both levels of government - while maintaining provincial control over policy development - , but they cannot be assured that successful influence at one level of government can be translated into successful influence at the other.

Canadian state institutions have been faced with increasing pressure to modify their policy style, in order to allow for more open discussion with those traditionally excluded from the policy process. A community approach to shared decision-making has been adopted in many areas, which is realized "by inviting all interests to share responsibility in inventing new processes and envisioning options that will, over time, build consensus."⁸⁷ These changes in policy style can be envisioned as a change from 'bipartite bargaining' to 'multipartite bargaining.' Bipartite bargaining - a "policy style characterized by closed, co-operative negotiations between government departments and industry"⁸⁸ - was, by the late 1980's, found to be inadequate in representing social demands. Multipartite bargaining (often in the form of multistakeholder forums), which marks a

⁸³Grace Skogstad and Paul Kopas, "Environmental Policy in a Federal System: Ottawa and the Provinces," in *Canadian Environmental Policy: Ecosystems, Politics, and Process*, ed. Robert Boardman (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), 45.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 44.

⁸⁵Attempts have been made to improve coordination between the two levels of government, evident in the creation of such bodies as the Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment (CCME) and the Federal-Provincial Advisory Committee (FPAC).

⁸⁶O.P. Dwivedi and R. Brian Woodrow, "Environmental Policy-making and Administration in a Federal State: The Impact of Overlapping Jurisdiction in Canada," in *Challenges to Federalism: Policy-making in Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany*, eds. William M. Chandler and Christian W. Zöllner (Kingston, Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1986), 266.

⁸⁷Bob Nixon, "Public Participation: Changing the Way We Make Forest Decisions," in *Touch Wood: BC Forests at the Crossroads*, eds. Ken Drushka, Bob Nixon and Ray Travers (Madeira Park, BC:Harbour Publishing, 1993), 26.

⁸⁸George Hoberg, "Environmental Policy: Alternative Styles," in *Governing Canada: Institutions and Public Policy*, ed. Michael Atkinson (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc., 1993), 314.

change from independence to interdependence in the policy-making arena, has evolved as the popular alternative.

Multistakeholder forums, in the form of a shared decision-making approach to land-use conflicts in the Commission on Resources and the Environment (CORE), have been offered as proof of the Harcourt government's commitment to changing BC's forest management. Whereas the Social Credit government preferred to deal with environmental concerns on a case-by-case basis within the traditional policy style, the NDP government has chosen to develop a comprehensive land-use plan, integrating the practices of citizen participation and shared decision-making.

Changes in *public attitudes* toward political participation have emerged since the late 1960's. In many advanced, industrial societies, attitudes towards the political system and the role of the individual within this system have changed. According to Inglehart, these factors have resulted in an increased demand for public participation. Through rising levels of education and the expansion of mass communications, the level of elite-directed political mobilization is decreasing while the level of elite-challenging issue-oriented groups is on the rise.⁸⁹

Environmental protection has, in addition, emerged to be one of the most prominent issues of recent public interest. Attention to this topic has grown due to two main factors⁹⁰: a) a number of environmental disasters, which - through accessible mass media - could be immediately broadcast worldwide, and b) the advance of science and technology. A variety of large-scale environmental disasters have awakened the public to the potential ecological dangers inherent in society; mass media has allowed for instantaneous coverage of these incidents, which has likely served to heighten public awareness. In addition, science has enabled researchers to specifically determine the damage to our ecosystems. Although the average person is unable to understand the process through which these findings are derived, the message is clear: survival of the human race depends on a healthy environment.

This heightened focus on environmental issues is found to be consistent with Kingdon's model of agenda-setting, in which the combination of the 'problem stream' - the focus on dramatic events - and the 'politics stream' - the development of public attitudes and interests - push topics of public concern onto the agenda, eventually prompting alternative policy solutions from the 'policy stream'.⁹¹ Dramatic events, crises, feedback on policy, or symbols (a symbol which has come to

⁸⁹Inglehart, 5.

⁹⁰These are the factors which I personally see to be most important; there are, of course, a host of many others which would be addressed in a more thorough analysis.

⁹¹Hoberg, 312.

represent a certain problem to the general public) draw attention to a condition within society which comes to be viewed as a problem - creating the problem stream. Once having reached the agenda, a general 'mood' is created in various sectors of society, which correspond to the perceptions of the problem - creating the politics stream. A policy window - an opportunity for action on a given initiative⁹² - then opens, allowing the issue to be set onto the 'decision agenda.' Kingdon cites a change of administration to be the most obvious reason for the creation of a policy window.⁹³

Although most citizens have undoubtedly become more environmentally-conscious, they are, at the same time, hesitant in accepting thorough changes; accordingly, governments are hesitant in implementing sweeping changes. While German environmental groups fought for a speed limit of 100 km/hr on the Autobahn, the government instituted regulations requiring the use of catalytic converters. With this measure, the majority of the population was appeased, as they conceive of their actions as more environmentally-friendly, without having to accept major lifestyle changes. Accordingly, many German environmentalists are sceptical as to whether the changes in BC forestry policy are really for the benefit of BC forests, or whether they are merely to provide a 'facelift' to BC forestry in the international arena.⁹⁴ The government is in a position in which it should respect the interests of all groups in society, and the business lobbies have the greatest degree of capability and access.

No group in society is able to follow its aims entirely free from the influence of competing groups; thus, each group in society has both supporting and opposing sectors, its so-called *alliance and conflict systems*. Alliance systems provide resources and create political opportunities, whereas "conflict systems serve to drain resources and restrict opportunities."⁹⁵ The alliance system for environmental groups in Germany extends both to the national and to the international arena, incorporating groups from other countries and other continents. This tendency to support one another does not deny that a level of conflict is also inherent in the alliance system; competition exists for membership, funding and strategies.

Central to the conflict system are target organizations and institutions: governmental institutions, employer's organizations, business organizations, elites, political parties, and so on."⁹⁶

⁹²John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (Boston/Toronto: Little, Brown & Company Ltd., 1984), 174.

⁹³*Ibid.*, 176.

⁹⁴Holger Sandmann, interview with author, Marburg, Germany, June 22, 1995.

⁹⁵Klandermans, 302.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 307.

Due to fundamental disagreements between the opposing sectors, an us/them dynamic often develops, which tends to contribute to a black/white or good/evil understanding of an issue.⁹⁷ Consequently, not only does a group strive to influence the public and the politicians but it also attempts to neutralize the anticipated influence of counter groups.⁹⁸ The composition of each alliance or conflict system is, however, not static; it tends to fluctuate in response to the particular issue and circumstances.

This analysis of the external factors influencing a group's strategy choice can lead only to general interpretations of the situation in which these groups function. Unlike a discussion of a group's internal resources, where details can be listed, the discussion of external factors serves merely to introduce the environment within which these groups are active. This discussion should, however, lead to an increased understanding of the opportunities and restrictions facing each group.

INTERNAL FACTORS. A group's strategy choices are further defined by its internal resources; as groups can do no more than either the external environment or its resources permit, they must define their strategy within these confines. These internal variables "act to structure a group's behavior independent of any situational variables that change from issue to issue."⁹⁹ The internal factors influencing strategy choice include: ideology, structure, membership, expertise or staff, and financial resources.

Group *ideology* fulfills a dual function: it serves to integrate members whose interests are not always identical from the outset, and it serves to propagate the group's interests in the public sphere.¹⁰⁰ The ideology of an organization and the values incorporated in the ideology also serve to define possible strategy choices; inherent in the ideology is whether the group advocates violence or non-violence, civil disobedience, lobbying, or direct action.¹⁰¹ Many groups are, therefore, from the outset inclined to certain strategies and averse to others. J. Freeman does, however, point to the fact that many groups are born of crisis situations, and thus have little in the way of formal structures. In such cases, the ideology which in the course of the group's development emerges may either redirect strategy or confirm it, but there must not be the "simple linear relationship between

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Jürgen Weber, *Die Interessengruppen im politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1977), 210.

⁹⁹ Berry, 262.

¹⁰⁰ Klaus von Beyme, *Interessengruppen in der Demokratie* (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1969), 41.

¹⁰¹ Raschke, 372.

ideology and strategy that is so often assumed."¹⁰² In general, the ideology sets a framework, from within which the group's strategy is determined; this brings individuals in the group to collective action.

The *organizational form* adopted by a group is highly dependent on its ideology; this can range from highly professionalized hierarchical organizations to grass-roots groups, or loose networks. Hierarchical groups - those that advocate a goal of change - often believe that "those who are seeking change cannot afford the luxury, and inefficiency, of so-called pure democracy," whereas other groups - often those which advocate a goal of transformation - argue that hierarchy is inappropriate "for a group seeking a just society."¹⁰³ Klandermans also links the organizational structure of the group to its proclaimed aims. Whereas "collectivist organization facilitates the mobilization of consensus, recruitment, direct changes in life-style, and so on," studies show that "professionalization, availability of full-time staff personnel, centralization, formal organization, and availability of resources are conducive to goal achievement and access to polity."¹⁰⁴ Most groups recognize that a structural basis is important in running an efficient organization, but the degree of structural development differs widely.

The full mobilization of *members* maximizes a group's potential, whether it be to take part in a protest actions, to offer financial support, to support public awareness work of the group, to do volunteer work, or to participate in demonstrations.¹⁰⁵ The dedication and commitment of the members is not only important in reinforcing the cohesiveness of the organization, but also in demonstrating the determination of the group to the general public. The number of demonstrators present or the number of letters received by a parliamentarian plays a crucial role in identifying the solvency of an issue. A large membership usually results in increased financial and managerial resources, which translates into both financial stability and greater expertise.

In this area, as in many others, knowledge is power; *expertise* in the particular area of interest not only lends credibility to a group's arguments, but also opens doors to potential areas of influence. Those groups which have a paid *staff* to carry out these tasks tend, in general, to be more successful.¹⁰⁶ When entirely dependent on volunteer support, groups are severely limited in what they can do and thus in their ability to attract further support. While few organizations tend

¹⁰²Freeman, 167.

¹⁰³Zisk, 49.

¹⁰⁴Klandermans, 389.

¹⁰⁵Weber, 229.

¹⁰⁶Zisk, 67.

to carry out original research in their topics of interest, most conduct investigations of existing sources, which serve to judge the validity of various research projects. Reliable and detailed information is not only needed to effectively counter the opposition, but also to present viable alternatives with persuasive arguments. Although expertise primarily refers to technical knowledge, a wide variety of other capabilities are called for, in order to organize a successful campaign, be it knowledge of the political system, of the mass media or of other social systems.

The *financial capabilities* of an organization play a prominent role in the determination of strategy; it is the determining factor of whether the organization can hire personnel, or carry out such public awareness work as publish magazines, information materials, or offer services to its members. Most groups have three main sources of income: support from individual sympathizers, support from organizations and institutions, and proceeds from the sales of the organization's products.¹⁰⁷ Although money is important, it can often be equalled out by other factors, such as a large membership or a good organizational structure.¹⁰⁸

In general, it is believed that the more resources that a group has at its disposal, the greater choice of strategy it possesses.¹⁰⁹ Possessing similar resources, those groups that are best able to utilize available resources are believed to be most successful. A.P. Pross summarizes this view under his concept of institutionalization, whereby he offers a continuum framework outlining the organizational characteristics of groups ranging from issue-orientated through to institutionalized.¹¹⁰ In creating such a progression of institutionalization, Pross creates a model which should serve to highlight the types of groups which exist and the general means that the groups employ in pursuing their goals.

At the same time, it should also be recognized that strategic decision-making is not always carried out by a committee composed of strategy experts. In some cases, "strategy decisions will flow from circumstances or be made and executed by an otherwise insignificant group of protesters whose success is then emulated by others."¹¹¹ Furthermore, it is often difficult to determine to what extent resources are directed at group maintenance needs and the extent to which they are aimed at goal attainment.¹¹² Despite these concerns, the analysis of internal resources should help to define a

¹⁰⁷Klandermans, 118.

¹⁰⁸Weber, 226.

¹⁰⁹Berry, 262.

¹¹⁰A. Paul Pross, "Pressure Groups: Talking Chameleons," in *Canadian Politics in the 1990's*, 3rd Edition, eds. Michael S. Whittington and Glen Williams (Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Canada, 1990), 296.

¹¹¹Freeman, 170.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 182.

group's range of strategy choices in the case study. By presenting a brief internal analysis of each participant group in correlation with the aforementioned characteristics, any connections between a group's resources and its strategy choices should emerge.

METHODS OF ADVOCACY

In attempting to influence change, there is a myriad of tactics available to a group. The tactics chosen by a group are the means by which the group intends to translate its strategic plans into action; these represent the *how* of strategic action. In the following analysis, the main means of advocacy are subdivided into the following categories: lobbying, public pressure, public awareness, and the mass media.

LOBBYING. Lobbying is a means by which a group directly expresses its point of view to decision-makers within a certain field of interest. Manfred Strauch defines lobbying to be a method and the use of this method within the framework of a fixed strategy to collect information, to work through it, and to pass the information on, with the aim of influencing the decision-making centres or the decision-makers; the most important factor in lobbying is the quick exchange of information.¹¹³

Although lobbying is normally associated with those individuals who frequent the 'lobby' of parliament, the term has also come to include a variety of related actions: meetings with government officials, launching suits, intervening at regulatory hearings, presenting briefs to legislative committees (information exchange), and letter writing. Letter-writing has, in particular, become one of the most popular methods open to protest groups; although it is impossible to ascertain the success of such actions, public interest group members appear to be highly responsive to this means of protest.¹¹⁴ Despite the variety of available techniques, they are all consistent with Strauch's definition which concentrates on the distribution of information.

Just as there are differing methods of lobbying, there are also contradictory views concerning its usefulness. On the one side, more information is provided to policy-makers before making decisions, increasing the level of democratic participation. It provides a supplementary

¹¹³Manfred Strauch, ed., *Lobbying: Wirtschaft und Politik im Wechselspiel* (Frankfurt a.M./Wiesbaden: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung/Betriebswirtschaftlicher Verlag Dr. Th. Gabler, 1993), 111.

¹¹⁴Berry, 236.

means of political expression. On the other side, lobbying can lead to patronage, bribery, or corruption. As groups have differing financial and personnel capabilities, those groups possessing the best means and those that know the bureaucratic process will be favored. In order to reduce the possibility of corruption, various countries have introduced regulations concerning disclosure.¹¹⁵

The largest interest groups have grown out of the role of mere pressure groups; they have instead adopted an autonomous role within the political system, whereby they are automatically included in any relevant discussions.¹¹⁶ This concept of 'corporatism' in industrial countries is believed to be mutually beneficial for the participants. The ministries are provided with information and aid in channelling both social and organized interests into a manageable policy direction, and the interest group is able to provide its members with assured representation at the decision-making level. The threatening side of corporatism is, however, the fear that these industrial and business concerns could potentially broaden their influence over government organs, thereby turning the political process into one for elite-based representation, which then alienates the majority of civil society.¹¹⁷

The target audience for the lobbyist varies widely. Despite the fact that the issue of BC forestry practices is, in essence, a local issue (as only one country is directly involved), there are a variety of audiences which environmental groups can approach in order to directly or indirectly influence policy development. Lobbying can, naturally, be done at the government levels, including the German government, the Canadian government, and the BC government. In addition to these areas, lobbying can also be utilized as a tool within both the business and the international spheres. Most common in the international sphere is lobbying within the European Union, which usually translates into lobbying in the European Commission in Brussels.

Ministry offices have often become the central target for lobbyists; it is here, in the individual ministries, where the specialists on each topic meet to formulate policy. Experts in the area are called upon to contribute information, hearings are held and committees developed. The work undertaken by the executive and the bureaucracy forms the basis of discussion material,

¹¹⁵Since September 21, 1972, lobbyists in the Bundestag must be registered; required is the name of the organization and its representative lobbyists, the organizational structure, interest area, and the number of members represented. Strauch, 63.

¹¹⁶Alemann, 177.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

whereas the parliament is merely able to control these discussions and determine the final form of the policy.¹¹⁸

The use of lobbying by German environmental groups within the campaign aimed at BC forestry practices can be used to achieve a range of goals. In discussions with BC or Canadian government representatives, German environmental representatives are able to exercise direct pressure, and thereby are able to both express their concerns regarding current forestry practices and to suggest plans for policy improvement. Acting through a campaign of indirect pressure, the groups lobby both German and European officials - in either government or international organizations - in order to increase awareness of the issue. Aims in utilizing such a tactic are two-fold: not only could these officials demonstrate their concerns in bilateral meetings and thereby exercise indirect pressure, but they could also influence decisions concerning official boycotts, and/or the initiation and development of trade agreements and international conventions. Corporate lobbying represents another indirect means of pressure, whereby the forest industry then represents the end goal. Whatever the means chosen, lobbying is a way of countering corporatist interests through the distribution of information.

PUBLIC PRESSURE. Public pressure is understood to be a means by which a group can publicly demonstrate its stand on a certain issue. Aims in doing so are often two-fold: first, it is a means of pressuring the target audience into compliance with a group's aims, and second, it is a means for the group to increase its membership and coverage. Under public pressure, the most common methods of action are demonstrations or vigils, blockades, and boycotts. These methods of exercising public pressure can be viewed as three stages in a process of protest, beginning with demonstrations and ending with boycotts.

