ECO-ACTIVISM: ISSUES AND STRATEGIES OF ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST GROUPS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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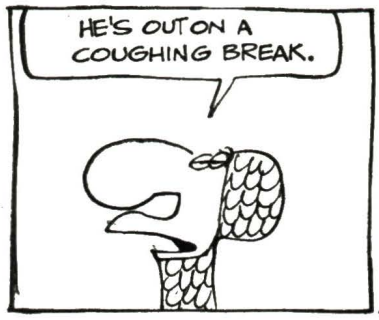

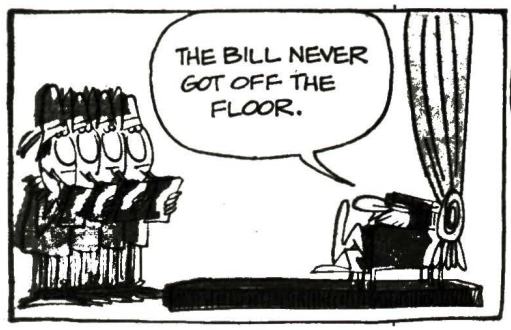

ABSTRACT

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Environmental interest groups are a relatively recent socio-political development. They have arisen in response to the rapid deterioration in the quality of the environment and in response to the apparently increasing alienation of the public in the decision-making process.

To date, these groups have been studied to only a limited extent by social scientists. Environmental groups, however, are of interest and concern to geographers particularly as they contribute to an understanding of why certain landscape changes have taken place, and as they pertain to closing the gaps in the knowledge of the way in which decisions affecting man and his environment are made.

The major problem facing these groups in British Columbia is whether they will succeed in becoming important inputs into the policy process, or whether they will be only a temporary phenomenon in the political arena. This study investigated the efficacy of selected environmental interest groups as inputs into environmental decision-making in British Columbia by examining the five major factors that appear to influence efficacy of interest groups in general. These five factors are:

(a) the goals sought

(b) the internal organization and membership characteristics

(c) the issues upon which attention is focussed

(d) the strategies selected by which to attain the stated objectives, and

(e) the views of the policy makers as to the role of the public in policy

formulation.

The results of the study showed that the survival of the environmental interest group as a political force is influenced by the factors listed above. While some of the environmental groups studied appear to have influenced the decision-making process, it was extremely difficult to determine precisely the underlying factors in any particular case. However, the study did note the implications of environmental group action on policy and the policy makers. It also pointed out profitable areas for further research, such as the attitudes of decision-makers towards public participation. The results of such studies would help determine more precisely the role which the public can play in the decision-making process, and would also help to assess the longer term prospects of environmental interest groups.

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CHAPTER I

ECO-ACTIVISM AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

One of the most significant features of the past decade has been the growing demand for greater public participation in policy-making. This has reflected both the feeling of increasing alienation of the individual in public affairs and the expanding concern of the public about particular policy matters, notably those relating to defense, human rights, urban affairs and the environment. These feelings have been given expression in various ways, ranging from letters to newspaper editors and public officials, to protest marches.

British Columbia, in common with other parts of Canada, has witnessed the expression of these anxieties; it seems such concerns are growing. On November 28, 1969, a group of at least fifty placard-bearing Canadian Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control Society (SPEC)[1] members paraded in front of the Parliament Buildings in Victoria, B.C., protesting the dumping of tailings from the Utah Mining and Construction Company operations into a land-locked inlet of the sea. In October of the following year, more than 2,500 members of SPEC, the Sierra Club, and the Run Out Skagit Spoilers (ROSS) Committee, held a mass rally in the Skagit Valley to bring government attention to their opposition towards the proposed Ross Dam addition. Increasing the height of the dam in order to increase hydro-electric power generating capacity of an American utility would flood about 5,000 acres of flat bottom land in the Canadian valley.

FIGURE 1

S. P. E. C.: Utah Mines Demonstration at Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C., November 28, 1970.

From October 19 to November 7, 1970, at least fifty Greater Victoria residents wrote letters to the City Mayor and the Water Board protesting the Board's action in not releasing domestic water to one of the salmon spawning streams (the Goldstream River) on Southern Vancouver Island. Other citizens contributed towards the cost of advertisements explaining how residents could help conserve water and save the salmon run; the community as a whole managed to reduce water consumption up to one million gallons per day, a reduction of about three percent of the normal daily demand in the city. During the months of October and November of 1971, about forty people cruised in a former mine-sweeper, renamed the Greenpeace Two, to the Aleutian island of Amchitka to protest and attempt to halt the American nuclear warhead test. More recently, in June of 1972, the Greenpeace Three yacht sailed into the blast area to protest the French nuclear testing program on Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific. And, within the past two years alone, more than one hundred briefs, petitions and other indications of public opinion have been presented to the B.C. Pollution Control Board in appealing decisions of the Director to grant pollution permits.

The environmental interest group has thus become an important new dimension on the British Columbia political scene. There are now at least fifty, and perhaps as many as three hundred environmental interest groups in the province, ranging in size from as few as ten to as many as 8,000 affiliated members.[2] Some focus upon local problems; others have much wider concerns. Some environmental interest groups[3] have been effective in achieving their aims; others have failed in their pursuits. The most important question now facing

these groups in British Columbia is whether they are likely to have a major or lasting impact on policy-making. How much political influence do environmental interest groups actually possess? To date, this remains an open question.

Expressions of concern, as illustrated by the above examples, often have the appearance of a confrontation between the citizenry and the government. But protest -- either by individuals or by groups -- is not a new phenomenon in politics. What is new, however, is the subject of protest -- the environment -- and the formation of a new institution -- the environmental interest group -- to carry out the protest. While some governments will not take any action on a serious problem unless there is sufficient public outcry, other governments object to strong protests, claiming that they should not respond to wishes of particular pressure groups. In British Columbia, Premier W.A.C. Bennett has assured the public that "the subject of environmental management and pollution control is British Columbia's number one priority."[4] Despite this assurance, it is evident from the number and intensity of various protest campaigns that many British Columbia residents feel the quality of the environment has continued to decline in favor of resource exploitation.

The environmental interest group phenomenon is not confined to British Columbia alone; the same kind of political activism over environmental management issues is to be found in other parts of Canada, the U.S.A., Great Britain, and other Western European nations.[5] But, will environmental interest groups succeed in becoming important inputs into the policy process, or will they merely be an outlet for social and political frustrations which change with time?

Answers to such questions are of importance from both a geographical and a policy-making point of view. They would contribute to an understanding of why and how alterations to the earth have taken place, on the one hand, and help to close the gaps in the knowledge of the way in which decisions affecting man and his environment are made, and the locational implications of such decisions, on the other. They would also have significance for citizen participation in planning and policy-making.

This study investigates and attempts to assess the efficacy of selected environmental interest groups as inputs into environmental decision-making in British Columbia by examining the goals they seek, the issues selected for action, and the strategies they pursue towards these ends.

The Emergence of Eco-Activism as a Political Force

Environmental interest groups are a relatively recent socio-political development; why have they arisen? The answer lies, in part, in the decline in environmental quality, and a growing awareness and concern on the part of the public about such deterioration.[6] All over Canada there are examples of parks that have been bisected by highways; marshes and shorelines that have been drained, filled and paved for industrial and residential development; shade trees that have been removed from the city to make room for noisy, multi-lane expressways; and rivers that have been destroyed for fishing and certain types of recreation through dam construction, logging activity, and effluent discharges.

The awareness of the decline in environmental quality may have resulted from the increased affluence and leisure time which provided the opportunity for individuals to become conscious of any progressive decline in quality of their surroundings. In part, this state has been brought about by the very factors which contribute to environmental degradation. Increasing awareness, however, coupled with the rising expectations of a higher quality of life and environment, plus a growing sense of the importance of amenity values, has contributed to an upsurge of public expression.[7]

Environmental interest groups have also emerged as a response to the recently perceived inadequacies in the policy-making processes relating to environmental management. Until recently, the public was content to rely upon the knowledge of experts and politicians to make decisions. They are no longer prepared to do so, and are demanding a much more active role in policy-making.[8] There are several reasons for this change in viewpoint. Decision-makers have often misunderstood or overlooked public views or wants; in some cases where the impacts of development on the environment were not seriously considered in policy-making, a noticeable decline in quality took place. The public, not having desired such changes, and often not having been consulted in decisions that were presumably made on their behalf, concerning the way in which the environment would be managed, feel alienated.

The citizenry in Canada has at least five major means of expressing its views on environmental matters: the ballot box and referendum, public hearings, public opinion polls, letters to public officials and to editors of newspapers, and

statements of pressure groups. However, it appears that past policies and institutions are inadequate to cope with the increased concern and frustration of citizens. For example, the ballot box and referendum are used relatively infrequently, and when either is employed, do not necessarily reveal people's true feelings, nor indicate the complexity of the viewpoints underlying the vote registered at the polling station. In the case of the public hearing, which may be initiated only at the discretion of the particular government level or authority, the expense and elaborate procedures required to attend and present reports tends to prohibit many concerned citizens from taking part. On one occasion in British Columbia, the Pollution Control Board (P.C.B.) prevented representatives of the SPEC group from appearing at the Utah Mining and Construction Company hearing at Port Hardy on Vancouver Island. Aside from public reproof for not hearing the opinion of at least one environmental interest group, the P.C.B. was strongly criticized for holding the hearing in such a remote geographic location, and for encouraging other government agencies and industrial concerns to participate to the virtual exclusion of the citizenry.

As noted earlier the frustration and heightened distrust of decision-makers on the part of the public does not appear to be confined solely to environmental issues. It extends to other matters such as housing, crime, and drug abuse. Interestingly, however, interest groups have not formed so rapidly in these latter problems, nor have they become as numerous. Several reasons may account for this: the role of the media in promoting interest in environmental

issues, and shifts in social values. During the past two or three years the public has been provided with an enormous amount of information about the severity of threats to the survival of human life of planet earth.[9] Certain dramatic, "crisis" events -- such as the oil spills off the Santa Barbara coast, the sinking of the Torrey Canyon, and the oil exploration boom in the Northern Tundra -- have received wide, mass-media coverage, and have stimulated public awareness of environmental problems.[10] At the same time, there has been a growing concern within the public-at-large about the increasing remoteness of decision-making and the lack of direct public consultation. It may be, therefore, that the increase in public concern about ecology, man and environment, systems concepts, and the stress on pollution is simply a reflection of the climate of activism and desire for participation in decision-making in society in general, or it may also be a way to avoid thinking of other pressing matters such as the elimination of poverty or war. If this is so, the concern about the environment may be no more than a temporary fad, and joining an environmental interest group the "in" thing to do.[11] It could also be that there is only a relatively small, select group of people who are concerned and who create the emphasis on environmental matters.

The Study of the Political Influence of Environmental Interest Groups in British Columbia

Apart from a few studies on such major conservation groups as the Sierra Club or Audubon Society in the United States,[12] little research has been undertaken

either on characteristics of environmental interest groups, or on their role in the policy formation process, especially in relation to Canadian or British Columbian contexts. Part of the reason lies in the fact that the problems with which environmental interest groups are concerned have only recently aroused broad public concern. Also, research on interest groups in general has been concerned with economic and non-voluntary groups rather than with idealistic and voluntary groups. Thus researchers have been concerned more with interest groups like trade unions and lobbies, manufacturing corporations, professional associations, and right or left wing political interests than with groups such as community service clubs, ethnic minorities or church organizations.

The role of environmental interest groups in the policy-making process is of concern not only to political scientists and sociologists -- who have undertaken most of the research on interest groups to date -- but also to geographers, for it is they who have a particular and long-standing interest in man's relationships to his environment. In recent years geographical research has focussed increasingly upon the processes by which decisions are made, as a means of explaining why landscapes have evolved in particular ways. Beyond this, there has been a growing desire amongst researchers in the field to predict as well as explain, and to provide advice for those involved in the policy-making process. Some important contributions have been made to the improvement of theory and of policy-making by geographers working particularly in the fields of urban geography and resources management.

Thus far, geographers working on these matters have confined their attention mainly to (a) the development of theoretical frameworks of decision-making,[13] (b) studies of professional groups involved in decisions, and (c) research on perceptions and attitudes of the public-at-large. They have studied interest groups to only a minor extent, and there have been only a few studies relating to the role of environmental interest groups.[14]

The study reported upon in this thesis is intended as a contribution to the understanding of environmental alteration, and more specifically, the role which various groups play in decisions which account for such alteration. It focussed upon the environmental interest group as a potential influence upon the decision-making process. Taking cognizance of theories developed in connection with other kinds of interest groups, it examines the extent to which four factors appear to have conditioned the survival and effectiveness of particular environmental groups. These factors are: (a) group philosophy and goals, (b) internal organization, (c) issues selected for attention, and (d) strategies chosen for action.

Chapter 2 provides a review of previous literature relating to interest groups and their role in decision-making. It notes both the development of theoretical frameworks for the analysis of decision-making, and empirical investigations of particular types of groups in policy-making.

Chapter 3 describes the political decision-making framework in British Columbia relating specifically to environmental problems. It notes the various

kinds of decisions that have to be made, and the processes that are involved in dealing with them. In the latter connection, it draws particular attention to the relationships between the nature of the decision, the process involved, and the particular groups in the public that are likely to be concerned.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology of the study. The latter involved an investigation of the characteristics of selected environmental interest groups active in Victoria and Vancouver. The research began in the summer of 1971 and continued through to the summer of 1972. Data were collected through interviews and correspondence both with the group executive and a sample of group members.

Chapter 5 reports on the analysis of the data that were collected, and Chapter 6 presents the conclusions of the study and notes the implications for the policy-making process.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Note that the group, commonly known as SPEC, was originally called The Society for Pollution and Environmental Control, but has recently adopted the title of Canadian Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control Society.

[2]References to the number of environmental interest groups active in the province are scarce, and those that do exist give conflicting reports, depending on the definition of 'environmental' interest group. For example, T. Mosquin and M.T. Myres indicate in their "Directory of Natural History, Conservation and Environment Organizations in Canada" from The Canadian Field Naturalist, Vol. 84 (1970), pp. 75-87, that British Columbia has 54 of these three kinds of groups. Howard Paish, in his study Public Involvement in "Man and the Land": a Preliminary Appraisal for British Columbia (Vancouver, B.C., July 1970), p. 3, stated that there are almost 300 local citizens' organizations with specific interests in some aspects of natural resource use and the environment. Cherry Ferguson, in her study of environmental organizations in British Columbia Efforts by the Citizen, Labatt Breweries, and Government to Achieve Environmental Quality in British Columbia (Vancouver, B.C.: 1971), names a total of 124 groups, divided into four main types: anti-pollution; conservation; academic; and chambers of commerce, labor unions, industrial and other professional organizations. A recent publication of SPEC, Spectalogue, indicates that that organization now has a province-wide membership of 8,000. Other groups have as few as ten members, such as Environmental Systems Community Association (ESCA) in Vancouver.

[3]The environmental interest group, like many other interest groups, is a voluntary association composed of individuals with similar interests or purposes, who come together and agree to continue meeting in order to achieve satisfaction of those interests and purposes. In the case of the environmental interest groups, the abiding concern is with the quality of the environment, and may be expressed by a focus on problems or issues ranging from conservation, to education and legislation topics, or to basic resources, such as air, land, and water, to pollution, and including recreational and human population resources. Whatever aspect the group members decide to act upon, their membership in the group is entirely voluntary, not tied to the government, and the group does not serve primarily to supply employment for members. Rather, the majority of individuals volunteer their time, skills, energy and money to the group, in return for the prospect of attaining some of the group's goals. This type of voluntary organization appeals to different kinds of people: both laymen and professionals join such groups, but not necessarily the same groups.

[4]W.A.C. Bennett, Province of British Columbia Budget Speech 1971 (Victoria, B.C., February 5, 1971), p. 50.