Demonstrations are a commonly-used protest action, which encompass the actions of both group members and members of the general public. The term 'demonstration' is commonly "used to mean marches, rallies, or other gatherings of large numbers of people designed to show the numerical strength and determination of the group."¹¹⁹ A vigil (or witnessing) is, on the other hand, "silent advocacy of a principle while keeping watch over the actions of those who behave in ways that contravene the principle."¹²⁰ These activities are not only designed to pressure authorities

¹¹⁸Ibid., 175.

¹¹⁹Zisk, 129.

¹²⁰Ibid.

into compliance, but also to promote public awareness both of a specific topic of concern and of the group. Berry emphasizes three main aims for public interest groups in holding demonstrations: to expand public awareness concerning a particular issue, to increase the sensitivity of government officials to the issue, and to strengthen the group's position through coverage of the mass media.¹²¹ Regardless of the aims of the demonstration, the primary aim is usually to get media coverage of the protest, in order to reach a much larger audience.¹²²

A blockade, although similar to a demonstration or vigil, is a form of civil disobedience; it is a non-violent means of direct action. Unlike demonstrations, blockades normally serve to obstruct an entrance or thoroughfare. As this method of protest is, however, difficult to institute in an international campaign, it will not be treated in-depth.

Boycotts can be viewed as the third step in a process of protest. Boycotts are by no means a new method of protest; incidences of boycotts can be traced back in history, with one of the most renowned being the Boston Tea Party. Boycotts are commonly in the form of consumer boycotts, in which a portion of the population refuses to buy products from a certain producer. One possible basis for such action is 'green consumerism,' in which consumers are encouraged to express their concern for environmental destruction in their buying habits, thus forcing a market response.¹²³ "To be successful, a boycott must amass widespread support among ordinary citizens as well as activists."¹²⁴

In West Germany, boycotts have recently become a popular means of civil disobedience on the economic level. With the success of the peace and environmental movements in the 1980's, citizens have become more willing to express their opinions through economic preference.¹²⁵ For German citizens, who are often eager to offer token participation, a consumer boycott offers an ideal means of protest. As environmental groups have already achieved success through the implementation of this tactic (i.e. seal pups campaign) in the past, there appears to be a willingness to use it again.

¹²¹Berry, 232.

¹²²Ibid., 231.

¹²³Michael Jacobs, *The Green Economy: Environment, Sustainable Development and the Politics of the Future* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), 42.

¹²⁴Zisk, 225.

¹²⁵Jörg Weber, "Bananen Bügeln für Greenpeace: Boykott als Protest-Instrument ist gesellschaftsfähig geworden." *Spiegel Special* 11 (1995), 134.

While some view these to be last resort tactics which are used to supplement lobbying, others view these tactics to be an apolitical means of protest.¹²⁶ Public pressure is, in contrast to public awareness, a means used to pressure the target group into compliance with the environmental group's aims. It is not only used as a means to distribute information concerning the particular topic of interest, but also as a means of direct pressure.

PUBLIC AWARENESS. Public awareness activities are generally utilized in order to spread information concerning a topic of interest, thereby creating awareness for the issue. This primary purpose is often complemented by secondary aims of conveying the interests, goals, and concerns of the group and of campaigning for new members and/or donations. Much of the public awareness work is "premised on the idea that the most effective way to change the world is to change thought processes."¹²⁷

In general, public awareness work revolves around such events as slide shows, lecture series, information displays, street theatre, and publications. The range of activities employed by groups in attracting attention to an issue is limited only by the creativity of the group members. As the majority of public awareness work is carried-out by volunteers, this can be both an inexpensive and creative means of attracting and maintaining interest in environmental issues.

Group publications include books, magazines, pamphlets and factsheets. "Publications not only reveal what information organizations feel is useful and interesting to their audiences, but they can also offer insights into the way professional staffs view the role of the memberships and the functions of the organizations themselves."¹²⁸ Books and magazines, in particular, offer detailed discussions of contemporary topics of interest. They are used to create awareness for certain environmental problems while also acting as a form of advertising and income for the group. In addition to being available to the public at newsstands, many public libraries also carry the books and hold subscriptions to the larger and more popular magazines. Newspapers, newsletters, and alerts are a similar means of spreading information at a lower cost. Alerts are normally mailed to selective members, and are advisory in nature, insofar as they appeal to the readers to participate in letter-writing campaigns or to mobilize others in the issue.¹²⁹

¹²⁶Zisk, 127.

¹²⁷Zisk, 156.

¹²⁸Berry, 178.

¹²⁹Ibid., 180.

In addition to publishing materials, a group can also run its own resource library open for public use. Video and slide presentations - either created by the organization or purchased - are often available, in addition to books and magazines. Further possibilities offered to school groups include forest tours, youth groups, teacher training seminars, and aid in special projects. By introducing children to environmental issues at an early age, groups hope to develop a generation of environmentally-conscience citizens.

Public awareness work is essential in creating and maintaining public interest in an issue. It demonstrates the dedication of group members and displays the interest areas of the individual groups. The distribution of information not only serves to inform the general public, but also to supplement lobbying work in government and corporate circles.

MASS MEDIA. With the development of modern communications technology, the main source of information for the majority of the industrialized world is through the mass media; thus, one of the best means of 'creating' public awareness for an issue is through effective use of the mass media. The media are both able to set the agenda for, and highly influence the tone of coverage; they are able to direct what people should be thinking about, and how people should think about it.

People rely on the mass media to deliver a "manufactured public world into private space;" as a result, the mass media have also become the "core systems for the distribution of ideology."¹³⁰ This aspect is particularly evident when examining environmental groups and their protest actions. In order to be considered newsworthy, movements are forced to comply with journalistic notions of what an 'event' is. Furthermore, movement activists have little or no control over the way in which their actions will be covered; "people *as producers of meaning* have no voice in what the media make of what they say or do, or in the context within which the media frame their activity."¹³¹ But, it is through this framed media image that the public image of a movement is formed.¹³²

The processed image then tends to *become* "the movement" for wider publics and institutions who have few alternative sources of information, or none at all, about it; that image has its impact on public policy, and when the movement is being opposed, what is being opposed is in large part a set of mass-mediated images.¹³³

¹³⁰Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1980), 1-2.

¹³¹Ibid., 3.

¹³²"Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual." From Gitlin, 7.

¹³³Gitlin, 3.

It is, therefore, the framed media image which, to a large extent, determines the movement's fate.

The media help to create a 'climate of opinion' favorable or unfavorable to the movement. They give a movement visibility, certify its leaders, and facilitate the recruitment of support.¹³⁴ For these reasons, many environmental groups focus their energies on actions which will both attract media attention, and attract interest to their cause. "The movement must shape its behavior in such a way that the media find it useful to report that behavior; and at the same time, to serve its own interests, the movement must succeed in portraying itself in a somewhat effective way."¹³⁵ Media coverage convinces the general public that the organization is doing good work, which therefore serves to increase support and furtherance of the groups work.

Although environmental issues are eminently newsworthy, due to their emotive and moralistic appeal which is often portrayed as good versus evil,¹³⁶ environmental groups must nonetheless be creative in attracting media attention. The most well-known tactic is through the staging of spectacular events which provide for dramatic media coverage. More commonly used methods include, however, the submission of press releases, reactions to publicized events, the distribution of research papers and the holding of press conferences. Cooperation with the media is also necessary in coverage of public pressure and public awareness activities. Maintaining press coverage is, however, not always easy.

Anthony Downs examines the difficulty in maintaining media coverage over a prolonged period of time in his 'issue attention cycle,' in which he analyzes how successive environmental issues capture public attention. First, a problem is 'discovered' and thereby leaps into prominence. This is followed by an increase in interest and adherents. The peak of the cycle is reached as attempts are made at problem solution. Then, as the public realizes the costs of possible solutions, interest in the issue declines and the problem fades away, despite the problem being often left largely unresolved. Media coverage is thereby understood to be a form of entertainment, which consists of a series of 'crises;' "each will rise into public view, capture center stage for a while, and then gradually fade away as it is replaced by more fashionable issues moving into their "crisis"

¹³⁴Klandermands, 388.

¹³⁵Harvey Molotch, "Media and Movements," in *The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control, and Tactics*, eds. Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers Inc., 1979), 77.

¹³⁶Lowe and Goyder, 76.

phases."¹³⁷ News, which must be both dramatic and exciting, is thus managed by the public - by either maintaining or losing interest.¹³⁸

Common aims for mass media attention include: mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement.¹³⁹ Mass media coverage is one means for a group to reach its constituency. Lowe and Goyder point to the facts that coverage ensures continued support for the environmental group, while improving the overall climate for environmental awareness through long-term educational and propaganda campaigns.¹⁴⁰ In addition, this coverage serves to validate the fact that the movement or group is still an important participant in the issue. Media coverage can also broaden the scope of the discussion, by either drawing third parties in or by arousing public attention, which could eventually influence decision-makers.

TARGET AUDIENCES

Public interest groups do not only act as a bridge between citizens and the government or the policy-making sector, but also as a bridge between citizens and political parties, mass media, international organizations, and other interest groups. The defined target audiences are a reflection of *who* the actions are aimed at. The target of influence "is that set of individuals, groups, or social institutions that must alter their decisions or policies in order for a challenging group to correct a situation to which it objects."¹⁴¹ Accordingly, the target audiences may be comprised of a mix of government, parliament, ministry officials, political parties, the justice system, international organizations, and public opinion.¹⁴²

When confronted with strategy choices, groups must define their strategies in accordance with their potential target audiences; it is therefore important that the groups have adequate knowledge of their targets. In determining appropriate avenues of action, the group must take the "structure of available opportunities for action," the "social control measures that might be taken,"

¹³⁷Anthony Downs, "Up and down with ecology - the 'issue-attention cycle'," *The Public Interest* 28 (1972): 43.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹William A. Gamson and Gadi Wolfsfeld, "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems," *The Annals of the American Academy* 528 (July 1993): 116.

¹⁴⁰Lowe and Goyder, 79.

¹⁴¹William A. Gamson, *The Strategy of Social Protest* 2nd Edition (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1990), 14.

¹⁴²Weber, 245.

and the "effect on bystander publics" into consideration.¹⁴³ The general ends for strategy vary from influencing authorities, or legitimating the goals and methods by way of public relations, to securing the influx of resources by fostering participant involvement in order to maintain the organization.¹⁴⁴

As exemplified in the model of group strategy presented at the beginning of this chapter, groups can either attempt to exercise direct or indirect pressure. Direct pressure in this campaign would be directed at the main target audiences identified - in this case, conceivably the policy community in BC forestry issues. As a result, the main targets would consist primarily of the BC government and the forest industry; these are the bodies which must change their decisions and/or policies, in order to correct the situation to which the groups involved object. The difficulty with such a tactic is, however, that many groups involved in international issues are unable and/or unwilling to exercise on-site pressure.

It is to be expected, that the use of indirect pressure could be of prime importance in an international campaign. This is a means through which groups inform governments, international organizations, or other publics of the issues at hand in the hopes of these bodies further influencing those directly involved. Although the end goal may involve a change in provincial policy or local harvesting practices, there are nonetheless a variety of indirect targets which may be approached.

Indirect pressure can fulfill a variety of goals. As mentioned under the section on lobbying, many key goals revolve around restrictions in trade or the development of international regulations governing the harvesting of wood. In particular, lobbying in international organizations is becoming an increasingly popular means of exercising influence, especially in those organizations that make decisions concerning economic and social questions that are binding in individual nation-states.¹⁴⁵ Pressure through international relations can also take place at the state-to-state level. In respect of the increasing importance of global trading patterns and interconnections, a state can often not afford to ignore the views of partner states.

Most group attempts at influence are accompanied by an appeal to public opinion, irrespective of the primary target group.¹⁴⁶ In addition to striving for policy changes, many environmental groups also work to change values and public opinion in civil society. The general public can be understood to be both a direct and an indirect means of influencing change. As a

¹⁴³Freeman, 185.

¹⁴⁴Klandermans, 124.

¹⁴⁵Beyme, 223.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 220.

direct target, groups aim to reduce the overall usage of forest products, in order to save finite resources - regardless of the origin of the resource. Indirectly, they could aim to reduce consumption of wood products from a certain producer area - commonly in the form of a boycott -, in the hopes of affecting a change in policy.

As demonstrated, there are a variety of different channels which could be used in order to influence BC forestry policy. Aside from the regular means of lobbying the appropriate policy community, groups can undoubtedly uncover a number of other leverage points which will in end effect also contribute to reaching the goals outlined. "The success of such a movement is often determined by its ingenuity at finding less obvious leverage points from which to pressure its targets, creating new avenues for action, and/or effectively substituting resources it has in abundance for those it does not have."¹⁴⁷

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This theoretical framework will be applied to the case study analysis in the following chapter. Before examining the participants in the case study, the main questions which are addressed will be highlighted.

The main purpose of this thesis is to identify the strategies used by environmental groups in the international arena. How do the environmental groups attempt to exercise influence? Through which channels do they hope to affect change? As discussed, a variety of tactics can be used to publicize each issue, including lobbying, demonstrations and boycotts, public awareness work, and use of the mass media. These tactics can lead to both direct and indirect pressure on the proclaimed target audiences. Directly, groups may aim to influence the practices of the general public, the forest industry, and the BC government. Or, their focus may be upon influencing the opinions and actions of other organizations or institutions which may be able to influence the actions of those in BC.

Prior to examination of the strategies chosen by the actors involved, a few comments in regards to the anticipated methods and channels of action will be made. It is to be expected that most groups will likely endeavor to exert pressure both directly and indirectly. Due to the international nature of this issue, the importance of indirect pressure will however assume primary

¹⁴⁷Freeman, 185.

importance. As the threat of international boycotts has played an instrumental role in inciting changes to BC forestry policy, it is apparent that these groups have focussed a significant portion of their interest and energy on influencing consumers. The following case studies will demonstrate the extent to which this is true. In addition, it is already evident that - as a result of the developments in communications technology - use of the mass media has become indispensable to achieving group goals.

This case study should also provide insight into the use of the proposed model of group strategy. Does the model prove to highlight patterns useful in determining trends? Do the internal resources of a group and the external setting act as prime determinants of the means in which a group utilizes in order to exercise influence? It is generally assumed that those groups possessing the greatest amount of resources have the greatest number of possible strategy choices, and the most respect within government and business circles. Is this also applicable to environmental groups?

Lastly, this analysis should provide further understanding of the theories utilized. Do the separate theoretical bases suffice to explain the actions of German environmental groups? In practice, do groups focus their energies upon one main direction, or do they - in accordance with their resources and capabilities - try to influence both public opinion and the policy community at as many points as possible? Through the case study analysis in the following chapter, further insight into the practical application of these two theoretical perspectives for environmental group activity should emerge.

CHAPTER THREE

A GLANCE BEHIND THE SCENES

This case study revolves around a review and analysis of the tactics and channels used by German environmental groups in their campaign concerning BC forest policy. Although the activities of the participant groups have not been coordinated to the extent in which they could be collectively labelled as a campaign, and the term can therefore be deceiving, I nonetheless refer to the activities as such for the ease of explanation.

In order to determine the methods of advocacy utilized in the campaign aimed at BC forestry practices, it is necessary to examine the actors involved in this campaign, and the strategy choices which have been made. This section is thus intended to provide an overview of the internal determining factors of the groups and their strategic interests. The internal factors analysis supplies a brief introduction to the groups, in order to familiarize the reader with the participant groups in this campaign. This will be followed by a detailed look at the forms of protest chosen by each group and the general goals inherent in its strategy choices.¹⁴⁸ The data collected in this case study is also briefly summarized in Tables 1 and 2..

The groups involved in this issue include: World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), Bund für Umwelt- und Naturschutz Deutschland (BUND), Greenpeace Germany, Robin Wood, Big Mountain Aktionsgruppe, Pro Regenwald, Urgewald: Kampagne für den Regenwald, and Arbeitskreis Kanadische Urwälder (AKKU). These groups will be analyzed in chronological order in each section of this chapter, dating from the founding of the German section of the organization. The information for this chapter is derived largely from interviews with the participant groups, and primary and secondary literature dealing with their activities. Each internal resource and strategy analysis has, in addition, been reviewed by the particular group involved prior to submission of this work.

¹⁴⁸It should be noted that the length and comprehensiveness of each analysis varies according to the extent of the group's activities, the primary and secondary literature available on the group, and the willingness of the group to share information concerning its structure and strategies.

Table 1: Internal Resources

INTERNAL RESOURCES									
Group	Est. of Group	Budget (DM)	Level of Organization [®]	Paid Staff	Total Membership	Active Membership	Number of Local Groups	Number of Issue Areas	National or International
WWF	1963	27.5 million	high	92	103,583	700 (0.7%)	10	multiple	international
BUND	1975	16.7 million	high	not available	215,000	not available	2,200	multiple	international ^Ω
Greenpeace	1980	71.2 million	high	120	500,000	2,200 (0.4%)	80	multiple	international
Robin Wood	1982	300,000.	medium	10	3,000	200 (6.7%)	30	multiple	national*
Big Mountain	1985	not available	low	0	200	12 (6.0%)	1	single issue; broad	national
Pro Regenwald	1988	500,000.	low	5	300-400	10(2.5-3.3%)	1	single issue; broad	national
Urgewald	1992	250,000. - 300,000.	medium	6	50	50 (100%)	1	multiple	national
AKKU	1993	nominal	low	0	40-50	40-50(100%)	1	single issue; narrow	national

[®] The level of organization is rated on a three point scale from low to high. A low level of organization is considered to be a grass roots level, where active members make decisions. In a medium level, the executive makes decisions, but there are less than three levels of internal division. A high level of organization is marked by executive decision-making in a group with three or more levels of internal division.

^Ω BUND is a member of Friends of the Earth International, but it determines its objectives and actions independently.

* Although other Robin Wood organizations exist within Europe - for example, Robin du Bois in France - there is no international office, and no coordination of activities.

Table 2: Methods of advocacy

METHODS OF ADVOCACY*										
	Internal Resources		Lobbying		Public Pressure		Public Awareness		Mass Media	
Group	Est. of Group	Budget (DM)	Government	Corporate	Demo's	Boycott	Distribution of Info. ¹	Publications	Contact to Media	P.R. Office
WWF	1963	27.5 million	regularly	sporadic	sporadic	No	information hotline	mag., books, newsletters	regularly	yes
BUND	1975	16.7 million	regularly	sporadic	sporadic	Yes	school groups	mag., books, newsletters	regularly	yes
Greenpeace	1980	71.2 million	regularly	regularly	regularly	No	Internet	mag., books, newsletters	regularly	yes
Robin Wood	1982	300,000.	never	never	sporadic	No	library	mag., books, newsletters	sporadic	no
Big Mountain	1985	not available	sporadic	sporadic	sporadic	Yes	native peoples	newsletters	sporadic	no
Pro Regenwald	1988	500,000.	sporadic	never	sporadic	Yes	lecture series	newsletters	sporadic	no
Urgewald	1992	250,000. - 300,000.	regularly	never	regularly	Yes	school groups	books, newsletters	sporadic	no
AKKU	1993	nominal	never	never	sporadic	No	information network	newsletters	sporadic	no

* In this table, ratings include the scale of never, sporadic, and regularly. A rating of never means that the group does not utilize this method. Sporadic means that this method is used when the opportunity arises. A rating of regularly means that this method is used on a regular basis by the group.

¹This column serves to highlight public awareness tactics which are unique to each group - these are supplemented by information displays, slide shows, etc.

INTERNAL FACTORS

The scope of action available to an environmental group may be influenced by its internal resources and group characteristics. The following section therefore offers a detailed analysis of: group establishment and ideology, group structure, membership, staff and finances. Although such a detailed examination of the groups may seem superfluous, it is necessary in presenting a complete portrait of the variety of groups involved in this issue. For those readers interested in only a brief look at each group, a table is provided in which the main characteristics of each group are summarized.

WORLD WIDE FUND FOR NATURE (WWF).¹⁴⁹ The World Wide Fund for Nature is the oldest group involved in this issue. Originally formed in Switzerland in September 1961, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) set out to finance environmental protection through cooperation with the wealthy.¹⁵⁰ The primary aim of the group - which was in 1986 renamed the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) - revolved around the protection of threatened animal species and their habitat. From the head office in Switzerland, the WWF now coordinates the work of 28 national organizations world-wide; 23 of these are national WWF organizations, and five are independent organizations which work closely with the WWF. All participate in the international programs supported by the head office, in addition to developing autonomous national programs.

The German section of WWF was founded in 1963. WWF Germany defines its primary aim to be the protection of biological diversity. Its secondary aims can be viewed as a means in which to achieve the main goal: to support sustainable use of natural resources, and to reduce wasteful consumption of resources and energy. In furthering the protection of biological diversity, the WWF has programs focussed on three main habitat areas: sea and coasts, inland riparian zones, and forests. The head office for WWF Germany, which coordinates the national programs, is located in Frankfurt; nine other offices, spread throughout Germany, focus on specific issue areas.

¹⁴⁹The information for the World Wide Fund for Nature is primarily derived from an interview with Dr. Günter Merz, WWF Consultant for Development Aid and Tropical Forests, Frankfurt, Germany, 27 July 1995. Additional information concerning the annual budget, membership, and structure is available in the *WWF Jahresbericht 1994* (WWF Annual Report 1994).

¹⁵⁰In order to raise money, the 'Club 1001' was formed, whereby each member was to donate \$10,000 to the club (which has since been increased to \$25,000). Cornelsen, 99.

In addition, WWF Germany works internationally with programs in Mongolia and Georgia, and is represented in all regional programs led by WWF International.

WWF is a foundation, which is run more like a business than a typical environmental organization. Its structure is comprised of a foundation council (Stiftungsrat), a board (Vorstand), management (Geschäftsführung), and sponsoring members (Fördermitglieder). Internationally, WWF has 5.2 million members and contributors; WWF Germany has 103,583 members and 44,466 contributors. These are sponsoring members, who support WWF financially. The active members are a part of the WWF Circle of Friends, a group of 700 volunteer workers, who represent the WWF at displays or fairs, at local environmental conferences, and at other public events. In addition to volunteer support, WWF Germany registers a total of 92 paid staff.

A large percentage of the funding for WWF Germany is derived from the support of individual members and contributors (comprised 60% of 1994 budget). WWF guarantees that all donations are used directly to support environmental programs. These contributions are supplemented by public funding - through various ministries, the German Federal Environmental Foundation (die Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt), and the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ; die Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit) - , and business or corporate donations. Additional support is derived from interest from the WWF fund, license fees for use of the WWF logo, and profit from mail-order goods. The 1994 budget for WWF Germany totalled 27.5 million DM (CAN \$25.7 million).¹⁵¹

BUND FÜR UMWELT- UND NATURSCHUTZ DEUTSCHLAND (BUND). The Bund für Umwelt- und Naturschutz Deutschland (the German Alliance for Environment and Nature Conservation) was founded on July 20, 1975 in Marktheidenfeld. The group has its roots, however, in the Bund Naturschutz Bayern (the Bavarian Alliance for Nature Conservation), established in 1913. In 1989, the group expanded into the international arena by becoming a member of Friends of the Earth International. The project areas treated by BUND are sub-divided into 19 working groups, ranging from recycling, traffic, and forests, to water, energy, and environmental education.

¹⁵¹Due to fluctuations in the exchange rates, the budgets are listed in Deutsche Marks with the approximate value in Canadian Dollars in brackets. For this I've taken the present exchange rate of CAN \$1. to 1.05 DM.

The head office (Bundesgeschäftsstelle) of BUND is located in Bonn. Here, the group is managed by the board (Vorstand), a scientific council (Wissenschaftlicher Beirat), a general council (Verbandsrat) and a federal youth direction (Bundesjugendleitung).¹⁵² Around 140 delegates - representatives from regional and local BUND groups - attend the delegates meeting (Delegiertenversammlung), where they vote on the members of the board and the councils.¹⁵³ The board provides advice, holds budgetary competence, and is responsible for official representation.¹⁵⁴ The BUND also supports the BUND environmental Research Institute which provides the scientific basis for the group's campaigns.¹⁵⁵

In 1994, BUND registered a total of 215,300 members. These members are represented in sixteen regional groups (Länderverbände), which include 2,200 local and 700 youth groups. The regional groups are relatively free in their choice of project areas and tactics.

Financial support for the BUND is derived primarily from membership fees, tax-deductible donations, and the sale of BUND products; these sources of funding are supplemented by financing from federal funding projects.¹⁵⁶ Responsible for the sale of the group's products is the BUNDladen. The BUND Naturschutz is, in addition, responsive to cooperation with business, and has, for example, endorsed a line of environmentally friendly products at the Hertie department store. In 1994, the budget for BUND was 16.7 million DM (CAN \$15.9 million).

GREENPEACE GERMANY.¹⁵⁷ Greenpeace, although formed much later, resembles WWF and BUND in its structure and resources. Originally founded in Vancouver in 1971, the group was formed to protest nuclear testing off the Amchitka Islands. The founding members of the group exemplified their aims in the name - 'green' and 'peace' - , "which symbolically bound together their concern for the planet and their opposition to nuclear arms."¹⁵⁸ This group became best known for its unconventional methods of attracting attention to an issue. Through the formation of Greenpeace International in 1979, various national groups were united under an umbrella

¹⁵² Alemann, 138.

¹⁵³ Cornelson, 24.

¹⁵⁴ Alemann, 138.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Cornelson, 27.

¹⁵⁷ The information for Greenpeace Germany is primarily derived from a telephone interview with Thomas Kunz, Greenpeace Germany Forests Campaign, 9 August 1995.

¹⁵⁸ "Frontline Fighters," *Macleans* Vol.104, No.50 (Dec. 16, 1991): 46.

organization. Today, the international office in Amsterdam serves as the coordination point for approximately 30 national member offices which are spread throughout the world.

In 1980, Greenpeace Germany¹⁵⁹ was established and, despite the existence of numerous other environmental groups, quickly became well-known due to constant mass media attention. The aim of the organization is, as an internationally-based ecological organization, to raise awareness for global environmental problems and to prevent the destruction of habitat for people, animals, and plants.¹⁶⁰ Having begun its work with campaigns concerning whales and seal pups, Greenpeace has extended its interests to include a number of other issues; these are sub-divided into the general areas of ocean ecology, toxics, forests, atmosphere and energy, and disarmament.

Greenpeace is a highly structured, bureaucratic organization. The day-to-day business of Greenpeace is run by the management (Geschäftsführung), aided by the sectors of administration, communication and media, and campaigns. Coordination, planning, and the execution of Greenpeace's activities are performed by 120 staff members, and supported by 80 local groups. The head office is located in Hamburg, with a branch office in Berlin and a lobbying office in Bonn. At the international level, decisions are made by the Greenpeace Council, a group of trustees representing the member countries¹⁶¹ and controlled by the International Board and the Executive Director. The choice of issue areas and of strategies are determined between Greenpeace International and the particular Greenpeace offices involved in each issue area; local groups have little freedom in their choice of topic areas.

Greenpeace is supported by 500,000 sponsoring members, who provide financial support to the organization. 2,200 active members are responsible for arranging local public awareness work and participating in activities in the 80 local groups within Germany. Members meetings (Mitgliederversammlung) take place at least once a year and provide the active members with a chance to voice their opinions. In addition, Greenpeace has integrated programs for both youths and seniors within its ranks. Greenteams encompass the work of youth in over 700 different groups; likewise, approximately 250 seniors (55+) research, write letters of protest, and take part in Greenpeace activities.

¹⁵⁹When referring to Greenpeace Germany hereafter, just Greenpeace will be cited. Should referrals be made to the entire organization, Greenpeace International will be stated.

¹⁶⁰Christian Altmann and Marc Fritzler, *Greenpeace: Ist die Welt noch zu retten?* (Düsseldorf: ECON Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1995), 82.

¹⁶¹Of the thirty member countries, only eleven of these have the right to vote on decisions made by the Council (as of 1994). These are the groups that transfer at least a quarter of their income to Greenpeace International. Altmann, 73.

Financial support for Greenpeace is primarily acquired through individual donations and sponsoring membership fees; advertising for these donations is achieved in part through the use of direct mailings. Greenpeace Germany, which recorded a total budget of 71.2 million DM (CAN \$67.8 million) in 1994, is the most financially successful Greenpeace branch internationally.¹⁶² Furthermore, the German branch has accumulated 63 million DM (CAN \$60 million) in savings, and runs an affiliated publishing house which brought in an additional 15.8 million DM (CAN \$15 million) in 1994. The financial resources of the organization are supplemented by its physical resources, which include a wide array of equipment and supplies for its protest activities.

ROBIN WOOD.¹⁶³ Robin Wood, formed on November 13, 1982 in Bremen, was founded by former, dissatisfied members of Greenpeace Germany. The original aim was to form a group on the basis of grass roots democracy, in contrast to the hierarchical, dominating structure of Greenpeace. Robin Wood was, in addition, founded with the aim of disbanding as soon as the environment could breathe, and as soon as the conditions were met, which would allow for the earth to survive.¹⁶⁴ Its purpose, in brief, includes both "non-violent actions and campaigns for the protection of the environment" and the "publication of information material."¹⁶⁵

The name 'Robin Wood' undoubtedly draws attention to the legendary hero, Robin Hood, who stole from the rich to give to the poor.¹⁶⁶ Robin Wood, accordingly, focusses on saving the trees from 'Waldsterben.'¹⁶⁷ This translates into a struggle against the powerful polluters in industry and in the commercial branch, against apathetic politicians, and in the past few years, against the 'comfort' and 'forgetfulness' inherent in modern society.¹⁶⁸ Having begun with the issue

¹⁶²The 1994 budget of Greenpeace Germany exceeds the total 1994 income of Greenpeace International (at 51.2 million DM); in 1994, the German office contributed 22 million DM to Greenpeace International. Interesting to note is that Thilo Bode, former Executive Director of Greenpeace Germany, has recently assumed the position of Executive Director of the office in Amsterdam.

¹⁶³The information for Robin Wood is primarily derived from a personal interview with Rudolf Fenner, Robin Wood Forest Specialist, Hamburg, Germany, 24 May 1995.

¹⁶⁴Robin Wood, "10 Jahre - und endlich ein Ende in Sicht?," *Robin Wood Magazin* 35 (April 1992): 16.

¹⁶⁵Mireille Deziron and Leigh Bailey, *A Directory of European Environmental Organizations* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Three Cambridge Centre, 1991), 163.

¹⁶⁶In publications, Robin Wood often uses a play-on-words with the Robin Hood legend, substituting 'Rächer der Entlaubten' (Avenger of the dis/entfoliated) for 'Rächer der Enterbten' (Avenger of the disinherited).

¹⁶⁷The literal translation of Waldsterben is 'forest death.' For further information, please refer to the List of Terms and Abbreviations.

¹⁶⁸Robin Wood, *Aktiv für die Umwelt* (Bayreuth: Druckhaus Bayreuth, 1994): 3.

of Waldsterben, the group slowly expanded into related areas of interest: forests, the tropical rainforest, traffic, energy, and garbage.

The activities of the 30 regional Robin Wood groups in Germany are coordinated by the press office (Pressestelle) in Hamburg and the head office (Geschäftsstelle) in Bremen. About half of these groups are well-established groups, which actively participate in the delegates meetings¹⁶⁹; the other half are new or very small groups, which are not fully established and are thus only able to send observers to the delegates meetings. The regional groups are supported by a total membership of approximately 3,000 members, 200 of which are active members. Robin Wood has, in addition, a total of ten paid staff members, including a group of specialists, who are responsible for the collection and publication of relevant factual or scientific information in the areas of (1) forests, (2) the tropical rainforest, and (3) traffic. The main strategy decisions for the organization are decided upon at 'strategy seminars.'

As Robin Wood is a relatively small environmental group, the financial resources of the organization are fairly limited. At the present time, R. Fenner estimates a 300,000 DM (CAN \$285,700) annual turn-over for the organization. This funding comes primarily from membership contributions and tax-deductible donations, but is also supplemented by income from direct mailings and the sales of Robin Wood products. Robin Wood is, in principle, against 'ecosponsoring,' and thus doesn't accept sponsorship money from commercial organizations. It does, however, apply for government funding through various sponsorship programs.

BIG MOUNTAIN AKTIONSGRUPPE.¹⁷⁰ In comparison with the groups already examined which are highly professionalized, Big Mountain is a small group which functions on a grass roots basis. Established in 1985, Big Mountain is a group which supports and represents the interests of North American Indians within the European arena. Due to the wide spectrum of issues associated with the problematic concerning native peoples, Big Mountain also deals with a number of related topics, such as forestry or uranium mining.

¹⁶⁹Each group chooses four delegates, who attend the delegates meetings held at least once a year. At these meetings, the main foci of the organization are determined, and plans are coordinated between the various groups. The delegates are also in charge of voting on the board members, who oversee the workings of the organization during the year (between delegates meetings). See Robin Wood, *Robin Wood stellt sich vor* (Brochure): 5.

¹⁷⁰The information for Big Mountain Aktionsgruppe is primarily derived from a personal interview with Dionys Zink, Big Mountain Aktionsgruppe, Munich, Germany, 3 August 1995.

Big Mountain is managed solely through volunteer support. The group has a total of 200 members, twelve of which are considered to be active members. These volunteers come from a variety of backgrounds, and therefore offer a variety of capabilities to the group. Meetings are held once a week, and the office is open for inquiries every afternoon. Financial support for Big Mountain comes primarily from donations, membership fees, and foundation sponsorship.

PRO REGENWALD.¹⁷¹ Pro Regenwald was formed in 1989, as a non-profit organization which concentrates its efforts on the development and implementation of socially and ecologically sustainable usage of natural resources; in particular, it aims to protect the tropical rainforest and those peoples living in and with nature.¹⁷² This group investigates and distributes information concerning forest destruction, and works to reduce the causes for worldwide destruction of the forests.¹⁷³ Although the main focus for Pro Regenwald is the rainforest, the group also has two other main topics of interest: boreal forests and climate. These three main topic areas are augmented by a number of related issues, such as aid for indigenous peoples and changes in forestry practices.