[5]For discussions of political activism over environmental management issues in Canada, the United States, Great Britain and other European nations, see D. Bell and V. Held, "The Community Revolution," Public Interest (Summer 1969), pp. 142-177; A.B. Bishop, Public Participation in Water Resources Planning (U.S. Army Engineer Institute for Water Resources, Report 70-7, December 1970); D. Connor, New Life for the St. John: a Choice for its People (Unpublished paper, Fredericton, N.B., 1971); A. Cooperstock, "The New Religion: Citizen Participation," Habitat, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1971), pp. 12-16; B. Crick and W.A. Robson, eds., Protest and Discontent (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970); S. Damer and C. Hague, "Public Participation in Planning: a Review," Town Planning Review, Vol. 42, No. 3 (July 1971), pp. 217-232; C.J. Davies, The Politics of Pollution (New York: Pegasus, 1970); J.A. Draper, ed., Citizen Participation: Canada (Toronto: New Press, 1971); Council on Environmental Quality, Environmental Quality: the First Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, August 1970); R. Gregory, The Price of Amenity: Five Studies in Conservation and Government (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1971); A. Guymer, "Water Supply for London, Ontario," in W.R.D. Sewell and I. Burton, Perceptions and Attitudes in Resources Management (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971), pp. 61-70; D. Hill, Participating in Local Affairs (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970); R. Mayne, ed., Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead (London: Fontana, 1972); Resources for the Future, Annual Report 1971 (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins, 1971); J. Reynolds, "Public Participation in Planning," Town Planning Review, Vol. 40, No. 2 (July 1969), pp. 131-148; S. Verba, "Democratic Participation," Annals of the American Academy of Politics and Social Science, Vol. 373 (Sept. 1967) pp. 53-78.

[6]For examples and discussions on the growing awareness and concern on the part of the public about environmental deterioration, see: M. Allaby, The Eco-Activists: Youth Fights for a Human Environment (London: Charles Knight and Co. Ltd., 1971); J.E. Anderson, Politics and Economic Policy-Making (Reading, Mass.: Addison and Wesley, 1970); Arvill, R., Man and Environment (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1967); W.R. Burch, Jr., et al., Social Behavior, Natural Resources, and the Environment (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); T.P. Curran, "Water Resources Management in the Public Interest," Water Resources Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Feb. 1971), pp. 33-39; A.A. D'Amato, "Environmental Degradation and Legal Action," Science and Public Affairs, Vol. 26, No. 3 (March 1970), pp. 24-26; G. Fellman and B. Brandt, "Working Class Protests Against an Urban Highway: Some Meanings, Limits and

[6]Problems, "Environment and Behavior, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 61-80; C. Ferguson, Efforts by the Citizen, Labatt Breweries and Government to Achieve Environmental Quality in British Columbia (Vancouver; Labatt Breweries of B.C. Ltd., 1971); D.E. Morrison et al., "The Environmental Movement: Some Preliminary Observations and Predictions," in W.R. Burch, Jr., et al., Social Behavior, Natural Resources and the Environment (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); M. Nicholson, The Environmental Revolution (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970); D. and N. Nowlan, The Bad Trip: the Untold Story of the Spadina Expressway (Toronto: New Press, 1970); E.J. Schoop and J.E. Hirten, "The San Francisco Bay Plan: Combining Policy with Police Power," American Institute of Planners Journal, Vol. 35 (January 1971), pp. 2-10; W.R.D. Sewell and C.J.B. Wood, Environmental Decision-Making and Environmental Stress: the Goldstream Controversy, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, May 1971.

[7]Further references to the upsurge in public expression relating to the environment include: Resources for the Future, Inc., Annual Report 1971 (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971); and L.N. Tognacci et al., "Environmental Quality: How Universal is Public Concern?," Environment and Behavior, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 73-86.

[8]Included in the references to the public's demand for a more active role in policy-making are the following: A.A. D'Amato, "Environmental Degradation and Legal Action," Science and Public Affairs, Vol. 26, No. 3 (March 1970), pp. 24-26; G.E. Frakes and C.B. Solberg, Pollution Papers (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971; J. Reynolds, "Public Participation in Planning," Town Planning Review, Vol. 40, No. 2 (July 1969), pp. 131-148; J.L. Sax, Defending the Environment: a Strategy for Citizen Action (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970); W.R.D. Sewell and I. Burton, Perceptions and Attitudes in Resources Management (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1971); and N. Wengert, Natural Resources and the Political Struggle (New York: Random House, 1955).

[9]In 1970, several of the popular weekly and monthly journals devoted major parts of an edition to environmental problems in North America, Europe or the world. For example, the 26 January, 1970 issue of Newsweek was entitled "Our Ravaged Environment," and in the 12 June, 1972 issue of the same magazine, the cover proclaims "The Big Cleanup; the Environmental Crisis of '72". Professional magazines also indicate the widespread concern; for example, the January 1972 edition of the Geographical Magazine considers the impacts of Alaskan oil development. Also of note is the fact that the United Nations held a world-wide conference on the environment in Sweden in June of 1972.

[10]Some authors which may have helped stimulate public awareness include: L. Caldwell, Environment: a Challenge to Modern Society (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1971); R. Carson, Silent Spring (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962); G. De Bell, The Environmental Handbook (New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1970); P. Ehrlich, The Population Bomb (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968); W. Marx, The Frail Ocean (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967); C.A. Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Bantam Books, 1971); R. and L.T. Reinow, Moment in the Sun (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967).

[11]The problem of the universality of environmental concern is mentioned by: C.J. Davies, The Politics of Pollution (New York: Pegasus, 1970); L.N. Tognacci et al., "Environmental Quality: How Universal is Public Concern," Environment and Behavior, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 73-86; and N. Wengert, "Public Participation in Water Planning: A Critique of Theory, Doctrine, and Practice," Water Resources Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Feb. 1971), pp. 26-32.

[12]One of the studies undertaken on environmental (conservation) groups in the United States is by J. Harry, R.P. Gale, J.C. Hendee, "Conservation: an Upper-Middle Class Social Movement," Journal of Leisure Research, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Summer 1969), pp. 246-254; other studies include that by Schoop and Hirten, "The San Francisco Bay Plan: Combining Policy with Police Power," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 35 (January 1971), pp. 2-10. One study, by Donald Chant, Pollution Probe (Toronto: New Press, 1970), discusses the action of one group in Canada, and another study by C. Ferguson, Efforts of the Citizen, Labatt Breweries, and Government to Achieve Environmental Quality in British Columbia (Vancouver, B.C.: Labatt Breweries of B.C., Ltd., 1971) is concerned with the groups active in B.C., but neither of these studies discusses the characteristics or role of groups in any detail.

[13]Geographers involved in developing theoretical frameworks of decision-making include: R.E. Kasperson, "Political Behavior and the Decision-Making Process in the Allocation of Water Resources Between Recreational and Municipal Use," Natural Resources Journal, Vol. 9 (April 1969), pp. 176-211; R.E. Kasperson, "Environmental Stress and the Municipal Political System," In R.E. Kasperson and J. Minghi, eds., The Structure of Political Geography (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 481-496; T. O'Riordan, Perspectives on Resource Management (London: Pion Ltd., 1971); W.R.D. Sewell, Administrative Responses to the Changing Role of Water Resources Planning, Paper prepared for the United Nations Inter-Regional Seminar on Water Resources Planning and Administration, New Delhi, India, 7-16 December, 1971; G.F. White, "The Choice of Use in Resource Management," Natural Resources Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1961), pp. 23-40.

[14]Some studies undertaken by geographers, which are the exceptions, are those by: A. Guymer, "Water Supply for London, Ontario," in W.R.D. Sewell and I. Burton, eds., Perceptions and Attitudes in Resources Management (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971), pp. 61-70; T. O'Riordan, "Towards a Strategy of Public Involvement," in Sewell and Burton, op. cit., pp. 99-110; and T. O'Riordan, "Public Opinion and Environmental Quality: a Reappraisal," Environment and Behavior, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 191-214.

CHAPTER 2

THE INTEREST GROUP PHENOMENON

Interest groups have been described as "critical centers of power" which operate in the political arena.[1] As such they have contributed greatly to the aggressive and dynamic qualities of the decision-making process. The members and the activities of such groups have provided a focus of study for sociologists, economists, social psychologists, and political scientists. Over the years several fundamental lines of research have been established: interest groups have been studied (a) in depth as single entities, (b) in terms of their functions in a single arena, such as the legislature, and (c) in terms of their concern with particular policy issues.[2]

The range of investigations concerning interest groups has varied from consideration of the processes of group formation to the development of organizational structures within the group and its subsequent functioning, and from the ways in which groups influence member behavior (and vice versa) to the development of social relationships between individual members and among groups. In attempts to assess the role and influence of interest groups in the decision-making process, factors such as the type of group, the kinds of people who become members, the internal structure and dynamics of groups, the group's goals or aims, and the strategies employed to achieve them, have been investigated. In some cases these studies have resulted in the development of new theories, or refinements of existing descriptions of political effectiveness.

This chapter summarizes some of the major findings of research on interest groups, and indicates the relevance of these findings to environmental interest groups and their role in decision-making.

Types of Interest Groups

There are hundreds of different kinds of interest groups. Farmer's organizations, professional associations, labor unions, political parties, bowling leagues, women's garden clubs, 4-H clubs, YM-YWCA's, scout troups, hiking groups, Lions, Kinsmen, veterans organizations, consumer groups, co-operatives, religious and ethnic minorities are but a few examples.

Researchers have attempted to classify such groups by selecting a few characteristic properties, and defining "types" of groups on the basis of whether these properties are present or absent.[3] For example, groups may be classified by their motivating interests, by size and geographic area of operation, mode of formation, membership and accessibility, and by objective. In many cases, simple dichotomies have resulted from use of this technique; groups are motivated by philanthropic or selfish considerations; are large or small in terms of membership numbers -- are federated or single entities; operate in local, regional, provincial, national or international spheres, and are rural or urban in scope; are formed spontaneously or deliberately, by citizens or government; are joined by professionals or laymen or both, and have voluntary, conditional, or compulsory membership; are active or passive and political or non-political in outlook.[4]

Generally groups are observed to be job-related, church-related, social-recreational groups, fraternal-service organizations, adult-leadership-of-youth-clubs, or ideological in nature.[5] And, depending on the extent to which members share values, interests, and symbols, the interpersonal relationships in the varying types of groups range from formal to informal.[6] Virtually all of these properties can apply to environmental interest groups. Of greater importance than being able to "type" groups, however, is the ability to state which properties might be important in accounting for the variations in effectiveness of environmental interest groups active in the decision-making process. For example, it might be suggested that a federation of groups, because it represents a much larger, and supposedly representative, section of the population than a single group, would have a correspondingly greater influence on the decision-making process. Similarly it might be hypothesized that an environmental interest group whose membership draws mainly on professional people might obtain a fairer hearing than a group consisting mainly of laymen because of the credibility and status of the former. Thus far, however, little such testing has been done on environmental interest groups, and a review of the literature suggests that there has been insufficient empirical study to provide confirmation of these statements.

Of the many questions that could profitably be raised about environmental interest group composition, there appear to be five aspects particularly relevant in developing an understanding of their influence in policy-making. These relate to (a) the kinds of people who join environmental interest groups, (b) the size of the groups, (c) leadership and membership qualities and distinctions,

(d) communication patterns within the groups, and (e) the financial power groups possess. These five areas of research might provide valuable insights into the claims of representativeness of environmental interest groups, the roles of professionally-qualified members, the importance of group size in policy negotiations, the part that different members' perceptions play in intra-group decisions about goals, issues and strategies, and knowledge of the political process, as well as the importance of financial support.[7]

On the basis of knowledge such as the above, comparisons between environmental and other types of interest groups could be made, enabling environmental interest groups to assess their apparent strengths and shortcomings, and alter their structure if necessary.

Functions of Interest Groups

A large volume of research has been generated in connection with the functions and objectives of interest groups. Although the variety in specific group objectives is as great as the range in types of groups, it is possible to classify groups in several different ways. The first method divides interest groups according to instrumental, expressive, or instrumental-expressive (mixed mode) functions.[8] In instrumental groups the members are concerned with, and committed to, goals which do not contribute directly to their own personal and immediate satisfactions. They are concerned with activities designed to maintain or achieve some condition affecting non-members outside the organization, such as electing a candidate or training a retarded child. Generally instrumental groups

are characterized by benevolence and philanthropy. Some groups of this sort include the community service organizations such as the Kinsmen or Lions, Peace Corps volunteers, and missionaries.

In contrast, the expressive groups engage in activities that provide immediate and continuing gratification to the individual. The orientation of the group is not to goal attainment in the future, but to present gratification within the organization, such as with special interest or hobby groups, athletic or recreational clubs including sports fishermen, tennis clubs or spelunkers. These groups are characterized by self-interest, self expression and security concerns.

Some groups (mixed mode) incorporate both functions to some extent; here members identify with the organization both for the fellowship it provides, and for the special objectives it seeks. In some cases, it is worthwhile to note that the function of a group may not be found in its stated objectives, but rather in its ability to bestow prestige or be associated with the prestige which accrues to members.[9] Examples of a mixed mode type of group could include country clubs, vintage car clubs, hiking clubs and wilderness preservation groups.

Environmental interest groups have instrumental, expressive, or instrumental-expressive functions just as other interest groups. Environmental g roup members may be concerned with selfless goals to be achieved in the future, or they may be entirely concerned with the immediate satisfaction of their own grievances, or alternatively (and most probably), they may combine several of these attributes.[10]

As in the case of other characteristics of environmental interest groups, there has been little study of their functions and objectives. Questions such as the following remain largely unanswered. What do environmental interest groups hope to achieve? Do they exist primarily to provide people with a channel of expression or do they attempt to promote public awareness of environmental problems and stimulate public controversy through information dissemination? Are their intentions to create a certain kind of voluntary organization image in the public mind, or is their wish to attain institutional organization character to achieve status with the policy makers? Is education to change public attitudes, or action to ensure legislation is enacted, the major goal?

Answers to such questions would help in understanding whether environmental interest groups fight particular issues to safeguard their own (membership) interests, or promote environmental quality for its own sake. This might be important in understanding why groups form, and why they become involved in particular environmental issues.

The second way in which group objectives may be distinguished is directly related to the reasons for interest group formation, and will be discussed below.

Formation of Interest Groups

Interest groups often emerge as a response to unfavorably perceived conditions in society and function to provide or promote a reaction to those same conditions. Groups may originate in response to some immediate problem,[11] or when individuals experience "relative deprivation" (discontent over their current

form of life) and have hopes for a new style of living,[12] or when those who are at a bargaining disadvantage wish to rebalance the system.[13]

The other major response is to institutions. If existing institutions are inadequate or unresponsive to individuals, then group action is likely to occur.[14] N. Hinrichs has described this response to institutional deficiency:

> As government apparatus grows bigger it also becomes more remote from the life of the ordinary citizen, and less responsive to whatever pressures he can exert on it as an individual. In consequence, a kind of extra-government politics has developed -- the purpose is to secure enough collective power to influence the existing government structure.[15]

In reacting -- either positively or negatively -- to the status quo in society, interest groups provide a direct means for individuals to articulate political demands, to initiate the desired change(s), and to participate in the system. By joining forces to achieve goals beyond those attainable individually, group members may gain the political experience necessary to deal effectively with government, and influence public policy. Interest groups provide the links between the experts, politicians, medias, business, and the public; they provide the opportunity for the individual to fulfill his personal values and felt needs, be they psychological, physical, affiliative, social, security, or power achievement needs.[16] Froman,[17] indicates that the effects of interest group strength can help (a) channel communications to decision-makers, (b) structure alternative policy choices, (c) act as buffers between the government and the people, (d) check demands made by others, (e) provide for functional representation (choice of political personnel), (f) compartmentalize access to decision-makers, and (g) provide

people with an emotional outlet. Interest groups possess a further function, that of education -- about the political system, and about live policy issues.[18]

Researchers such as T. O'Riordan, Sax, and D'Amato[19] have said that environmental interest groups form in response to an accelerating pace of environmental degradation, and that they also express the powerlessness and limited effectiveness people have felt and experienced in trying to participate effectively in institutional decisions that affect their lives. To date, however, research has provided only general conclusions to questions on the formation of interest groups, and much less has been discovered about the specific conditions resulting in the formation of environmental interest groups.