The structure of Pro Regenwald consists of a board (Vorstand) and members. The board is, at the moment, made up of five members who are appointed for a period of one year. The main means of decision-making within the organization, however, takes place at members meetings (Mitgliedsversammlungen). At these meetings, not only do the active members vote on the board, but they also employ the principle of majority rule in deciding on applications for active membership within the group. Pro Regenwald is supported by 300 to 400 sponsoring members, and approximately ten active volunteers. In addition, the group employs five paid staff: four full-time area specialists and one part-time secretary.

Financially, Pro Regenwald is dependent upon membership fees, donations, and foundation sponsorship. At the moment, three staff positions are supported by the federal job creation program (ABM; Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen). Additional forms of financing are available through the federal government and the European Union. The budget for Pro Regenwald is approximately 500,000 DM (CAN \$476,200).

¹⁷¹The information for Pro Regenwald is primarily derived from a personal interview with Bettina Heilmann, Pro Regenwald Forests Expert, Munich, Germany, 3 August 1995.

¹⁷²Pro Regenwald, *Satzung* (1991), §2.Zweck.

¹⁷³Pro Regenwald, *Vorträge: Umwelt und Entwicklung 95/96* (Brochure, München 1995).

URGEWALD.¹⁷⁴ Urgewald: Kampagne für den Regenwald (Urgewald: Campaign for the Rainforest) is a small, non-profit organization (est. 1992), which works to protect boreal forests and rainforests, and their resident indigenous peoples. The two main foci of the group include: forests and international development. In its forest program, the primary focus is on reform at the German and European Union level, although the group also supports other groups in Canada and in the tropics, which fight against the destruction of their forests. In addition, Urgewald works to reform foreign aid, development, and multilateral funding. Of prime importance to Urgewald is that the programs help those people living in the area. Thus, the group supports both community forestry, and many projects, which respect the human rights and land rights of indigenous peoples.

The name 'Urgewald' serves to emphasize the interest areas of the group. In one sense, it can be understood to be a combination of two terms: 'Urwald' (primeval/primary forests) and 'Urgewalt' (power of nature). In another, the term 'Urgewalt' denotes a strong, natural inner strength. Separated into its component parts, the name conveys the primary aims of the group: *ureinwohner und Graswurzelbewegungen unterstützen* (to support indigenous peoples and grass roots movements), *gegenmacht aufbauen statt Ohnmacht hinnehmen* (to build opposition instead of assuming helplessness), and *waldschutz in den Tropen und im Norden einfordern* (to seek protection of the tropical and boreal forests).¹⁷⁵

Urgewald is comprised of a board (Vorstand), management (Geschäftsführung), employees (MitarbeiterInnen), and members (Mitglieder). There are six paid staff, which fulfill half- or two-third positions. A unique aspect of this organization is that it has instituted a minimum of 50% female employees, and consensually agreed to maintaining at minimum 60% female executive members (although preferably 100% female). Urgewald's head office is located in Sassenberg, but the group functions to a large extent decentrally: staff members work in Sassenberg, Cologne, Bonn, and Marburg. Important strategy decisions are determined in biannual strategy meetings; members are also encouraged to provide input at the members meetings or at any time throughout the year. At present, Urgewald is supported by approximately 50 active members, whose interests are represented at the annual members meeting (Mitgliederversammlung).

For financial support, Urgewald relies primarily on donations by foundations. Due to its status as a charitable organization, people are able to make tax-free donations to Urgewald. At

¹⁷⁴The information for Urgewald is primarily derived from a personal interview with Jutta Kill, Urgewald Forests Specialist, Marburg, Germany, 11 July 1995.

¹⁷⁵Urgewald, *Selbstdarstellung* (Brochure).

present, the yearly budget rests between 250,000 DM and 300,000 DM (between CAN \$238,100 and \$285,700).

ARBEITSKREIS KANADISCHE URWÄLDER (AKKU).¹⁷⁶ AKKU was founded in the spring of 1993, on the initiative of Urgewald; the formation of the group is a direct result of the issue of Clayoquot Sound. The first main focus of the group revolves around changes in BC forest practices: it aims for an end to clearcuts as the main method of harvesting, and to ensure that sufficient areas are placed under environmental protection. A second focus which has recently evolved is the pressure for reduction in paper consumption, which in the long run would reduce demand, and potentially affect changes in forest practices. AKKU is basically an open information and action network of people and groups, who are committed to the preservation of the temperate rainforests in Canada.¹⁷⁷

This organization has neither an official structure, nor does it hold weekly meetings. In fact, it has no central location, as do most organizations. The structure of the group can be defined to be a 'network;' it functions through contact by mail, e-mail, and by holding weekend conferences interspersed throughout the year. At these conferences, common objectives, activities, and aims are discussed, and responsibilities delegated. AKKU fulfills a 'watchdog function;' it collects material and distributes it throughout Germany. Despite the fact that AKKU is not able to hire experts, the group nonetheless has attracted a number of educated individuals, who serve as volunteer specialists in this area.

All AKKU members are considered to be 'active' members. But, in reality, there is no official membership list or membership fees. There is, however, an address list, which includes approximately 40 to 50 members. The majority of members have been, or are often in British Columbia, and are thus motivated by personal interest to participate. Some members are also environmentally active in other groups such as Greenpeace, whereas others are only interested in this topic and therefore do not hold contact with other groups.

Due to its small membership and loose structure, the financial power of the group is limited. The primary source of financing for the group is through a producer of recycled paper. Although corporate sponsorship is a controversial topic within the group, it has chosen to work

¹⁷⁶The information for the Arbeitskreis Kanadische Urwälder is primarily derived from a personal interview with Holger Sandmann, Arbeitskreis Kanadische Urwälder, Marburg, Germany, 22 June 1995.
¹⁷⁷Arbeitskreis Kanadische Urwälder, *Kahlschlag für Deutschland...in Kanadas Regenwäldern* (Brochure, 1994): 6.

with this organization, as it supports a reduction in the use of paper, and represents a viable alternative to the larger paper manufacturers. To supplement this source, the members also collect donations at the conferences to cover copy and mailing costs.

Through this survey of the internal influencing factors, it is clear that the participant groups vary greatly in their structure and internal resources. WWF, BUND, and Greenpeace Germany are the groups which possess a high level of organization, in addition to large budgets, membership, and staff. They are, perhaps not surprisingly, the oldest of the eight groups examined and are all representatives of international environmental groups. In comparison, Robin Wood, Big Mountain, Pro Regenwald, Urgewald, and AKKU are national level organizations which possess relatively scant resources and lower levels of organization. Although differentiations can also be made between these groups, the differences observed are not nearly as striking as between these groups and the older ones. In consideration of the variety of groups involved in this issue, the question now arises as to how each group - or each type of group - reacted strategically.

STRATEGY

The strategy analysis offers a synopsis of the methods of advocacy utilized by the participant groups in the campaign aimed at BC forestry practices. It is divided into the sections as outlined in the theoretical analysis: lobbying, public pressure, public awareness, and mass media. For those readers interested in a brief summary of the activities undertaken by each group, a table is provided. It should be noted, however, that the use of a table within the listing of strategies lacks the detail necessary for a complete analysis of activities.

There are a number of general goals in this campaign which can be identified as important to all of the groups involved; these provide the backbone of the campaign. (An end to both large scale clearcuts and to the destruction of old-growth forests, an adequate plan for the protection of old-growth forests, and the settlement of land claims and the recognition of the rights of the indigenous peoples are amongst the primary goals advocated by the environmental groups involved in this issue.) These goals - or slight variations of these goals - are often pursued by the forests or boreal forests campaign department within each group. The following analysis outlines how the various groups became involved in the issue of BC forestry practices, and how they tried to achieve their stated goals.

WORLD WIDE FUND FOR NATURE (WWF).¹⁷⁸ WWF Germany is becoming increasingly involved with forestry in the boreal forests and the temperate rainforests of North America. Interest in this area was awakened six or seven years ago, when the WWF recognized the injustice in focussing its activities solely on the tropical rainforests, while ignoring the large-scale clearcuts in the north. This occurred despite the fact that they knew of the exploitation of the boreal forests (especially in Siberia and Canada), and were unsure of the possible implications that such practices could have on the climate. In conjunction with its forests program, WWF Germany promotes the integration of environmental protection with 'people.' Environmental protection and resource use must go hand in hand. In concrete terms, this translates into increased levels of community planning, the implementation of sustainable methods of resource management, and in end effect an eventual change in lifestyle.

The strategy defined by WWF Germany in reaching its aims in environmental protection is through a mix of lobbying and public awareness work. Through lobbying, WWF hopes to influence both decision-makers and the financial sphere (industry and business); supplementary to this, public awareness work is intended to both spread information concerning WWF's work, while also reaching those groups which may play a pivotal role in further influencing decision-making.

Lobbying - nationally, regionally, and internationally - is viewed to be an important means of influencing change; it is a declared aim of WWF to work closely with government and industry, in an attempt to devise solutions based on cooperation. WWF Germany maintains good contacts with representatives in various ministries in Bonn, including the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Development, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Agriculture. Through discussions, workshops and seminars, the group attempts to make its stance on various issues known. WWF also has an office in Brussels, where it attempts to influence actions on the European level.

WWF Germany neither seeks to exercise direct influence in Canada nor to directly lobby the Canadian government or Canadian business officials. But, WWF does take advantage of the opportunities for communication arranged by the Canadian Embassy, when Canadian delegations visit Germany. Both WWF Germany and Greenpeace Germany have often been invited to discuss the situation concerning BC forestry in various meetings with the Canada Delegations in Bonn,

¹⁷⁸The following information is derived from a personal interview with Günter Merz, WWF Consultant for Development Aid and Tropical Forests, Frankfurt, Germany, 27 July 1995.

Hamburg and Frankfurt. WWF believes that for real changes to come in Canada, there must be internal pressure. This domestic pressure is however often more successful when complemented by external pressure.

Public pressure has seldomly been utilized by WWF Germany. WWF initially participated in a general boycott of Canadian wood products, with the intent of publicizing the issue. But, WWF soon recognized that a boycott isn't 'the' solution. Instead of initiating contact on a confrontational basis, WWF prefers to develop cooperative alternatives and strategies which lead to the implementation of sustainable forestry. As the need to continue harvesting wood is respected, the focus is on developing means of altering the methods of harvesting within the productive forests, so as not to irreversibly destroy the biological diversity of the area. This means, once again, working together with those in politics and forestry, in order to develop cooperative solutions. WWF's intention is to place certain areas under protection, while simultaneously developing plans for sustainable use of the forests. In this area, WWF Germany supports the efforts of WWF Canada in developing strategies for achieving sustainable forestry.

Public awareness work, although secondary to lobbying, is also a component of WWF's programs. This is performed through displays, information stands, information distribution, and the publication of WWF literature. The WWF runs both the WWF-Infodienst (Infoservice), which is responsible for responding to inquiries, and the WWF-Infotelefon (Infotelephone), where information concerning WWF activities is available 24 hours a day.

Although WWF does not support a consumer boycott of BC wood products, it does focus its attention on consumer education. WWF envisions the implementation of a labelling system, whereby those products coming from ecologically sustainable forestry practices would be labelled as such. By educating consumers on the origins of each product, the consumer would be able to make an informed decision in his/her purchase, and thus contribute to market regulation of forestry practices.

A series of publications are regularly produced by WWF Germany, including the *WWF Journal*, *WWF Aktuell*, and *WWF Kontakt*. The *WWF Journal* is published quarterly, and is sent to all members and subscribers. The *WWF Aktuell*, also published quarterly, focusses on issues of current interest, whereas the *WWF Kontakt* is regularly sent to volunteers. In addition, WWF publishes studies pertaining to topics of interest; a relevant example is the publication of the study "Forests in Trouble", which includes a chapter on Canada. In 1994, WWF Germany also devised a

forests strategy, which outlines the causes for forest destruction, in addition to defining the aims and means of implementing an international forest protection program.

WWF Germany emphasizes that the best means of reaching the general public is through the *mass media*, whether it be through television, radio or the press. Thus, good lines of communication are maintained with representatives of the mass media. WWF is often approached by the media, in order to submit a statement on its viewpoint on a certain issue; likewise, WWF also has a 'Communications Department' which is responsible for setting up lines of contact between journalists and WWF specialists. Television is regarded to be one of the best means of reaching the largest number of people, providing coverage is aired at prime time. In this area as well, WWF is open to cooperation with other groups.

WWF works together with other environmental groups on all levels. Within Germany, WWF primarily works with Greenpeace Germany, although contacts are upheld with Robin Wood and others. G. Merz has also served as the coordinator of A.G. Wald, in the Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung. Internationally, WWF Germany is represented in a large number of organizations, through which it hopes to contribute to the development of international conventions. WWF Germany stresses that the future of environmental protection lies at the international level. The world is becoming increasingly complex and interdisciplinary; nature conservation is tied together with national and international conventions regulating activity in various facets of life. Therefore, environmental concerns must be integrated into changes in the global structure.

BUND FÜR UMWELT- UND NATURSCHUTZ DEUTSCHLAND (BUND).¹⁷⁹ General interest in the issue of BC forestry practices emerged in BUND several years ago. Although there was never a formal decision to treat the issue, BUND gradually became more knowledgeable on the subject. The trigger for further participation was Clayoquot Sound in 1993.

BUND is nationally very active in both policy consulting and in providing public information on pertinent environmental issues. The overall aim of the forests campaign is the preservation of the forests. Specific aims include an end to the practice of clearcut logging and to logging of old-growth stands, respect for the rights of native peoples, and the introduction of a system of identification for wood products. The group supports commercial use of the forests and

¹⁷⁹The information for the strategy analysis of BUND is primarily derived from a telephone interview with Helmut Klein, Waldpolitischer Sprecher, 23 January 1996.

even greater use of wood products, but stipulates that wood must be harvested in an environmentally sustainable manner.

Lobbying is carried out by BUND at all levels. Since the first visits of the Canada delegations to Germany, the group has remained in contact with the local BC representatives. Permanent representation is held in Bonn, where BUND maintains regular contact with ministers and is active in various federal environmental committees. BUND is non-partisan in its lobbying; contact is maintained with members of all political parties. Although the group is active in lobbying in the European Parliament for the tropical forests, little has been done at this level in relation to BC. BUND does, in addition, organize letter-writing or postcard campaigns.

Corporate lobbying has been done on a limited basis by this group. Individual regional groups - those of Baden-Württemberg, Nordrhein-Westfalen and Hessen - have been active, but this has not been coordinated centrally through BUND.

In principle, BUND supports a *boycott* of BC pulp and paper. But, the main focus of the boycott is on any wood products that are harvested in a means that is not considered to be sustainable. A boycott is supported on either the official state level or on the consumer level. *Demonstrations* have been staged in front of building supply centres by local groups, but have not been part of a defined campaign effort.

Public awareness work is performed with the intention of spreading the message that the forests are threatened. First, BUND would like to see a fairer price offered for wood products; whereas numerous other materials are subsidized, and therefore the true price of production is distorted, wood products lack federal subsidization. A fairer price would lead to better harvesting practices, as the forest companies would make a higher profit on less volume - thus the motto, "Holz statt Plastik" (wood, not plastic). Additionally, emphasis is placed on the development of a certification system for wood products, identifying those products harvested in an ecologically sustainable fashion. Together with Greenpeace, two unions and a paper producer, BUND is working to develop and institute the usage of such a system.

Much of the public awareness work performed by BUND on this issue revolves around the publication of relevant information. Publications by the BUND include a wide array of books, magazines, pamphlets, and information brochures. The magazine *Natur und Umwelt: BUND Magazin für Ökologie und Umweltpolitik* is published quarterly and is sent to all members and subscribers, as well as being available in many public libraries. A series of information booklets and pamphlets are available for specific topic areas, which are intended to supplement educational,

public, and lobbying work. Alerts are also sent to those individuals interested in involvement, which call for petition or postcard actions, in order to both spread information and to exert pressure at the appropriate points.

Further means of public awareness work include slide shows, information displays, and generally anything that the group can think of, which could attract attention to the issue. Numerous slide shows are held each year on the topic of forests, which concentrate at least in part on BC. BUND is also active in the education system; approximately 30 times a year, events are held for schools by the members of the working group on forests.

Viewed as a respected and responsible environmental group within Germany, the BUND is represented almost daily in the *mass media*. More than 30 press conferences are held annually, and more than 120 press releases are sent out.¹⁸⁰ In addition, BUND provides its own press coverage for events held by the group. The majority of this work is coordinated and carried out through the press office in Bonn.

BUND is very responsive to cooperation with other groups and organizations. It works in cooperation with a number of international environmental organizations - as a member of Friends of the Earth International, and together with Greenpeace - and maintains contact with numerous other smaller groups in Canada. It is from these groups that BUND receives its information concerning developments in BC forestry practices.

GREENPEACE GERMANY.¹⁸¹ At the end of 1992, Greenpeace came to the realization that by focussing on the protection of the tropical rainforests, while neglecting the destructive forestry practices used in Canada, the problem of global forest destruction couldn't be solved. Interest in BC forestry practices emerged from two related campaigns - the pulp and paper campaign and the tropical rainforests campaign - which both began in 1989. In January 1992, Greenpeace Germany decided to further its pulp and paper campaign - which focussed on chlorine bleaching - into the next major area of concern, the consumption of paper. Paper consumption was chosen, as it assumes the largest market share (40%) of wood products in Germany. This campaign became popular through the motto, 'Wieviel Wald kostet Ihre Zeitschrift?' (How much forest does your magazine cost?). Thus, the two campaigns were combined, in order to focus on a global forest

¹⁸⁰BUND, *BUND: Die Erde braucht Freunde* (Brochure).

¹⁸¹The following information is derived from a telephone interview with Thomas Kunz, Greenpeace Germany Forests Campaign, 9 August 1995.

protection strategy. With the blockades at Clayoquot Sound in the summer of 1993, BC became a main area of focus for Greenpeace.

The main focus for Greenpeace's forests campaign is global forestry. It isn't opposed to the economic use of forests, merely opposed to a destructive use of them. The main theme supported by Greenpeace Germany is, thus, that the wood products sold in Germany should be harvested in respect of ecologically responsible forestry practices. In respect of these aims, Greenpeace's strategy revolves primarily around direct action and public awareness. These areas are, however, augmented by a number of supplementary activities. In short, its strategy focus is on "combining global approaches with local activism," in order to challenge the forces of forest destruction.¹⁸²

Greenpeace uses *lobbying* as a means of exercising influence over the political decisions of governments, international bodies and conferences; lobbying has, however, not been used to a great extent within the forests campaign aimed at Canada. Greenpeace has met with the Canadian delegations, which have visited Germany. These connections are always initiated by the Canadian Embassy, but Greenpeace is usually willing to participate when approached. Direct contact to Canadian politicians and decision-makers is left to the Greenpeace Canada representatives. Letter-writing, in the forms of either letter, postcard, or fax, is, however, used to alert Canadian officials to the sensitivity of Germans to this topic.

Although direct lobbying of Canadian officials is not generally undertaken, Greenpeace International does lobby governments for stricter regulations concerning the international timber trade. In addition to lobbying for "legally binding controls and international agreements to stop the import, consumption and production of ecologically unsound timber," Greenpeace International supports the development of an "independent, internationally agreed set of principles for forest management."¹⁸³

Corporate lobbying has played a major role in Greenpeace's activities in coordination with Canada. Following a strategy decision in the summer of 1993, Greenpeace made clear to German publishing companies, that they - as large consumers of wood products - are jointly responsible for the destruction of the environment through clearcuts in Canada. As a result, four large publishers¹⁸⁴ signed a joint letter of intent on December 17, 1993, stating that they "condemn all forms of destructive logging practices," and that they will urge paper suppliers to use pulp which is

¹⁸²Greenpeace International, *the fight for the forests* (Amsterdam: 1994).

¹⁸³Ibid.

¹⁸⁴The four publishing companies are: Gruner & Jahr, Mohndruck, Otto Versand and Axel Springer Verlag.

not derived from destructive logging sources such as clearcutting "as a matter of preference as soon as quality and price allow."¹⁸⁵ The magazine *Der Spiegel*¹⁸⁶ also agreed to discontinue purchasing pulp from MacMillan Bloedel, the company responsible for the destruction of the old-growth forests in Clayoquot Sound. At the moment, these corporations are in the process of setting-up a 'Catalogue of Criteria' (Kriterienkatalog), which outlines the ecological standards which these companies demand in the acquisition of printing paper.

Corporations, in addition to governments, are also one of the many targets of *demonstrations* held by Greenpeace Germany. Greenpeace, along with a number of other groups, took part in the demonstration in front of the Canadian Embassy in Bonn on Canada Day 1993 (as part of an internationally coordinated effort). Efforts have also been made to highlight the visits of BC or Canadian officials, such as the greeting of Premier Harcourt at the end of January 1994 with the saying "Gesucht wird Mister Kahlschlag, der Waldkiller Nr. 1" (Looking for Mr. Clearcut, the forest killer Nr. 1). In October and November 1993, Greenpeace extended its demonstrations to include publishing companies such as the Springer, Gruner & Jahr, Bauer, and Burda publishers - using the motto of the forest campaign, "Wieviel Wald kostet Ihre Zeitschrift?" These demonstrations were held in the hopes of influencing the publishers choice of suppliers.

Although no *blockades* have been held in Germany, a number of people from the Greenpeace Germany office participated at the blockade of the Kennedy Lake Bridge at Clayoquot Sound. Thilo Bode, then the Executive Director of Greenpeace Germany, was one of the participants who was arrested for his involvement. In connection with his arrest, Greenpeace Germany held a demonstration on November 11, 1993 in Bonn.

This type of protest - demonstrations, vigils, and blockades - is a means of non-violent direct action. Greenpeace International has turned the Quaker idea of 'bearing witness' - "a sort of passive resistance that involves going to the scene of an objectionable activity and registering opposition to it simply by one's presence there"¹⁸⁷ - into an extremely useful tool in environmental protest. The image of daring protesters in rubber rafts perks the attention of the public, primarily as a human interest story. So-called 'eco dramas' - "symbolic, dramatized events designed to galvanized public opinion against their targets"¹⁸⁸ - are also used to convey a convincing message to the public.

¹⁸⁵Stanbury et al., 78.

¹⁸⁶*Der Spiegel* is a widely read German news magazine.

¹⁸⁷Michael Brown and John May, *The Greenpeace Story* (London: Dorling Kindersley Ltd., 1989), 8.

¹⁸⁸"Frontline Fighters," 47.

Greenpeace has never called for a *boycott* of Canadian forest products. Instead, it has called for protest against any type of forestry, which is destructive to the environment. "The campaign is linked to campaigns in Europe and the United States, demanding that companies and consumers do not use timber or paper that comes from clearcut logging operations."¹⁸⁹ Considering that approximately 20% of German pulp and paper comes from Canada, Greenpeace concentrates on educating consumers, in order to influence market shares. Through consumer education and pressure on corporations (both publishing houses and building supply centres), Greenpeace aims to limit both the supply and demand for any lumber which was not harvested in an ecologically responsible fashion.

One of the primary goals of Greenpeace is to raise *public awareness* of pressing environmental issues. In doing so, Greenpeace attempts to increase the general understanding of the ecological system and to develop a personal responsibility for nature. The aim is to show what each person can do to contribute to the preservation of the planet. Greenpeace envisions its job being to make people aware of the issues, and to offer possible alternatives.

In order to reach the public, Greenpeace has held slide shows and lectures, constructed information stands and displays, and circulated information on BC forestry. Education about the environmental cost of forest destruction and the impacts of both industrial and individual consumers on the rate of destruction has played a central role in the forest campaign. Greenpeace widens its coverage by also making information available to the public through the mass media, an information telephone service and through Internet. Press releases, commentaries, the history of the Greenpeace organization and numerous articles outlining Greenpeace's present areas of interest are available to the Internet browser. Not only is this a convenient and inexpensive means of reaching a large audience, but it also allows the group to convey the most up-to-date information to both members and supporters.

Greenpeace Germany publishes a wide variety of magazines, brochures, books, and other forms of information materials. The magazine, available by subscription, at newsstands, or at many libraries, is published quarterly. A variety of information booklets, pamphlets and information sheets have been composed, which deal with the topic of forest generally or with Canada's forests in particular.¹⁹⁰ In its publications, Greenpeace draws parallels to German

¹⁸⁹Greenpeace International.

¹⁹⁰A relevant example is the pamphlet, *Kahlschlag in British Columbia: Kanadas Urwälder sterben* (Clearcut in British Columbia: Canadas Old-growth Forests Die), 1994.

society, in order to increase awareness. This is achieved by either making a direct connection to German paper consumption (and thereby identifying the Germans as participants in this issue), or by comparing the destruction of the 'green cathedrals' in BC to the destruction of European cathedrals (and thereby paralleling the spiritual and majestic nature of each creation).¹⁹¹

Unlike in earlier days of Greenpeace when the group only tended to highlight environmental problems, the group now directs more of its attention to proposing viable alternatives to these problems. (In relation to the forests campaign, this has meant working to eliminate the use of chlorine bleach in paper production, establishing guidelines for ecological forestry, and developing the use of a labelling system for wood products.) After *Der Spiegel* declared it to be impossible to achieve the same quality of magazine paper without the use of chlorine bleach, Greenpeace published a magazine in the design of *Der Spiegel* entitled *Das Plagiat* (The Plagiarist) on chlorine-free paper, which resembled the paper used by *Der Spiegel*. Having seen that it was possible, *Der Spiegel* began printing on chlorine-free paper on November 9, 1992. In addition, Greenpeace is also working towards the publication of a set of guidelines for ecological forestry. Together with Greenpeace, foresters in various locations in Germany are putting the proposed guidelines into general practice.

All of Greenpeace's activities are further highlighted by creative use of the *mass media*. The media provide a successful means of both registering disapproval of a certain action, and attracting public interest and new members. Greenpeace only needs "to choose an imaginative course of action, to provide the public with an exciting and moving spectacle - and to ensure that the news media [are] there to report it."¹⁹² Through the use of mass media in covering Greenpeace events, more people are able to 'witness' the activity, and through their contributions to Greenpeace, are also able to register their disagreement with the present handling of the issue.

The Greenpeace public relations office maintains contact to journalists and ensures that press releases are sent out regularly. As Greenpeace works closely with certain video crews and photographers, the group ensures coverage of all events, and is able to determine the framing of each event. The success of Greenpeace's use of the mass media is also presumed to lie in its approach to a news item: simplicity, clarity, and the portrayal of a distinct 'enemy.' Through past performance, Greenpeace has managed to build up respect and credibility within German media.

¹⁹¹ Sebastian Knauer. "Kahlschlag für den Kiosk? Der Streit zwischen Greenpeace und Kanada über Waldnutzung," *Der Spiegel Dokument* (January 1994).

¹⁹² The Sunday Times Insight Team, *Rainbow Warrior: The French Attempt to Sink Greenpeace* (Toronto: Key Porter Books Ltd., 1986), 116.

Critics contend, however, that Greenpeace is more interested in making 'news' and therefore gaining financial support, than accurately portraying environmental issues.

As measured by the frequency of its appearance in the media, Greenpeace is quite influential. In the space of two months (May and June 1991), 900 articles were published which were either partially or wholly written or researched by Greenpeace, or in which Greenpeace was discussed.¹⁹³ In four out of five cases, Greenpeace was the initiator of the article.¹⁹⁴ Most of the articles also reached publication with little or no revision by journalists.¹⁹⁵ Through both its press releases and the typical direct action initiatives undertaken, Greenpeace is able to control when and how environmental problems are to be made public. It is largely able to determine which problems are treated in the media, and how they are examined; it is thus able to influence public discussion of these issues.

As issue areas are primarily chosen by Greenpeace International, all of the national Greenpeace offices work closely with the international office in Amsterdam. An international coordinator is assigned to each topic area, to coordinate the activities of those national offices involved in the particular issue; the basic strategies to be employed are determined at an annual meeting. The German branch is also open to cooperation with groups outside of Greenpeace, assuming that the work fulfills Greenpeace Germany's expectations. As a member of A.G. Wald in Germany, Greenpeace maintains contact to, and works together with, a number of national and international groups, which are interested in forests.

In consideration of its structure, resources, and strategies, Greenpeace resembles a multinational organization; critics do contend that it is becoming ever more similar to its opposition. Increased bureaucracy has served to alienate the local member from the decision-making bodies; a small number of elites determine the direction of the entire organization. Not only do the workings of Greenpeace remain controversial, but the group is also plagued by reports of internal dissatisfaction. Cynicism, resignation and alienation are said to plague the Hamburg office.¹⁹⁶ No matter whether it is, indeed, a money-machine¹⁹⁷ or a group dedicated to saving the

¹⁹³ As examined by Torsten Rossmann, in the article "Öffentlichkeitsarbeit und ihr Einfluß auf die Medien: Das Beispiel Greenpeace" in *Media Perspektiven* 1 (1993): 85-94.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁹⁶ "McDonald's der Umweltszene," *Der Spiegel* 38 (September 16, 1991): 97.

¹⁹⁷ As cited on the front page of *Der Spiegel* (Geldmaschine Greenpeace - Money-machine Greenpeace); this was as introduction to the article "McDonald's der Umweltszene."

environment, this group has undoubtedly contributed to increased world-wide concern for environmental matters.

ROBIN WOOD.¹⁹⁸ Robin Wood first developed interest in the area of boreal forests in 1989, due to contacts with and a visit from a Finnish environmental group, which was active in the area. It was able to further its knowledge concerning boreal forests by working on a research contract supported by the European Commission (financed 50% by the EC), in order to develop a 'Documentation Office for Boreal Forests.' Robin Wood aimed to reveal the areas in which wood from boreal forests is used in Germany, and how consumers could effectively contribute to the preservation of these forest areas. Amongst its goals in this topic area, Robin Wood has focussed on the preparation of ecologically-sustainable forestry guidelines, a ban on large clearcuts, and a stop to the exploitation of the coastal rainforests in the northwest of North America.¹⁹⁹

Unlike most other groups, Robin Wood has limited its actions to public awareness. Robin Wood has defined its strategy to be to heighten awareness for present environmental problems; as a result, its focus revolves primarily - although not exclusively - around public awareness work.

Robin Wood has never used *lobbying* as a tool in the furtherance of its interests; it has neither people in Bonn nor in Brussels responsible for such action. When the Canadian or British Columbian Government, or the forest industry sponsors meetings, press conferences, or public information seminars, Robin Wood attends them but it has had no private contact with these officials. Although the group doesn't rule out lobbying as a possible tactic in the future, up until now it has neither been a priority, nor has Robin Wood had adequate financial or personnel resources to engage in such activity; contact to those in politics and economics can be better left to the larger organizations, whose personnel resources far exceed that of Robin Wood.

Under *public pressure*, the only means of action which is utilized by Robin Wood is demonstrations. Robin Wood values such protest actions, as people are simultaneously made aware of the problems and of the existence and goals of the group. To date, there have only been two demonstrations to note: at the International Tourism Fair in Berlin on March 10, 1992, and as part of an internationally-coordinated demonstration in front of the Canadian Embassy in Bonn, on July 1, 1993. The demonstration at the ITB received little media attention in Germany, but visiting

¹⁹⁸The following information is derived from a personal interview with Rudolf Fenner, Robin Wood Forest Specialist, Hamburg, Germany, 24 May 1995.

¹⁹⁹Robin Wood, *Robin Wood aktuell: Boreale Walder* 5 (December 1992): 4.

Canadian television crews covered it and aired it across Canada. These demonstrations aimed at appealing to the Canadian government to prevent the further destruction of the BC temperate rainforests; a further intention was to demonstrate that many visitors to Canada no longer view the country as a natural paradise, but rather as a victim of ruthless exploitation.²⁰⁰

Robin Wood has never supported a *boycott* of Canadian wood or pulp and paper products. As a large proportion of German wood products comes from the boreal forests (especially Scandinavia and Canada), a general boycott would be near to impossible. As well, hope exists for changes without having to institute a boycott. Unlike in the area of the tropical rainforest, the countries involved in the boreal forests are relatively affluent, industrial countries. Thus, they have international political power and accordingly, an international responsibility to stop the exploitation and destruction within their own borders.²⁰¹

A large proportion of Robin Wood's work lays in the area of *public awareness*. This is in an attempt to awaken feelings of responsibility, so that people do not merely ignore threatening environmental problems, but instead, attempt to contribute to solving these problems.²⁰² Consumers should be aware of where their paper or the wood for their paper comes from, and be aware of the type of destruction to which the consumers are contributing in buying this paper. Robin Wood recognizes that despite minor changes which have recently taken place in German environmental consciousness, few major changes have occurred - German tourism and the German lifestyle still contribute to environmental destruction in the whole world.²⁰³ Robin Wood envisions the only possible path to further change being 'reduction' which translates into a significant change in lifestyle.

Robin Wood presents slide shows, lectures, videos and exhibits, although these are not offered with regularity. The group is open to either organizing or aiding in the organization of a certain activity, but it has not institutionalized any type of lecture or slide show series.²⁰⁴ Robin Wood also runs a library, which is equipped with a diverse array of information and materials pertaining to the foci of the group. It is primarily run for other organizations, for journalists, and for public and school usage.

²⁰⁰Robin Wood, *Robin Wood aktuell: Die Walder dieser Erde* 4 (December 1993): 4.

²⁰¹Rudolf Fenner, "Borealer Wald: Mord am Nordwald," *Robin Wood Magazin* 35 (April 92): 29.

²⁰²Robin Wood, *Robin Wood stellt sich vor*, 3.

²⁰³Barbara Kamrad, "Wider die neue Weinerlichkeit," *Robin Wood Magazin* 35 (April 92): 19.

²⁰⁴Robin Wood organizes activities for many guest lecturers; an example of this was the evening lecture held by Peter McAllister in the spring of 1995.

In addition to providing library materials, Robin Wood also publishes information in various forms. This includes the *Robin Wood Magazin*, the *Robin Wood Aktuell*, information pamphlets, and books. The *Robin Wood Magazin* is published quarterly, and deals with topics of contemporary interest. It is sent to all members and subscribers, as well as to journalists. The *Robin Wood Aktuell* is a short information pamphlet which is published quarterly, and is sent to potential members or donors, free of charge. In addition, Robin Wood publishes a variety of books and information brochures, which deal with its specific areas of specialization.