Perhaps the most important questions regarding the formation of environmental groups concern the kinds of environmental disruptions that receive attention from environmental interest groups, and the agents that trigger that action. Consideration of two factors may identify some of the reasons why groups form, and why some groups survive and others die out. These two factors are (a) the characteristics of the problem itself, and (b) the attributes of the group involved.

Often it seems that many of the less grave threats to amenities or human health annoy the public the most and receive the concentrated attention from environmental groups. The reasons for the choice of such issues may lie in the fact that they appear manageable or solvable. That is, the problem is small in scale, or local in focus, specific, and simply understood. Prospects of

successful action, if an environmental interest group formed in response to the appearance of such an issue, seem quite large; the costs and skills necessary look minimal, and the risks involved by taking a stand on the issue are not great. The payoff from success may be quite high if there is sufficient public outcry aroused on the issue. Even if the payoff was low, perhaps a "success" would be of credit to the group. The probability that such a conceptually simple problem would involve only a short-term or a reversible decision and would not affect a large number of individuals contributes to this fortunate situation.

Is it possible that the converse of any of the components above will predispose a group to failure? That is, if an environmental issue is large in scale, or involves a number of different or conflicting interests, or is conceptually complicated, or of a serious nature with ramifications expected to reach a large number of people over a long period of time, and require an irreversible decision, is a group likely to succeed in any action it takes? If a great deal of time, money and skill must be contributed to a problem in which the outcome is by no means certain, even though the payoff to the group would be extremely great, is the greater risk of failure worth the payoff? If the payoff was not so high or the risks not so great would a group attempt to become involved?

Answers to questions like the above would be valuable in detailing the process of environmental interest group appearance and activity, and would help, in subsequent analyses, to distinguish groups with different characteristics and viewpoints. Part of the answer to these questions is to be found in the characteristics of the group: what its goals are, what kind of people it attracts and which

individuals it tries to influence, whether environmental concern is generally oriented or intellectual in nature and so on. The following section deals with the membership question.

Members of Interest Groups

Frequently, voluntary interest groups have been analyzed on the basis of the characteristics of the participants, such as age, sex, socio-economic background, and education. Although some contradictions exist in the literature,[20] it is commonly agreed that (a) males are more likely to be members of voluntary associations than females, (b) membership and participation increase with increases in education, (c) non-manual workers have greater participation in groups than manual workers, (d) married persons have greater voluntary association participation than non-marrieds, (e) the longer the length of residence in a community, the more likely individuals are affiliated with groups, (f) homeowners more often participate in groups than home renters, (g) membership in groups often increases with increase in social status, and (h) middle-aged individuals have a greater frequency of affiliation than young adults and older persons.[21]

J.C. Scott has characterized the standard voluntary association member as:

> ...a 45 year old married man of high social status, who is a Protestant, a non-manual worker and possibly a son of native-born parents; who has two children, a college education, fifty or more "friends", his own home which is no more than the third house in which he has lived since he came to the community less than eleven years ago; and who participates as a member only in a fraternal association which he attends approximately twice a month, which costs

> him 23 dollars a year and of which he has been a member for ten years.[22]

Does Scott's description of the average interest group member characterize the typical environmental interest group member? Are people who join environmental interest groups different psychologically or socio-economically from people who join other groups or who do not join groups at all? Although relatively little is known about environmental organization membership, there are some preliminary indications that youth plays a much more significant role in environmental interest groups than in interest groups in general. Morrison and others,[23] for example, have remarked on the large numbers of young people that are highly committed and involved in the environmental movement; generally youth are seen at protest marches, and are the ones who collect recyclable material and so on. These same researchers have also suggested that environmental interest group members, and leaders especially, are well-educated, articulate citizens in higher-status, well-paying occupations and that they have the financial resources, time, and conceptual and organizational skills to commit themselves to the environmental movement, rather than to self-survival.

However, results of their research have sometimes been contradictory. On the one hand, researchers such as Morrison, and McClosky have described environmental interest group members as knowledgeable and aware, ideologically sophisticated, and possessing a sense of personal responsibility for pollution, with a questioning attitude toward social values rather than social institutions. On the other hand, however, Lowenthal has portrayed eco-activists as naive,

impatient, ignorant, and anti-institutional, and as people who echo commonplace opinions and familiar phrases rather than express their innermost beliefs, or who lack a consistent and coherent philosophy.[24] Research would be profitable in this area also, to determine the role of youth, education, and social status in influencing policy-decisions and decision-makers.

Interest Group Structure

All groups, in performing their tasks in society, have functions that must be fulfilled in order to survive and be effective.[25] The formation of the particular systematic organization (structure) by which groups divide their labor is neither random nor simple: it is a response to the requirements for efficient group performance, the different motivations and abilities of different individuals, and the physical and social characteristics of the group's environment.[26] In turn, these requirements are influenced by such factors as the values and attitudes of members within the group, the goals of particular members, and of the group as an entity, the size and financial situation of the group, the personality characteristics and experiences of members, and the communication patterns among group members.[27] Group structure is important, because to a large extent, it sets the channels for and the limits of the group's activities.

The Role of Leadership

Approaches to the study of group structure have concentrated upon the different structural elements, and upon the relations between these parts.

Perhaps the most basic distinction is between leadership and membership elements; of these, leadership has received the greatest attention, with research focusing on the role or functions, qualities and types of leaders, and on the power structure and its attendant characteristics. Psychologists have taken the lead in this aspect of interest group research: important leadership studies have been carried out or reported by Zisk, Hinton and Reitz, and Cartwright and Zander.[28]

Because it is virtually impossible for any group to solve directly all the problems that may confront it, the affairs of most interest groups are run on a day-to-day basis by a fraction of the total membership. By definition, almost, only a small proportion of persons become central to the organization, make decisions, and communicate to the total membership; the majority of members are peripheral. Leadership, then, is crucial to the direction of the group, to the quantity and volume of political activity, its quality and direction, and to the active or passive nature of group activities.[29]

A major thrust of leadership research has been to determine why particular leaders arise within groups. The results have suggested that, if the group possesses "democratic" attitudes (which involve approval of such devices as periodic election of key officials, broad participation by the membership in the group's policy-making either directly, or through a system of elected representatives, written constitutions, etcetera), then the members choosing their leader consider the range of abilities and virtues of the man who they feel has the

best ideas, or who they like best, and vote him (or another) in by majority rule.[30]

Depending on whether the group leader(s) is (are) expected to (a) provide consideration or support for group members, (b) facilitate interaction and communication, (c) do the planning and thinking, and (d) develop group cohesiveness,[31] as well as, (e) co-ordinate, direct and evaluate group actions, (f) expediate task performance, or (g) emphasize group goals,[32] the members expect varying qualities in a leader. He (or she) may need to be critical, directive, task-oriented, permissive, considerate, person-oriented, authoritarian, democratic, bureaucratic, autocratic, passive, or charismatic according to the group's needs or tasks, but researchers[33] seem to agree that almost all leaders are intelligent, motivated, willing to make decisions (decisive), have greater than average ability at inter-personal relations, possess personal integrity, and show fairness, have stamina, conceptual abilities, and influential contacts. Perhaps even more importantly, they have information about politics, issues, channels of communication, and rules of political participation; their skills in manipulating these channels of access and skills in written and oral expression, in reasoning with and handling others, intimately affect the survival and influence of the group. Depending also, on the stage of development the group has reached -- social unrest, popular excitement, formalization or institutional stage -- the leader may be required to act, respectively, as an agitator, a prophet or reformer, a statesman, or an administrator.[34] The atmosphere the leader creates within the group, the degree of cohesion or solidarity existing between members, and intra-group communication and participation all affect the internal dynamics, movement, stability,