Robin Wood emphasizes the importance of *mass media* coverage, especially in the case of protest actions and demonstrations. In the planning stages of any protest action, background information for the press is collected and summarized; this ensures that a factual discussion of the problem accompanies any report. Robin Wood does not videotape or write press releases in coordination with its own actions; the press is invited to attend the action and report on it how it chooses. The organization will, nonetheless, compose a statement for the press when a particular issue is being discussed by politicians or others.

Robin Wood is very receptive to cooperation with other environmental groups. It is a member of the Deutscher Naturschutzring, and works in coordination with other German environmental groups in the A.G. Wald. On the international level, Robin Wood works primarily with the Taiga Rescue Network, although it does maintain contact to Canadian groups, both to those in Clayoquot Sound and to the Lubicon Indians. It is through connections to other environmental groups and through e-mail that Robin Wood is able to accumulate the amount of material and information, which it needs. Email - and accompanying advances in computer technology - has enabled smaller groups such as Robin Wood to obtain up-to-date information at a low cost. This has provided the means with which these groups can become involved in issues at the international level.

BIG MOUNTAIN AKTIONSGRUPPE.²⁰⁵ As Big Mountain's primary focus is on native peoples, this group has a different focus and different means of action than many other groups involved in this issue.

Big Mountains' choice of issue area and strategic means of action differs according to the issue at hand. This group becomes active only in those issues where the group has been asked to

²⁰⁵The following information is derived from a personal interview with Dionys Zink, Big Mountain Aktionsgruppe, Munich, Germany, 3 August 1995.

by the peoples living in the affected area. The group stresses that it can offer both know-how and international aid; Big Mountain is knowledgeable in many fields, such as forestry or uranium mining and can thus offer specialized information in its areas of interest. In addition, many issues that affect the native peoples are results of decisions made at higher levels. Big Mountain can, in this case, then provide representation for the interests of the native peoples at either national or international levels. In the case of Clayoquot Sound, support for the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations could be demonstrated by German consumers by making informed purchases in their choice of paper products.

Lobbying is carried out by Big Mountain at a variety of government levels - from the Bavarian Parliament (Bayerischer Landtag) to the national and international levels - , as well as with influential associations or business interests within the political sphere. The group also takes advantage of its connections to individuals in international organizations, such as the United Nations.

Big Mountain is open to all forms of *public pressure*, but emphasizes that these methods are used selectively. The group would boycott Canadian wood products, if Canadian products hadn't already lost a significant portion of their previous market share in Germany to Sweden. Blockades and demonstrations in North America have also been supported and attended by members of Big Mountain.

Public awareness work is performed within the limited means of a small organization. The means with which the group achieves coverage is primarily through information stands, the distribution of information materials, lectures, slide shows, workshops and seminars. Big Mountain works in cooperation with the education system, and holds lectures in schools, universities, and adult education centres. In addition, this group invites guest lecturers - from Canada and from the U.S.A. - to Germany to participate in lectures or slide shows.

Big Mountain has access to both the German and Canadian *mass media*, although this access is both limited and sporadic. The group has connections to all the major Munich newspapers, as well as access to various other newspapers, radio and television stations. Through extensive contact to Canadian groups, Big Mountain has achieved access to the Canadian press in areas where they are or where they have been active.

Close contact to the North American native peoples - to those which seek the group's support - is of prime importance to Big Mountain. This group is also open to coalitions with other

groups both nationally and internationally, as it believes that these connections are becoming ever more important to achieving success.

PRO REGENWALD.²⁰⁶ In its choice of strategies, Pro Regenwald has declined to determine a prominent focus; the organization is, in principle, open to all forms of action. A large portion of Pro Regenwald's activities, however, lies in the area of public awareness.

Lobbying is carried-out at all levels of government, but most often at the communal or local level. Sporadically, lobbying is also performed by Pro Regenwald at the national and international levels; where contacts are offered, the group takes advantage of them. Otherwise, the group belongs to networks through which their interests are represented. Direct lobbying with Canada is, however, seldomly pursued. Pro Regenwald does, on occasion, attend meetings with the Canada Delegations which visit Germany, and through this has had the chance to meet and discuss the issue of BC forestry practices with Forests Minister Andrew Petter in Munich. In addition, letter-writing actions are supported.

Public pressure is understood to be a useful method of exercising protest by Pro Regenwald, but the group rarely acts on its own. In principle, the group would support a boycott which was led by others, but for the group to singularly declare a boycott has little use. The group would prefer to see a boycott aimed at a particular company, so that it would have greater chances of being successful. Pro Regenwald is, moreover, open to cooperation with other environmental groups in organizing demonstrations.

A large proportion of Pro Regenwald's work revolves around *public awareness* work. In this way, Pro Regenwald attempts to both make people aware of the problematic inherent in its interest areas, while also promoting a means of active participation. Within Germany, this group aims to reform consumer habits, so that the German lifestyle becomes socially and environmentally sustainable. The group aims to educate the public concerning the environmental destruction, while simultaneously pursuing to support research in this area and an increasing tolerance and understanding for indigenous peoples.²⁰⁷ In end effect, these actions are also aimed at a lifestyle change; they are meant to spur people on to change personal habits, and thus, for example, strive to increase recycling and reduce paper consumption.

²⁰⁶The following information is derived from a personal interview with Bettina Heilmann, Pro Regenwald Forests Expert, Munich, Germany, 3 August 1995.

²⁰⁷Pro Regenwald, *Satzung*.

Pro Regenwald has an extensive public awareness program, which encompasses lectures, seminars, displays, tours, and information distribution. The monthly lecture series sponsored by Pro Regenwald offers a variety of discussion topics,²⁰⁸ which are led by a variety of local and guest speakers. The lecture series is complemented by a series of displays/touring exhibitions corresponding to its topics of interest, which are lent to interested groups. With these displays, the group attempts to make background information available to a wider group of individuals, while also demonstrating the connections between the topics which Pro Regenwald addresses. In addition, workshops, seminars and various publications are offered. Pro Regenwald has a small library, from which books, videos or slide presentations can be borrowed.

Pro Regenwald has produced a number of publications, which are available to the general public. A newsletter is regularly produced, which is sent to all members, as well as being available to the general public at newsstands. This reports on the latest activities or interest areas treated by Pro Regenwald. A number of other sources of information - including both books and pamphlets - have been published. Of particular interest is the publication, *Regenwald aktiv* (Rainforest active), which outlines a variety of topic areas and offers strategy suggestions on how individuals can personally become active in this area.

Public awareness work is furthered by Pro Regenwald by engaging the *mass media*. This work centres primarily around the composition and distribution of press releases to various German newspapers. When such an action is undertaken, several copies are distributed, usually to the more progressive newspapers where articles concerning the environment often emerge. Due to limited finances, however, the group cannot do this on a regular basis.

Pro Regenwald works together with a variety of German and international environmental groups. Within Germany, the group is active in both the A.G. Wald and the A.G. Klima in the Forum Umwelt & Entwicklung. It also works closely with a number of German environmental groups. On the international level, Pro Regenwald is involved in the Forest Movement Europe, the Rainforest Action Network, the World Rainforest Movement, and the Taiga Rescue Network. Pro Regenwald coordinates its actions with, and is open to suggestions from both Canadian environmental groups and native peoples. With the spread of computer technology, Pro Regenwald

²⁰⁸These discussions include such topics as 'Die Taiga Terminators - Multinationale Konzerne zerstören die borealen Wälder' (The Taiga Terminators - Multinational Companies destroy the boreal forests) and 'Urwälder in Kanada - immer mehr unter Druck' (Old-growth forests in Canada - increasingly under pressure).

emphasizes the relative simplicity for the environmental groups to keep abreast of any changes in Canada.

URGEWALD.²⁰⁹ In 1992, Urgewald began with an emphasis on international development. After having received inquiries from BC non-governmental organizations concerning involvement in the topic of BC forestry practices, the group began to study the issue. At this time, most of the work was carried out by AKKU, a branch group of Urgewald. Following numerous visits to Canada and the accumulation of information and knowledge on the issues involved, Urgewald has recently begun to treat the topic as one of its main areas of interest.

In an analysis of the tactical choices of Urgewald, the main foci of the group can be summarized under political initiatives and public awareness work. Both of these facets of influence are important, as they function interdependently: lobbying is important to influence politicians, whereas public awareness work is important in informing the general public.

Lobbying, in both the German and European arenas, assumes an important position in Urgewald's list of priorities. Brussels is seen to be an important point at which to lobby, as there are numerous connections. Not only is the Canada Delegation of the European Parliament located in Brussels, but public relations money flows from both Canadian industry and government into Brussels. As a result of this pressure, Urgewald finds it important to provide representation for the 'other side.' At present, less lobbying is carried out in Bonn in connection to Canada, although there are plans to further develop this branch.

Urgewald is non-partisan; it strives to work with all political parties, as it recognizes that there are many individual supporters in various parties, who are sympathetic to environmental concerns. In general, two methods of lobbying are used: lobby-rounds, and personal discussions. When a particular issue is prominent, then a general lobbying-round is undertaken, in which all those involved are contacted. It is estimated that such actions occur six to seven times a year. Urgewald attempts to make clear that information received from Canadian delegates may be one-sided, and to ensure that MP's also have a chance to meet with environmental representatives and First Nations peoples. At other times, contacts are upheld on a more personal, direct basis with a more limited number of representatives. The aim inherent in lobbying is, according to Urgewald, to make politicians more aware of the consequences of their actions (i.e. in the area of trade

²⁰⁹The following information is derived from a personal interview with Jutta Kill, Urgewald Forests Specialist, Marburg, Germany, 11 July 1995.

agreements), both on the environment and on the peoples living in the affected areas. In end effect, the group hopes to make politicians more responsible.

Under *public pressure*, Urgewald engages primarily in boycotts or public demonstrations. Urgewald has in the past supported a boycott of BC forest products, and will do so again should the need arise. As such a large percentage of wood products originate in British Columbia, the group stresses the difficulties in instituting a full boycott of all BC products. But, since Urgewald depends, to a large extent, on BC environmental groups for both information and advice, it is still possible that a boycott of BC products be called. Urgewald has also cooperatively held or participated in a variety of demonstrations in Bonn or Brussels. Noteworthy examples include the July 1st, 1993 demonstration in front of the Canadian Embassy, or the greeting of Mike Harcourt on March 9, 1994.

Further initiatives by Urgewald fall into the area of *public awareness*, encompassing lectures, seminars, displays and the publication of information. Representatives of non-governmental organizations or experts in particular areas of interest are invited by Urgewald to hold guest lectures throughout Germany. Urgewald also offers weekend seminars or will provide guest lecturers for seminars offered by other organizations, often in coordination with Naturschutzzentren (Nature Conservation Centres). In addition, Urgewald worked together with a local Greenpeace group in Düsseldorf in developing a portable display on 'Forestry in Canada' (with a particular focus on BC), which can be borrowed by interested groups or organizations. Within Germany, the primary aim is to influence consumers, so that they will be aware of the products they purchase.

Urgewald intends to further its public awareness work by instituting a program for school groups. The aim of the school program is to demonstrate to the pupils, the negative influence that Germans have on other forests of the world - on forests that the children don't see every day. In a second step, the focus will then turn to the German forests, in an attempt to question *why* wood products from other countries are needed; in short, what is the state of the German forests? Urgewald also intends to compile a set of visual media available for public use.

Urgewald publications include both books and information pamphlets. The main publications from Urgewald include *Regenwaldmemorandum* (Rainforest Memorandum), *Indigene Völker und Wald* (Indigenous Peoples and the Forest), and *Das Regenwaldbuch* (The Rainforest Book). To date, a series of information pamphlets have been produced on the topic of the World Bank. In the coming year, Urgewald will be concentrating on producing a series of pamphlets

concerning forests; the group foresees printing three or four basic forest information pamphlets, which will then be followed by a number of case study pamphlets (i.e. on Canada, Clayoquot Sound, or the Lubicons). These pamphlets are commonly sent to members of parliament, journalists, non-governmental organizations, and interested individuals.

The importance of information distribution through the *mass media* is also a recognized part of any successful campaign. Urgewald regularly writes two to three press releases each month. Since Heffa Schüking, executive director of Urgewald, received the 1994 Goldman Environmental Award, journalists have also approached Urgewald for interviews or reports.

Urgewald maintains contacts with a variety of other environmental organizations, both domestically and internationally. On the domestic level, Urgewald is active in the A.G. Wald; contacts to other environmental groups are upheld through individual members. Internationally, Urgewald is also active in the Taiga Rescue Network, Forest Movement Europe and the World Rainforest Movement. Contact to a number of Canadian environmental groups, primarily Friends of Clayoquot Sound, the Valhalla Society, the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, Greenpeace Canada and BC Wild, are also maintained; these groups supply Urgewald with the necessary up-to-date information.

ARBEITSKREIS KANADISCHE URWÄLDER.²¹⁰ As Urgewald's primary focus was on international development, and as the group lacked sufficient staff in order to expand its topic areas, AKKU was formed to deal with the issue of BC forestry practices. The primary strategy choice of AKKU is through public awareness work.

AKKU does not engage in direct *lobbying* with the Canadian or British Columbia governments. Members of the group have, however, attended press conferences held by Canadian delegations (sponsored by government and industry) in Germany. Contact is also maintained to the Canadian Embassy and to Premier Harcourt, but not in any official capacity. Information published by the group is sent to the Embassy, or postcard, fax or letter-writing actions are undertaken, either independently or in cooperation with Canadian groups.

As for *public pressure*, such as blockades and boycotts, AKKU has not supported either of these methods of advocacy as a united group. Various members attended the blockades at Clayoquot Sound in the summer of 1993, but this was not organized through the group. AKKU

²¹⁰The following information is derived from a personal interview with Holger Sandmann, Arbeitskreis Kanadische Urwälder, Marburg, Germany, 22 June 1995.

has, however, participated in a number of demonstrations which have often been part of a coordinated action with other national and international groups.

A proclaimed aim of AKKU is to exert pressure through *public awareness* work, in order to affect changes in forest practices in Canada. In Germany, the aim is to appeal to consumers to be aware of their actions, and to be aware of where consumer products originate. Through recognition that consumption threatens old-growth forests worldwide, this group informs German consumers of the consequences of their actions and outlines potential alternatives. The attempt to influence the actions of civil society is achieved through the distribution of relevant information.

A large portion of public awareness work revolves around slide shows, lectures, and displays. Slide shows have been offered by individuals or smaller groups within AKKU, in various cities in Germany; these are offered either as a public event by AKKU or they are held upon invitation. AKKU has also begun to develop a library of slides and videos which can be borrowed by interested groups.

To date, AKKU has produced two main publications. These are information pamphlets, which outline and discuss the state of BC forest practices. The first publication, *Kahlschlag für Deutschland...in Kanadas Regenwäldern* (Clearcutting for Germany...in Canada's Rainforests), is a pamphlet which provides an overview of the situation in Canada, a discussion of paper consumption in Germany, and suggestions for alternative actions. The second publication, *Kampf um Kanadas letzte Regenwälder* (The Fight for Canada's Remaining Rainforests) by Rainer Paffenholz, which was originally published in *Ökozidjournal*, primarily discusses the issue of Clayoquot Sound. Unlike most environmental groups, AKKU has neither a group magazine, nor a monthly newsletter. Newsletters are sent to members following a conference, outlining decisions made and contacts available.

AKKU members provide the *media* with press releases pertaining to important developments in Canada; this work was especially undertaken during the Canadian counter-campaign in Germany. Information is normally sent to those newspapers that have previously published reports from AKKU, whether they be regional or local newspapers. Although AKKU recognizes that groups get the best coverage through spectacular events which are covered by television crews, this is not the direction in which the group would like to go. Instead of presenting startling pictures complemented by generalized statements condemning BC forest practices, this group attempts to provide background information and more detailed information concerning the

developments of the situation at hand. This means getting away from the type of popularity campaign, which is characterized by groups such as Greenpeace.

Connections to other environmental groups in both Germany and abroad are upheld by individual members of AKKU.

As demonstrated in this analysis, a wide range of methods have been employed by the groups involved in this issue in their attempts at influencing change. While some groups have limited themselves to utilizing only a small number of methods, others have opened themselves up to the widest possible array of means available. In some cases this may be due to the internal resources available, in others to the primary interests of the members. In the 'Discussion' in chapter four, I offer a summary of the main tactics and channels used in this case study and the relevance of the proposed model of group strategy. This will not only offer an overview of this campaign, but it will also highlight possible trends in future campaigns and will review the usefulness of each theoretical perspective employed in this analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT IT ALL MEANS

Interest in the boreal forests and the temperate rainforests of North America emerged in the late 1980's, as a number of environmental groups recognized the injustice of focussing their attention on the tropical rainforests when those forests closer to home (Scandinavia, Siberia, and Canada) were also suffering under destructive harvesting practices. With WWF, Greenpeace, Pro Regenwald, and Urgewald, the roots of the campaign can be at least partially traced back to interest in the tropical forests. Other campaign areas, such as Greenpeace's focus on the elimination of chlorine bleaching and on a reduction in paper consumption, and Robin Wood's focus on Waldsterben also contributed to the interest in BC forestry practices. Due to the similarity of discussions in the various boreal and temperate forest areas, research performed in one area was applicable to situations and problem analyses in other countries. As a result, experience in Scandinavia could be transferred to the Canadian context.

It was in the early 1990's when an increased level of awareness concerning BC forestry appeared. Through 1991 and 1992, many environmental groups started to critically examine BC forestry practices. Due to the on-site protests and the large number of arrests in the summer of 1993 at Clayoquot Sound, the issue reached a peak in public interest in Germany. This level of interest continued into 1994, but it is clear that with recent changes in BC policy, the emphasis on this campaign has been tapering off. This, of course, does not preclude further activity in this area. Having researched the roots of the problems and having established contact with local BC groups, it is easy for the participant groups to continue action in this area, should the need arise. The main aims of the campaign have been similar for most of the groups involved. They focus primarily on a reduction in the size of clearcuts or an end to clearcut harvesting, protection for old-growth forests and for biodiversity, the implementation of ecoforestry guidelines, and the recognition of land rights for the First Nations peoples.

From the case studies in the preceding chapter, a number of general conclusions pertaining to the inquiries outlined in the theoretical framework can be reached. These include a summary of

the tactics employed by the participant groups; an analysis of the channels utilized by the environmental groups in the course of their actions in relation to BC forestry; general observations concerning the model of group strategy; and comments pertaining to the usefulness of the two main theoretical perspectives examined - interest group theory and social movement theory. These conclusions highlight trends which may be generally applicable to the behavior of public interest groups.

The various means of advocacy used and the frequency of their use is examined under the first section, 'The Tactics Employed.' In the following section, 'The Channels Chosen,' the frequency of direct and indirect methods of action are examined, in addition to the primary strategies used by the majority of groups involved. It is presumed that a number of points examined here are applicable to other indirect pressure campaigns. Having completed this analysis, the discussion then turns to the model of group strategy introduced in Chapter Two. In the final section of this chapter, a review of the two main theoretical perspectives utilized in Chapter Two is presented, and insight into the applicability of these perspectives when dealing with public interest groups is offered.

THE TACTICS EMPLOYED

As demonstrated in the case study, it is clear that a wide array of tactics have been employed by environmental groups in the campaign aimed at BC forestry practices. Although the primary methods of advocacy chosen by the various groups differ significantly, most groups have combined numerous tactics in order to reach their goals. The following analysis aims to identify the primary tactics used in this campaign. This summary follows the schema as outlined in the theoretical framework and utilized in the case study, where the tactics are analyzed under the main groupings of lobbying, public pressure, public awareness, and mass media. Further information pertaining to the general tactical choices of specific groups in relation to their internal resources can be found in the section 'The Model of Group Strategy Reassessed.'

Direct *lobbying* of the BC forestry policy community has not generally been extensive. All groups involved in this issue have had a chance to meet with Canadian officials in Germany and have thus had an opportunity to express their point of view on the subject of BC forestry practices. The groups expressed a willingness to meet with Canadian officials when approached by them, but

most feel that the Canadian environmental groups are responsible for lobbying Canadian officials. Letters, petitions, and phone or fax actions have, however, been used by a large number of groups. These are primarily intended to support the actions of domestic environmental groups, by demonstrating that a high degree of interest in this topic exists outside of Canadian borders. These groups recognize that the domestic pressure exerted by Canadian groups will, most likely, be more successful when complemented by external pressure.

Although lobbying has not generally been used as a means by which to exercise direct pressure on the target audiences, it has been used in an indirect manner. All groups - outside of Robin Wood and AKKU - employ lobbying as a means of advocacy within the German, European, and international arenas. The extent to which this is employed, and the influence and respect that these groups enjoy, varies greatly however. Whereas Big Mountain and Pro Regenwald utilize this tactic sporadically, other groups - such as WWF, BUND and Greenpeace - are highly respected environmental groups within Germany, and thus, are active participants in policy development in the various federal ministries in Bonn.

As international relations become increasingly complex, the European Parliament and other international bodies are becoming increasingly important lobbying targets. The European Commission in Brussels is understood by many groups to be a central point from which they can reach a wider European audience. Even smaller groups, such as Urgewald, view this as a means to counteract the public relations money that government and corporate interests invest in propagating their interests.

The reasons behind these actions vary. The majority of the groups surveyed expressed interest in the development of international guidelines for the harvesting of wood, and in the development of a certification system which would identify the origins of wood products, and the means used to harvest them. Urgewald, in particular, attempts to increase awareness amongst the ministerial representatives, in order to create a greater responsibility in trade issues. In general, it is a means in which to influence those responsible for initiating and developing trade agreements and international conventions.

Corporate lobbying has also been employed by both WWF and Greenpeace. WWF works closely with business interests, in order to develop solutions to pressing environmental problems based on cooperation. Whereas WWF approaches corporations on a cooperative basis, Greenpeace combines both cooperation and confrontation when dealing with its targets. In the forests campaign, it has aimed to influence the choice of paper suppliers to German publishers, with the

intention of reducing the quantity of BC pulp and paper purchased for the German market. In some cases, this method was employed in order to reduce the sales of MacMillan Bloedel's products, as it is the primary perpetrator in Clayoquot Sound; in other cases, any paper products from clearcut or old-growth areas were targeted.

The use of *public pressure* in this campaign has fluctuated greatly, dependent on developments in the external environment. Demonstrations have been staged by a number of groups, either independently or as a cooperative effort. Demonstrations were held by Greenpeace in coordination with its forests campaign, under the motto, 'Wieviel Wald kostet Ihre Zeitschrift?' These were held in front of publishers, as part of the corporate lobbying effort. Additional demonstrations were often held when Prime Minister Harcourt or the Forests Ministers visited the country, or when a large number of arrests took place in BC. By and large, the demonstrations held functioned either as a cooperative effort amongst German groups, or as an internationally-coordinated effort.

Most German environmental groups do not - at the moment - support an official boycott of BC or Canadian wood products; they appear to be in agreement that a general boycott of these products would be futile. The motives behind this stance vary from the recognition that such an extensive boycott is next to impossible, to beliefs that the Canadians have already lost a portion of their market share in Germany. Other groups, such as WWF, note that a boycott does not fulfill their expectations; they prefer to work cooperatively than to begin with confrontation. Robin Wood also stresses that, Canada - a relatively affluent industrial country - has the international power and responsibility to stop the destruction of the forests that occurs within its own borders.

Interest in a boycott does, however, exist. BUND, Big Mountain, Pro Regenwald, and Urgewald would support a boycott of a particular forestry company if BC environmental groups called for one. It is, in addition, somewhat deceiving to see that most groups do not or would not at the moment support a boycott of BC pulp and paper. They do support a boycott of products which are not harvested in an environmentally sustainable fashion. Although they may not support an official boycott, they nonetheless aim to influence consumer choice - which may have longer-lasting consequences for BC products.

The most extensively used means of advocacy has been *public awareness*. This is due to the belief that you need to educate the public of the destruction of old-growth forests inherent in

meeting the pulp and paper needs of the western world. The groups surveyed in this case study appear to be in agreement that for major change to occur, there needs to be a significant reduction in paper use, and therefore a significant change in lifestyle.

Much of the public awareness work performed by these groups focusses on consumer education. This is done with the intention of creating consumers who make informed decisions, which would then lead to market regulation of forestry products. It is assumed that by informing the public of the destruction that the production of certain products causes, consumers will demonstrate their preferences in their purchases. As "many environmental problems are very remote from the final consumers of products,"²¹¹ the consumer often disregards the environmental degradation that the production of these products in foreign countries causes. Attention is thus drawn to the connections between producer and consumer; the groups focus on educating the public on what type of environmental destruction Germans incur in British Columbia, through the wasteful use of paper products.

The most prevalent means of reaching the public is through the publication of information. WWF, BUND, Greenpeace Germany, and Robin Wood publish magazines quarterly which are sent to subscribers and/or members. These provide a synopsis of the groups' current foci, and longer articles on specific topics of interest. The magazines from Greenpeace Germany and BUND are available at newsstands and libraries, whereas the others can only be obtained through subscription. Big Mountain, Pro Regenwald, Urgewald, and AKKU all publish newsletters. Other than AKKU, which publishes sporadically, this is done on a regular basis. Virtually all of these publications have included a number of in-depth articles on BC forestry.

Additional methods of public awareness vary from group to group. In general, this includes slide shows, information displays, seminars, the invitation of guest speakers, the distribution of information on the Internet, and work with school groups. The choice and extent of public awareness activities depends, to a certain extent, on the internal resources of the organization. Such groups as Greenpeace and WWF are able to offer hotline or Internet services, whereas other groups are limited to slide shows and information displays. BUND, Big Mountain, and Urgewald work extensively within the education system, in order to increase awareness for environmental issues. These groups aim to increase understanding of environmental issues on a global scale and to instill values of environmental protection at an early age.

²¹¹Jacobs, 43.

Through advances in the development of communications technology, the *mass media* have become an important avenue of publicity for all environmental groups. This has, as a result, altered the face of environmental action. (Groups are no longer geographically limited to local issues, as direct coverage of issues and activities can be instantly transmitted; it is, therefore, much easier to reach a wider audience.) At the same time, groups must ensure that their actions comply with the media's interests, in order to be assured of positive framing of their actions.

The emphasis placed on mass media coverage varies from group to group. WWF, BUND, Greenpeace Germany, and Robin Wood all have public relations offices, which maintain contact with journalists, coordinate meetings with the press, and send out press releases. The remaining groups also ensure that they maintain regular contact with the press. For many of the smaller groups, the focus is on newspaper coverage, which normally allows for in-depth treatment of an issue.

Greenpeace Germany is the most 'creative' in attracting media attention; it is, in addition, one of the only groups which ensures media coverage of its activities by working closely with particular video crews and photographers (in addition to BUND). This focus on the mass media has meant that Greenpeace has played a leading role in determining which issues receive the greatest amount of media attention. As is evident in its extent of media coverage, Greenpeace is often able to further influence how these issues are examined, and how public discussion of the issues proceeds.

The advances in communications technology have not only led to developments in mass media coverage, but they have also improved the accessibility of accurate up-to-date information from a diversity of sources. Thus, the availability of current information no longer presents a hindrance to smaller environmental groups. The Internet allows for instantaneous transmittal of important information, and e-mail allows for constant communication between groups, regardless of distance. Greenpeace International and WWF Germany have their own pages in the World Wide Web, where the history, aims and activities of the groups, and current press releases are available.

This has also led to further cooperation both on the domestic and the international levels. Although environmental groups rarely pool their resources, they do frequently share information and offer mutual support. There is also a general agreement or coordination on tactics, so as to achieve the greatest coverage and least amount of overlap; through cooperative work, most activities staged result in a stronger public showing. In the group A.G. Wald, in particular,

German groups work closely in the development of international guidelines. Virtually all of the participant groups maintain contact to both Canadian and international groups, which provide information and advice, and cooperate in planning activities.

THE CHANNELS CHOSEN

Through the analysis of tactics used by environmental groups in the campaign aimed at BC forestry policy, one is able to distinguish the channels of influence which have been chosen. Here, it is clear that the groups do not focus their energies only upon one main direction; instead, in accordance with their resources and capabilities, they try to influence both public opinion and the policy community at as many points as possible. Most groups stress a flexibility in approaches, both according to the issue at hand and the political context. This can be summarized as a 'politics of presence,' whereby groups engage in a wide variety of activities in those settings where they think that they may have a chance of gaining influence.

Environmental groups attempt to exercise influence both directly and indirectly. Directly, they aim to influence the practices of the general public, and to a certain extent, those of the forest industry and government. Indirectly, they focus their strategies upon influencing the opinions and actions of other organizations or institutions which may be able to influence the actions of both the BC government and the forest industry. These indirect targets include the general public, the German government, the European Union, and international organizations.

This study has shown that German environmental groups have focussed their interest on two main aspects: the issue as a matter of global interest and the importance of influencing a change in social values. This translates into a focus on both lobbying and public awareness work. Lobbying has been carried out with the intention of promoting the development of international regulations in forestry, and in the hopes of influencing trade relations; public awareness work has been undertaken in order to influence social values, and through consumer education to provide market regulation of forestry practices.

Both public pressure and the use of the mass media have supplemented these areas of activity. Demonstrations have served to convey the importance of the topic to the target audiences, while also alerting the public to the gravity of the issue. Developments in communications technology have provided the necessary means of the quick access to information, as well as a vehicle by which issues could be publicized within the international sphere.

Viewed to be most important in this campaign is the focus on the issue as a matter of *global interest*. Having already involved themselves in campaigns aimed at the tropical forests and at other boreal forest areas, environmental groups have abandoned the attempt at solely changing forestry practices within a single country. There is no need to change policy in one country without attempting to change it in others as well - or else the multinational corporations involved could simply move from one country to another. Thus, of prime importance is the focus on international guidelines for forestry practices. Accordingly, the groups have often not specifically called for an official boycott of BC products, but for a boycott of any products originating from old-growth and clearcut areas.

The future of environmental action lies at the international level. German environmental groups have largely focussed their attention on influencing national, European, and international bodies, in the belief that these bodies could in turn exercise pressure on the targeted audiences. The general intents in doing so revolve around similar goals. First, the groups attempt to create a climate of international disrepute for BC forestry practices, by distributing information concerning common harvesting practices. Through this, they hope that pressure for change will be evidenced in bilateral or multilateral talks, or through the implementation of trade restrictions. These restrictions should not necessarily focus on all BC products, but should target those products which originate from clearcut or old-growth areas.

Further intentions revolve around the creation of international guidelines and standards applicable to forestry practices worldwide. Through the recognition that deforestation is a global problem, the groups involved thus seek global solutions. A change in policy and/or harvesting practices in BC would contribute to a reduction in pressure on BC, but it would not halt the efforts aimed at the development and implementation of international conventions regulating forestry practices. As a result, the groups attempt to maintain contact to both European and international organizations - such as the European Union and the United Nations - in order to influence the developments in this direction. Cooperation in the group A.G. Wald in Germany also presents a similar means of approaching this problematic.

Of parallel importance in this campaign is the focus on *social values*. This is due to the recognition that the root of the problem lay not necessarily in the extraction of resources, but in the actual demand for the resources, which originates with the general public. As long as the demand

remains, corporations will continue to supply. But, if the demand for products should change, business interests will most likely respond to these changes. Thus, environmental groups work to change values, in order to save finite resources. (Their goal is to stop the wasteful and unsustainable exploitation of natural resources.)

Virtually all of the groups involved in this issue work to influence change in civil society. They aim to inspire a change in social values, and thus an eventual change in lifestyle, in order to create an environmentally sustainable means of living in harmony with nature. The means to achieving this goal are generally cited to be a significant reduction in paper consumption and an increase in recycling. Additionally, attempts are made to instill a feeling of personal responsibility for nature, and in specific, for the forests. The main aim is to convey the message that the forests are threatened by consumption. The groups involved are unanimous in declaring that the only possible path to further change is 'reduction,' which inevitably translates into a significant change in lifestyle.

In a complementary branch of public awareness work, emphasis is placed on consumer education. The aim here is to educate the public concerning the environmental destruction in other countries, which is at least partially caused by German consumption. (Consumers should be aware of where their paper comes from, and be aware of what kind of destruction is incurred through its production. A certification system for wood and paper products, indicating those which are harvested in accordance with ecologically sustainable forestry practices, would assist the consumer is making informed market choices; this would eventually contribute to market regulation of forestry practices.) Emphasis is placed on how Germans are indirectly able to affect change in another country through consumer behavior.

THE MODEL OF GROUP STRATEGY REASSESSED

The model of group strategy, as presented and elaborated on in the theoretical framework, has served as a guide to identify the relationship between the various components involved in group strategy choice. It demonstrates that both the internal resources of a group and the external setting are prime determinants of the methods and targets which a group selects in its aspirations to influence change.

This model can be separated into two distinct sections. The first half - the focus on the internal and external factors which guide group strategy - will be examined here. The second half

of the model, which comprised the main focus of this thesis, has been summarized under 'The Tactics Employed' and 'The Channels Chosen.' As the interconnections between the influencing factors and the strategies chosen are, however, often more complex than can be depicted in such a general model, this section will conclude with a general evaluation of the usefulness of the model.

The *external factors* can be understood to be those conditions which influence the options and choices made by the participant groups; the climate within which these groups operate contributes to their definition of choices. In general, German environmental groups work within a favorable climate. Although the German government has not yielded to a number of environmental concerns, it is responsive to environmental demands. Federal funding is provided to environmental groups in varying capacities; interest is also supported through the formation of the A.G. Wald, and the publication of studies pertaining to international forestry practices (i.e. the Enquete Commission).

Government support is supplemented by extensive public support. Germans are, in general, very receptive to environmental concerns; strong support is often shown for environmental groups. Recent successes have enhanced the public image of environmental groups and have generated a climate of opinion sympathetic to environmental protection. As a result, environmentalism enjoys a high degree of visibility.

Despite the plethora of environmental groups in Germany, the groups work largely in a cooperative fashion. The majority of groups are open to cooperation or coalitions with other groups. This work, however, often takes place behind-the-scenes. Also encouraging for the participant groups is the behavior of the target audience - BC is sensitive to criticism, which tends to bolster the position of the environmentalists. This reaction strengthens the cause for environmentalists, as they have a visible opponent who admits to having made mistakes.