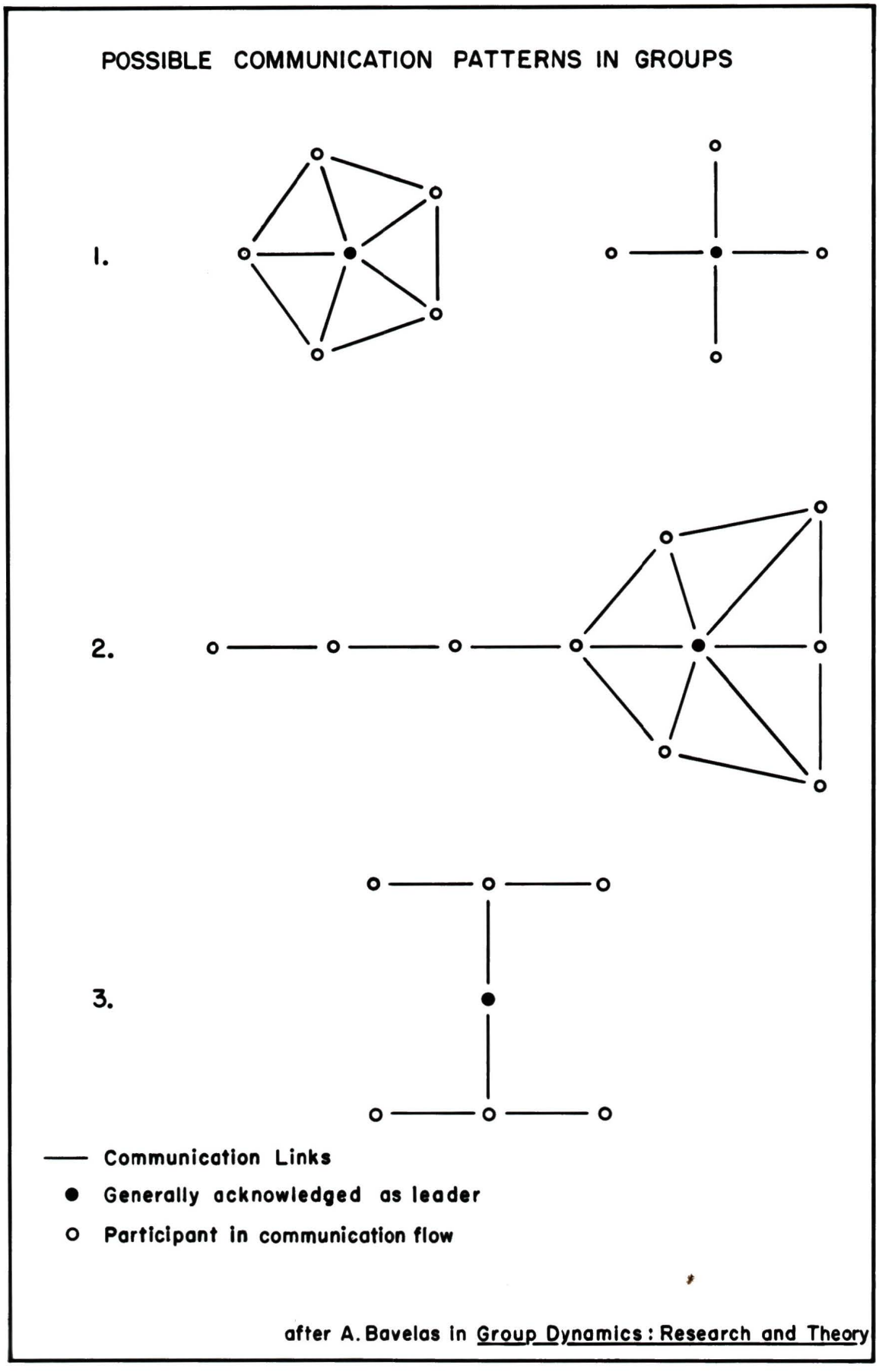
growth and tactics of the group. The question is, how do environmental interest group leaders compare to other group leaders in terms of knowledge and skills?

The Role of Group Power Structure

The power structure evident within organized groups may be considered as a representation of the formal, organized channels through which communication flows between and among the leaders and the lead take place. Such patterns of communication have been treated mathematically through the use of diagrams, on an individual or group scale. For example, the inter-personal flow of communication diagrams of Figure 2, following, reveal that (a) one person may be in a central position (diagram 1), (b) that another is in a peripheral position (diagram 2), and (c) that a third might be located in the only position connecting two parts of the group (diagram 3).[35] Similar diagrams could be drawn to illustrate the pyramidal, factional, coalitional, or amorphous character of communication flows on a group scale.[36]

The relevance of these diagrams of the power structure to environmental interest groups is recognized in assessing the degree to which the issue and strategies selected reflect the membership or executive viewpoints. That is, to what extent do members communicate their views and feelings to the executive: is the group structured in such a way that group activity is representative of group opinion or only the leaders opinions? If answers to these questions could be found, it might be possible to identify another factor significant in assessing the political influence of environmental interest groups.

FIGURE 2


POSSIBLE COMMUNICATION PATTERNS IN GROUPS
1.
2.
3.
Communication Links
Generally acknowledged as leader
Participant in communication flow
after A. Bavelas in Group Dynamics: Research and Theory

The Role of Group Size

Because interest groups operate within a democratic frame of reference, the degree of legitimacy, respectability, or credibility granted to a group by the decision-makers may depend on the image of the group. The image a group displays results from a number of things, among them the numerical strength of, or mass support for the group, the financial resources it controls, the representativeness of its claims and its membership, the quality of its members and leaders, and the presence of professionals within the ranks of the group. It may be, for example, that some groups influence policy-makers to a greater extent than others because they command, and back their protests with, a mass following which, as it poses a greater physical threat to the policy process than the activity of a smaller group, results in speedier political recognition. Groups may also achieve influence by impressing the decision-makers with the quality of their members, or the representativeness of their claims.[37]

Can environmental interest groups claim to be representative, or to possess any reputable, impressive professional to boost their image? Have they the financial resources to support their stand and take any necessary action? What qualities -- both technical and social -- do environmental interest group leaders possess?

With answers to such questions, it would be possible to predict whether or not an environmental interest group stood any chance of making its views known

and being assured some kind of response from the decision-makers. It would enable the addition or deletion of one more factor on the list of qualities necessary to achieve influence in policy-making. In summary, the structure of environmental interest groups has been studied to only a limited extent. As a consequence, little is known about the roles of leadership, group size, and the influence of professionals, providing a wide area for research.

Public Participation in Decision-Making: Goals of Interest Groups

The goals or aims of interest groups are conditioned partly by their perceived and actual functions, and partly by their degree of desire to participate in the decision-making process. As discussed above, interest groups may exist and function as vehicles to implement special interests of members, or they may provide a setting in and through which a change in some aspect of society may be achieved.[38] The latter type of group is of greatest concern here, and especially those groups which consciously attempt to affect public policy decisions. Their raison d'être is rooted both in ethical and pragmatic considerations.

In all democratic societies it is generally recognized that the citizenry should be given the opportunity to participate in decisions that affect their destiny.[39] In their desire to create a responsive government that will consider the experience, knowledge, attitudes and values, goals and energies of concerned individuals in creating plans for the future, interest groups serve to articulate political demands in society.[40] The transformation of these demands into parameters for political action or actual public policy -- by attempting to influence the various processes

of policy-making through techniques other than the ballot box and referendum -- constitutes an important goal of many politically oriented interest groups.[41] Other goals, of citizen participation in general, include the redistribution of power, or creation of new power centers, based on numbers and commitment or dedication, rather than on control of wealth and institutions, and the generation of a greater sense of public involvement in governmental affairs.[42]

Political groups constantly endeavor to shape public policy; ultimately to gain its end an interest group must gain access to the centers of policy-making in government, while at the same time prevent or limit competing groups from gaining a similar advantage.[43] The strategies by which they might accomplish such a task are described more fully later in this chapter. To ensure political efficacy, interest groups must find means to influence key elements of the governmental structure. Such elements are noted later in this chapter also. At this point, however, it is important to note what the objectives of the various groups might be.

Some interest groups have an educational objective; they present current, live issues to the public and help stimulate controversy by developing and distributing materials which break complex issues into a form that is comprehensible to the public.[44] By such action, they may seek to change public attitudes.[45] Still other groups seek an educational goal through the dissemination of information on government policy and laws. In many cases, these groups do not become active in political spheres, preferring to remain passive.

The goals of interest groups may be clear or fuzzy, operational or

unworkable, challenging or unrealistic, recognized and well-known, or unrecognized or understood by only a few "in" group members. Group goals may affect one individual, a large number of citizens or groups, or an entire society; command respect or earn disdain. They may be specific or general, and appeal to intellectual or popular sentiments.[46]

The role an environmental interest group actually plays is often very different than the goals it wished to achieve by being involved in the decision-making process. Although the general role of environmental interest groups are to (a) temper the policy choices of individual decision-makers on resources issues; that is, to be a counterforce to influence legislation, or (b) represent the views and interests of a particular group of people, the actual group goals may be to "ensure preservation of the environment", "to educate the public and/or the decision-makers to the costs of pollution and provide the means for expressing their wishes", or "to promote the enactment of legislation to keep pollution within bounds, and to establish environmental standards."

Some interest groups seem to thrive on controversy, but they also seem to die of apathy when a crisis is past, or to deteriorate through time. The cycle of appearance, disappearance, and possible reappearance, however, means that public participation by groups is by no means constant or even certain; it is ad hoc, crisis-oriented, and often emotional rather than rational. The majority of environmental interest groups seem only to react to environmental disaster: very few are able to anticipate possible environmental threats. Most groups seem to lack that certain degree of institutionalization which makes it possible to retain

the public confidence and yet possess enough power to be seriously considered in policy-making circles. For example, although it is possible and desirable to challenge decisions on the basis of watchdog tactics, many of the environmental interest groups in B.C. seem to have attempted to embarrass or harass the industrial and governmental powers they oppose. Far from creating a responsible image, environmental organizations have raised barriers of criticism and skepticism between themselves and the government, and created a negative, alienating image. How badly, if at all, this has damaged the role that other environmental interest groups might play or have played in translating goals into legislation, is not known.[47]

Statements like these would seem to indicate that, if any favorable environmental legislation has occurred, the interest groups could not take much credit. Even if environmental legislation was ratified by government as a face-saving or image-creating tactic, or whether it was enacted out of geniune concern, the environmental interest group may not have had a very important influence in determining the final outcome. It is important to know the past record of groups and their relations with decision-makers as a possible factor in explaining present decision-making actions.

Is an interest group's actions in the policy process determined by the way in which the group perceives its role in that process? How do environmental interest groups approach resources issues -- do they concentrate on specific pollution problems, or do they represent a general voice of concern that emphasizes conservation? Are groups "slogan-rich and action-poor"? Have they achieved any

success with the policy-making process; that is, have they succeeded in obtaining some desired legislation passed? Which methods or strategies were employed? A fuller description of the strategies which may be used to attain goals is the subject of the following section.

Interest Group Strategies

The goals of interest groups are limited. They are not organized to take over governments, but rather they aim to accomplish specific, relatively narrow tasks, and to influence policy at selected points.[48] However, without access to the administrative machinery, it is very difficult for interest groups to influence decisions. Generally, the political process and decision-makers are accessible to citizens and/or interest groups through channels provided by legislation; these avenues of access may be classified as direct or indirect.

Direct methods bring individuals and groups into immediate contact with the policy-maker through such strategies as appearances to testify at committee meetings, or fact-finding missions, sit-ins, or personal appointments and visits to the offices of legislators, administrators, executive assistants, MP's and higher civil servants, and public elected officials. There are other direct methods which do not involve face-to-face communication. These include letter-writing, telephone calls, telegrams, presentation of briefs and reports, petitions, use of the courts, and the use of the press or other media.[49]

Indirect methods, in contrast, attempt to gain recognition and influence through teach-ins, speak-outs, marches and demonstrations, picket lines,

newsletters, media releases, mass rallies, and public meetings.[50]

Different strategies are used in attempts to achieve different types of goals; that is, the strategies that one interest group might use to confront the policy-making process would not be the same as those used by other interest groups acting in co-operation with decision-makers. The group with an anti-government attitude might be expected to resort to sit-ins, marches and demonstrations and mass rallies to try and make their points, whereas the group with a "pro-" attitude to government might, in contrast, make use of personal contact with the decision-makers and employ informal memos et. cetera. But there is little concrete evidence that strategies chosen express group attitudes towards government or policy-making processes.

The effectiveness of these different strategies, however, varies greatly from group to group as a result of where, how, and by whom the strategy (or pressure) is applied, and factors such as the group leadership, the targets of activity, and the decision-making process also play an important role. For example, it has been suggested that the effectiveness of personal or written communication depends on how close a personal relationship has been cultivated between the group executive and the real decision-makers, and that decision-makers may be impressed by a group's ideas or goals in direct proportion to how impressed they are by its individual members -- their education, ability to debate, reputation, social standing, knowledge and expertise, popularity, charisma, and so on.[51]

In attempting to gain access to policy-makers, a successful interest group must conduct its campaign along a series of fronts -- individual legislators, legislative committees, legislative leaders, party leaders, the executive, bureaucracy and the courts, as well as opinion leaders in the community. The target of group action strategies is important if the group is to identify with the relevant publics, and function within the existing societal value patterns.[52] Various studies have revealed that if a network of informal personal communication has been established with any of the above, plus other groups and the press, lines of communication and access are likely to be more readily opened to such a group, especially if the group acts as a cohesive unit.[53] Many groups spend a good deal of time and effort in building up and maintaining a feeling of friendship and mutual trust and respect with senior civil servants.

Environmental interest group strategies are less well known. It has not been shown, for instance, how various environmental interest groups go about trying to achieve their aims. Nor is it clear whether certain strategies or action on certain kinds of issues bring more satisfactory results than others. It is not known what value personal contacts are in policy-making circles, nor what level of government or which agencies and individuals are pressured by environmental interest groups. In trying to shed past detrimental images, are environmental interest groups becoming more careful and sophisticated in their selection of material for publication or presentation in reports? Do successful environmental interest groups combine direct and indirect means of influence; are their strategies in any way similar to groups known to be successful in policy-making? How

do they use the press and other media?[54] If research could produce answers to any of these unknowns it might be possible to indicate whether, and to what extent, environmental interest groups differ from other types of interest groups, and to predict the likelihood of success for environmental groups.

One of the most important factors in assessing effectiveness of group strategies is the willingness of the political decision-making process to consider interest group representation. The decision-making process in British Columbia is the subject of Chapter 3. The following section, however, is devoted to a description of the policy-making process and the participants in that process.

The Role of Interest Groups in the Decision-Making Process

Understanding the decision-making process itself is prerequisite to understanding the role that environmental interest groups play in policy formation. The decision-making process has provided a central focus for studies in political science and economics; two approaches have emerged from this research. One way of examining policy outcomes has been the development and application of normative models intended to assess how good a decision was. A second has involved the development of descriptive models to determine how and why decisions were made the way they were.

Normative models operate on the basis of several simplified assumptions of human behavior: they assume man's decision choices are rational, that men desire to maximize their good fortunes, and that alternative decision choices are based on perfect knowledge of possible outcomes. Normative models specify

both the goals and the means to attain some ideal or optimal decision. If man fails to attain the maximum objectives possible, normative models indicate that the decision was non-rational or that some of the prescribed conditions were absent.[55]

Normative models are valuable in that they simplify the complex process of decision-making. Recently, however, emphasis has shifted from such prescriptive models to descriptive models as behavioral science has developed, and as criticisms of both the conceptual underpinnings and the practical value of the normative models have appeared. For example, Simon[56] criticized the normative assumption that man maximizes his utility (objectives) and says that the models, especially as they relate to the psychological aspects of human behavior, are not based on empirical fact. Simon suggests, instead, that man's decisions are characterized by "bounded rationality" -- that men have a personal model of the real world and behave rationally with respect to it and not the real world per se. He also indicates that man aims to satisfy his aspirations rather than maximize them. The descriptive or behavioral approach which Simon advocates is based on commonsense observation and interpretation of human behavior in decision-making situations.