It is thus clear that the external setting has proved to be conducive to the forests campaign. The participant groups have, in addition, structured the campaign so as to appeal to the German population.

Having determined the general climate within which environmental groups function in Germany, this analysis now turns to the specific groups involved in the issue and their *internal resources*. There is a diversity of groups involved in this issue ranging from international organizations which have budgets of several million DM at their disposal to loose networks, which

function on a nominal amount of funding. Three of the groups involved in this issue are part of international organizations: WWF, BUND, and Greenpeace. These groups are also highly structured, well-financed organizations which are well-known around the world. The remaining five groups - established between 1982 and 1993 - can be classified as younger, grass roots groups.

In evaluating the relationship between internal resources and strategy choice, the level of institutionalization can serve as a general guide.²¹² By subdividing the groups into four categories (issue-orientated, fledgling, mature, and institutionalized), a progression in group development, strategy choice, and the likelihood of survival is demonstrated. Although the use of such a tool is debatable, it does aid in generating a general overview of the likely methods of action to be chosen by each type of group.

Table 3: The Framework of Institutionalization²¹³

Categories	Objectives	Organizational Feature	Applicable to...
Institutionalized	multiple, broadly defined, collective & selective	extensive human and financial resources	WWF BUND Greenpeace Germany
Mature	multiple, broadly defined, & collective	alliances with other groups; staff includes professionals	Robin Wood
Fledgling	multiple, but closely related	membership can support small staff	Big Mountain, Pro Regenwald, Urgewald
Issue-Orientated	single, narrowly defined	small membership; no paid staff	AKKU

In applying Pross's 'Continuum Framework' of institutionalization to the groups examined in the case study, obvious connections between internal resources and strategy choices arise. In addition, a definite pattern linking the age, financial stability and level of bureaucratization is evident. The three oldest groups, WWF (1963), BUND (1975), and Greenpeace Germany (1980) are all highly bureaucratized groups which possess a stable financial base and large membership. The importance of a large membership results in greater expertise, and increased managerial and financial resources. On the other end of the spectrum, the choices of groups such as AKKU, Big Mountain, or Pro Regenwald are limited, due to limited financing, lack of (or relative lack of) paid

²¹²Pross, "Pressure Groups: Talking Chameleons," 292.

²¹³The contents of the following table has been taken from Pross's "Continuum Framework". Ibid., 296.

staff, and low membership. Although this does not preclude certain means of advocacy, it does represent a limitation.

WWF and BUND conform to the expectations of institutionalized groups. These are defined to be groups which know "what government is thinking about, what it needs to know, and how to get that information to it at the right time, in the right place, and in the most acceptable form."²¹⁴ These groups work closely with both government and industry, in an attempt to design solutions to environmental issues on the basis of cooperation. They are well-respected partners in decision-making circles.

In respect of the strategies employed, Greenpeace can be viewed as an exception to this pattern. It is, in many respects, the most highly institutionalized group included in this study, but its activities do not generally conform to those typical of an institutionalized interest group. Lobbying is included in Greenpeace's repertoire of actions, although its relationship to the policy community can be described to be somewhat ambivalent. This is due to the fact that many of its meetings with business or government elites take place on a confrontational rather than a cooperative basis. Greenpeace attributes its success, however, to its forceful media image and high level of public support. Most corporations recognize that, should Greenpeace give their corporation a bad name, it could be highly damaging to their market image (i.e. Shell Oil; Brent Spar).

The remaining groups are at varying points of institutionalization along the continuum. Robin Wood is the only group which can be categorized to be mature; the group hasn't, however, adapted to the demands of the policy community. It is the only group which outright states that lobbying is out of its range of activities, and that this method of advocacy is better left to those organizations which are financially capable.

Big Mountain, Pro Regenwald, and Urgewald are all classified to be fledgling, while AKKU is the only issue-orientated group involved in this area. Among the fledgling groups, varying levels of development - in reference to the numbers of paid staff and the objectives defined - can be charted. All cultivate contacts to various levels of government or to particular ministers, but the focus of their activities remain at the level of public awareness and public pressure. AKKU is, in comparison, simply a loose network of interested participants. The survival of the

²¹⁴Ibid., 293.

group - which was formed expressly to treat the issue of Clayoquot Sound - depends not only upon member dedication, but also on its adaptability to new issue areas.

Another exception in this case study is the group, Urgewald. Not only does it rely exclusively on foundation sponsorship, but it also strives to ensure at least a minimum of female participation at the executive level. Incongruous with its size and financial capabilities, Urgewald also utilizes lobbying as a primary means of advocacy, which could be attributed to the personal interest of staff members. Although the group lacks the image within the general public, among experts in this field Urgewald is known to offer detailed and reliable information on the topic of BC forestry.

Clearly, the level of institutionalization also has an effect on the percentage of active members. The institutionalized groups possess a large membership, which primarily offers financial support. It is conceivable that the wide variety of issue areas attracts sponsors from different interest areas. But, with increasing levels of institutionalization, the percentage of active membership decreases considerably; thus, an inverse relationship to membership can be identified. It is, understandably, only in the smaller groups such as AKKU and Urgewald where the membership is 100% active.

A model always represents a simplification of reality, and is thus often rejected for its inability to sufficiently address the complexity inherent in many choices and decisions. Clearly, any model is incapable of taking all of the possible influencing factors into account; many decisions are, in addition, influenced by coincidence or chance. Furthermore, a model is static; it looks at an issue at one point in time, and fails to incorporate changes in context into the model. Therefore, it cannot help to explain change over time.

Despite these disadvantages, the use of a model should not be completely rejected. It offers a visual guide, which can be helpful in both presenting an overview of the factors involved, and in identifying the connections between the various components of an analysis. One of the most important attributes of the model depicted in Chapter Two is, in addition, its focus on the circular aspect. It is important to recognize that the groups involved are flexible in their strategies, and redefine their tactics and strategies in reaction to changes in the external environment. Viewed within its limitations, the model is useful, as it offers a visual portrayal of the means of analysis chosen for this particular study.

A FEW COMMENTS ON THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Within the theoretical framework designed for this analysis, both interest group theory and social movement theory are addressed. Both of these perspectives were integrated in the analysis, in the belief that together, they could offer a more comprehensive understanding of the ways in which environmental groups are active both in the political and social spheres. In this section, a brief overview of the advantages and disadvantages of utilizing each perspective as a means of analysis in such a study is presented.

Interest group theory, which deals specifically with the ways in which interest groups attempt to influence policy development, implementation, or improvement, continues to provide the backbone of strategy analyses. Lobbying remains a popular method of action; the main difference observed, however, is that this strategy is used in an indirect - rather than a direct - means. The groups surveyed focussed on influencing national, European, and international organizations, in the hopes that these bodies could further exert pressure on the primary target audiences. Interest group theory is also useful in determining the general direction of a group by its level of institutionalization. This categorization of groups offers a convenient means of classifying groups according to their attributes, in order to correlate this to the general means of advocacy usually chosen.

This perspective does, however, have its drawbacks. First, it tends to overvalue the necessity of being "close to government thinking,"²¹⁵ assuming that policy is always state-directed. In highlighting involvement in the policy community, much of the literature tends to disregard the importance of global action. Additionally, the need for public awareness of issues is recognized, but methods of confrontation are often viewed to be secondary to lobbying.

Second, it is important to recognize that, as public interest groups identify and defend issues of interest to the general public, the methods used by these groups may differ considerably from the methods employed by those interest groups which defend the interests of a particular portion of the population (i.e. business groups or unions). As lobbying - the main function of interest groups - is largely invisible to the general public, it is - as a solitary means of advocacy -

²¹⁵Ibid., 295.

conceivably insufficient in creating awareness for an issue which demands considerable public attention.

The interest group perspective makes valuable contributions to the analysis of group behavior. But, in the case of many groups - particularly public interest groups - this type of strategy analysis is insufficient.

An alternative understanding of group behavior is offered by social movement theory, which defines the prominent strategy of social movement organizations to be societal transformation. This theory highlights two aspects of increasing importance: global awareness and social values. Emphasis is placed on the fact that groups work not only to create awareness for single issues within national borders, but to create awareness for global issues, such as environmental problems or deforestation. In addition, groups work within civil society to change values; these groups often reject bureaucratic structures and challenge the boundaries of institutional politics through unconventional methods of action. This study has also shown that the groups involved focus not only on changes in policy, but aim to influence changes in values and thought processes, which will hopefully lead to meaningful change within society.

The main disadvantage to social movement theory is that the goals stated are often difficult to attain; many of the goals, which appear to be simple, are in reality vague and close to impossible to achieve. In essence, it is correct that social values and thought processes must change in order to significantly reduce the use of wood products, and in end effect, to improve forestry practices; but, these are long-term goals, which cannot be attained within the space of a few years. Also, as the groups often need to maintain contact with those in the 'system,' it is recognized that some groups will inevitably be assimilated into it and thereby become institutionalized actors.

Although this literature points to yet another aspect which deserves attention, the question of strategy choice is seldom thoroughly examined. In focussing predominantly on the international society, this alternative is insufficient in examining the wide spectrum of tactics used by many groups.

Within this particular case study, it is impossible to detect one single means of influencing change. Groups often recognize that a change in policy is needed in order to correct the problem identified, but many also recognize that change in social values needs to accompany - or in some cases, precede - a change in policy. I propose that neither theoretical perspective appears to be

independently capable of fully examining the diverse strategies utilized by many public interest groups. Combined, these perspectives offer a more complete picture of the means of group activity utilized today.

CONCLUSION:

AND THE MORAL OF THE STORY...

Due to increasing discontent with the management of BC's forests, national and international environmental groups have become involved in disputes over local resource usage. In particular, the internationalization of the issue of BC forestry practices has heightened awareness for the issue and has led to increased pressure from outside of Canada's borders to protect old-growth forests and to reduce or discontinue the practice of clearcut logging.

Germany has played an important role in leading the campaign internationally. Eight German environmental groups have been involved in this issue, each to some degree. The case study presented in this thesis, involving an analysis of the internal resources and strategies chosen by each of these groups, demonstrates that they vary significantly in size, resources, and strategic choices. The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), Bund für Umwelt- und Naturschutz Deutschland (BUND; Friends of the Earth Germany) and Greenpeace Germany are all international level organizations, which have large memberships, large budgets, and numerous paid staff. In comparison, the remaining five groups - Robin Wood, Big Mountain Aktionsgruppe, Pro Regenwald, Urgewald and Arbeitskreis Kanadische Urwälder (AKKU) - are national level organizations, with limited resources.

By analyzing the internal resources of each organization, in addition to strategy choices, general correlations between these two aspects have been discovered. This analysis has shown that large institutionalized groups are generally more respected and therefore more capable of participation in government and business circles. Lacking sufficient staff and financial resources, smaller groups often focus primarily on public awareness work. This general observation cannot be understood to constitute an iron rule however, as exceptions do exist. Robin Wood, a mature group, completely rejects the use of lobbying, while Urgewald, a fledgling group, divides its efforts between lobbying and public awareness work. Despite differences in priorities in the various

groups surveyed, virtually all of the groups combine numerous tactics, in order to pressure for change at as many points as possible.

Deforestation has emerged to be a global issue which has attracted global attention. Domestic and international groups have thus united their efforts in advocating change in forestry practices. This broad base of support has resulted in a multifaceted approach to strategy and a departure from national-based environmental advocacy. This campaign is "pioneering an approach that combines international grassroots organizing, coalition building, market pressure, wood-demand reduction, and media exposure."²¹⁶

General trends are evident in the analysis of strategy choice. Lobbying and public awareness work have been the main means of advocacy chosen, although these methods have been supported by both public pressure and extensive use of the mass media. The central foci have correspondingly revolved around the importance of this issue as a matter of global interest, and the importance of influencing a change in social values. The channels chosen are a reflection of these prime interests. Most importantly, all of the groups identified the importance of approaching this thematic from a global perspective, both in regards to lobbying efforts and to influencing international civil society.

Lobbying has been carried out primarily in an indirect fashion, in an attempt to create a climate of disapproval for BC forestry. The targets include national (German), European, and international bodies. Lobbying is performed with the intention of pressure being indirectly exerted through bilateral or multilateral talks, through the implementation of trade restrictions, through the development of international regulations guiding forestry practices at the national level, and through the initiation of a certification system identifying those wood products which are harvested in an environmentally sustainable manner.

The second focus of interest rests on public awareness work, which targets social values. Aims in this area are two-fold: first, the intent is to generate a consumer boycott of BC products, and second, to eventually affect a change in lifestyle. The first area of emphasis is in essence a market-based strategy, which primarily addresses the demand for forest products. Through the implementation of a certification system combined with adequate consumer education, the groups involved aim to influence forestry practices through consumer behavior. Informed consumers could in turn indicate their interests in their consumer choices, thus contributing to market regulation of

²¹⁶Rainforest Action Network, "Clayoquot Sound, Canada: End to 'Conventional' Clearcutting," in Internet WWW Site: http://www.ran.org/ran.info_center/other_resources.html (July 19, 1995).

forestry practices. The ultimate goal, however, is to affect a reduction in the consumption of pulp and paper products, which would in end effect translate into a significant change in lifestyle. This is in the belief that in order to alter the patterns of consumption, you first have to change thought processes.

These developments in group strategy are seldom addressed in the majority of literature available on this subject. Although the literature cited in Chapter Two contributes valuable information to the analysis of group tactics, little attention is paid to indirect pressure campaigns. While social movement theory addresses the importance of the international audience for strategy development - primarily in aiming to influence social values - it fails to concentrate on the task of exerting pressure through lobbying the international community. Interest group theory literature in turn, comprehensively discusses the ways and means of lobbying the policy community, but it ignores the valuable benefits to be gained in maintaining contact with various regional and international bodies. Concurrent with the changes experienced in communications technology, which have dramatically altered the face of environmental action, changes in strategies are taking place at a fast pace.

These observations have important implications for the future of group strategy. First, it is evident that the future of environmental protection lies at the global level. As neither national borders nor national policy are able to hinder the progression of environmental action, policy can no longer be determined solely within a local context. Environmentalism is increasingly regulated by national and international conventions which aim to coordinate the developments in various countries. This has been clearly demonstrated in increasing pressure to establish international guidelines regulating forestry practices world-wide. It is conceivable that this globalizing trend will extend or has already extended into other facets of life. Thus, transnational action is bound to become a prevalent means of group activity as globalizing forces penetrate all aspects of society. With the increasingly global character of economic and political relations, interest groups have no choice but to respond to these changes if they intend to maintain influence.

Second, it is likely that efforts will increasingly be made to mobilize civil society. As evident in this study, threats concerning boycotts do not emanate from official bodies, but largely from the consumer level. In this campaign, the international market-based strategy has successfully captured the attention of local government and industry, and has alerted them to the threat of a possible boycott. Increasingly, consumer education is used to force change from a grass roots level. Through a combination of national and international activism, the consumer behavior within

one nation-state can thus influence the policies and practices of the producer country. This pattern of behavior is summarized in the slogan "think globally, act locally."

This appeal to civil society ultimately targets social values. These groups aim to affect an eventual change in lifestyle, which would significantly reduce the amount of pulp and paper products consumed, and therefore contribute to the preservation of the forests. Correspondingly, it is conceivable that other interest groups could similarly target lifestyle changes. True change can only be attained through a change in values.

Clearly, environmentalism has become a social issue. Forestry, as many other issues, can no longer be approached solely within the realm of scientific knowledge. As the access to information spreads and consequently, the awareness of the ecological threats rise, the general public plays an increasingly important role in influencing the direction of policy changes. As a result, environmentalism no longer involves merely the management of a natural resource, but increasingly, involves the 'management' of evolving social values associated with the forests.

APPENDIX ONE

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Arbeitskreis Kanadische Urwälder, Zückenberg 28, 35041 Marburg-Hermershausen
Interview with Holger Sandmann, June 22, 1995 in Marburg, Germany.

BigMountain Aktionsgruppe, Frohschammer 14, 80807 Munich
Interview with Dionys Zink, August 3, 1995 in Munich, Germany.

Bund für Umwelt- und Naturschutz Deutschland, ForestsSection, Hurndlweg 14, 82346 Andechs
Telephone Interview with Helmut Klein, January 23, 1996.

Greenpeace Germany, Vorsetzen 53, 29459 Hamburg; <http://www.greenpeace.org>
Telephone interview with Thomas Kunz, August 8, 1995.

Pro Regenwald, Frohschammer 14, 80807 Munich
Interview with Bettina Heilmann, August 8, 1995 in Munich, Germany.

Robin Wood, Pressestelle, Nernstweg 32, 22765 Hamburg
Interview with Rudolf Fenner, May 24, 1995 in Hamburg, Germany.

Urgewald: Kampagne für den Regenwald, Leidenhöferhohl 8, 35085 Ebsdorf
Interview with Jutta Kill, July 11, 1995 in Marburg, Germany.

World Wide Fund for Nature, Hedderichstraße 110, 60591 Frankfurt
Interview with Günter Merz, July 27, 1995 in Frankfurt, Germany.

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