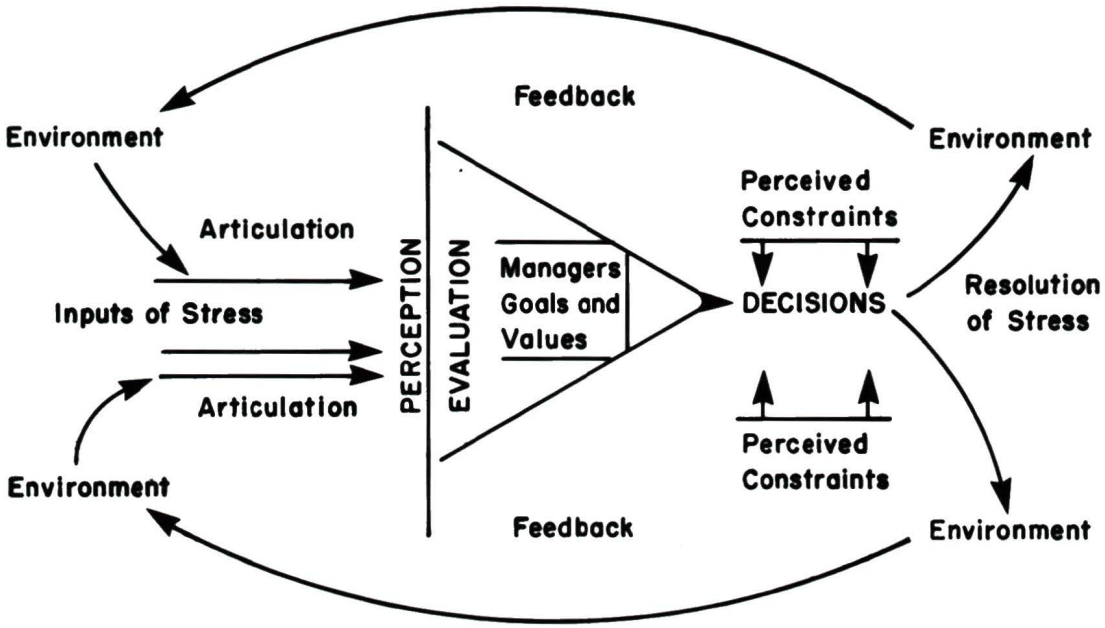
Past approaches in political science emphasizing the inputs and outputs in the analysis of decisions have now shifted, probably as a result of the shift in emphasis to behavioral dimensions, towards the process of decision-making. Fox, for example, has suggested the merits of a resource management or environmental program must be judged by the process through which it is decided upon rather

than by the consequences of the program itself.[57] This shift in research on decision-making subjects has resulted from acknowledgement that decisions are made in different conditions of knowledge and time, with different evaluation criteria and actors, and for different kinds of problems or issues requiring different kinds of decisions.

Governmental decisions on a perceived environmental issue take place within an established framework of actors and channels of communication. The process can be thought of as a set of inter-related factors -- goals, rationality, risk and uncertainty, efficacy and perceived stress, for example. Geographers, in their analyses of this decision process, have made some important contributions to the development of models of decision-making. These contributions have generally emphasized the behavioral dimensions, and have been developed using case studies, mostly in water management issues. For example, White[58] in his study of flood plain use and management, identified different kinds of goals and the different ranges of choice available -- theoretical, practical, and actual -- based on differing amounts of knowledge, and variations in perceptions of the decision-makers. Kasperson's model of environmental stress management[59] (see Figure 3), which was based on the Brockton water supply crisis, emphasizes the way in which environmental managers are influenced by their own goals and values and how the rationality of consistency of their decisions varies with regard to their values. Kates,[60] considers the influence that the time and uncertainty factors have on decisions regarding flood plain management.

Other studies, each contributing in some way to understanding of the

A MODEL OF ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS MANAGEMENT

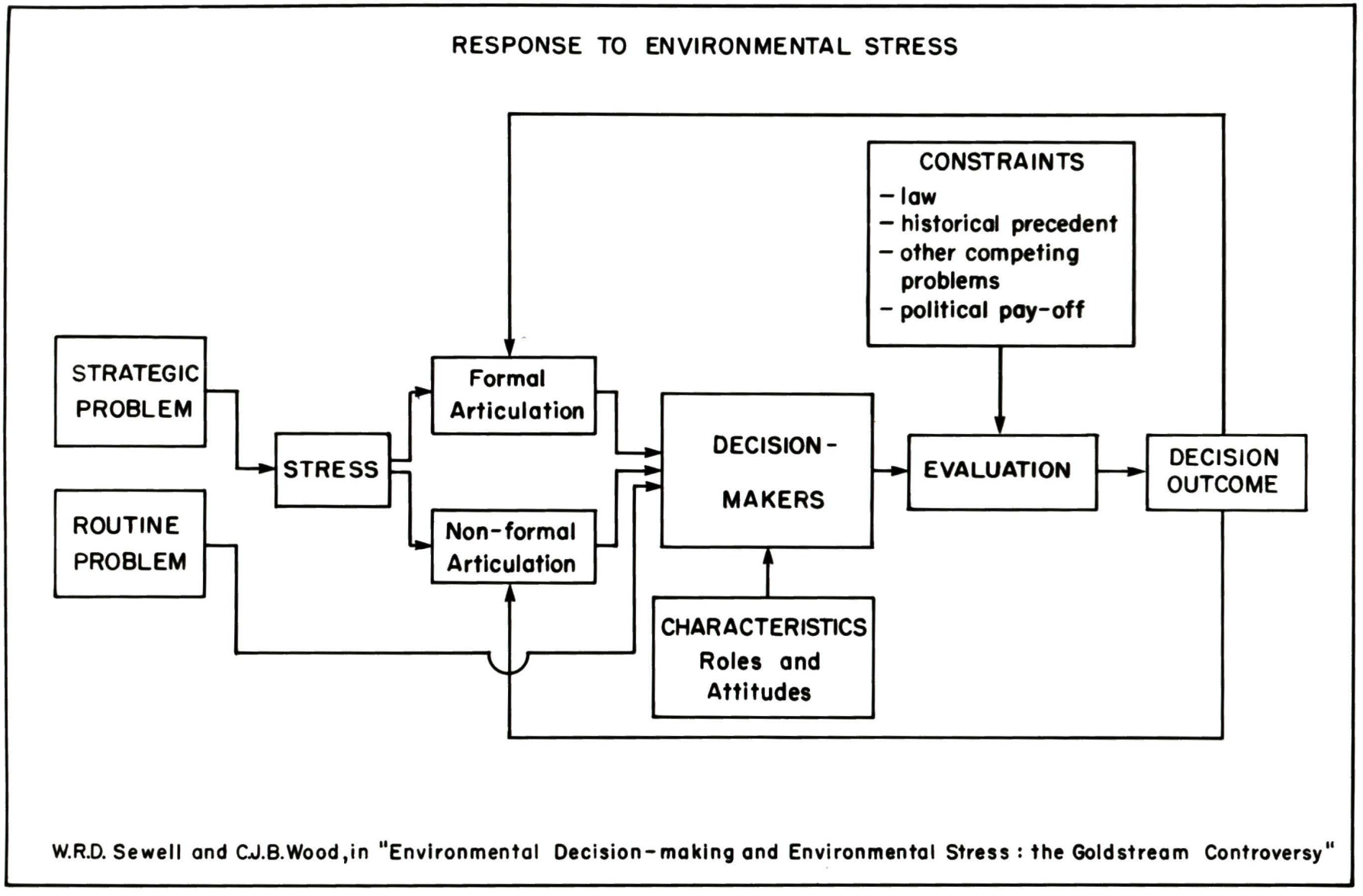


from R. Kasperson in The Structure of Political Geography

behavior in the decision-making process, include Sewell and Wood,[61] who point out that there are two kinds of environmental problems, routine or strategic (see Figure 4). Routine problems evoke no public outcry or participation as the problem can be solved using the established mechanisms for dealing with just such a problem. Where the nature of the problem and the appropriate solutions are recognized, and responsibility is well defined, there is no need for public consultation. Competence is assumed, for example, in the ability of the Water Board of Greater Victoria to oversee distribution of water to the municipalities. Strategic problems, on the other hand, develop as a conflict of interest arises, either in terms of the jurisdiction responsible, or a threat to the established routine. The public or interest groups often become involved in strategic problems, and indeed, may be instrumental in causing problems to be designated to such, as in many cases, strategic environmental problems are seen as such by public preference and not by political judgement. These strategic problems become especially acute if there are no means for the public to give expression to its views. The Goldstream crisis provides a case in point. T. O'Riordan[62] has also proposed a model which incorporates elements from the Kasperson model and from the Holden model of bargaining, and applies these in modified form to the decision-making structure in the Okanagan in regard to water pollution in Shuswap Lake.

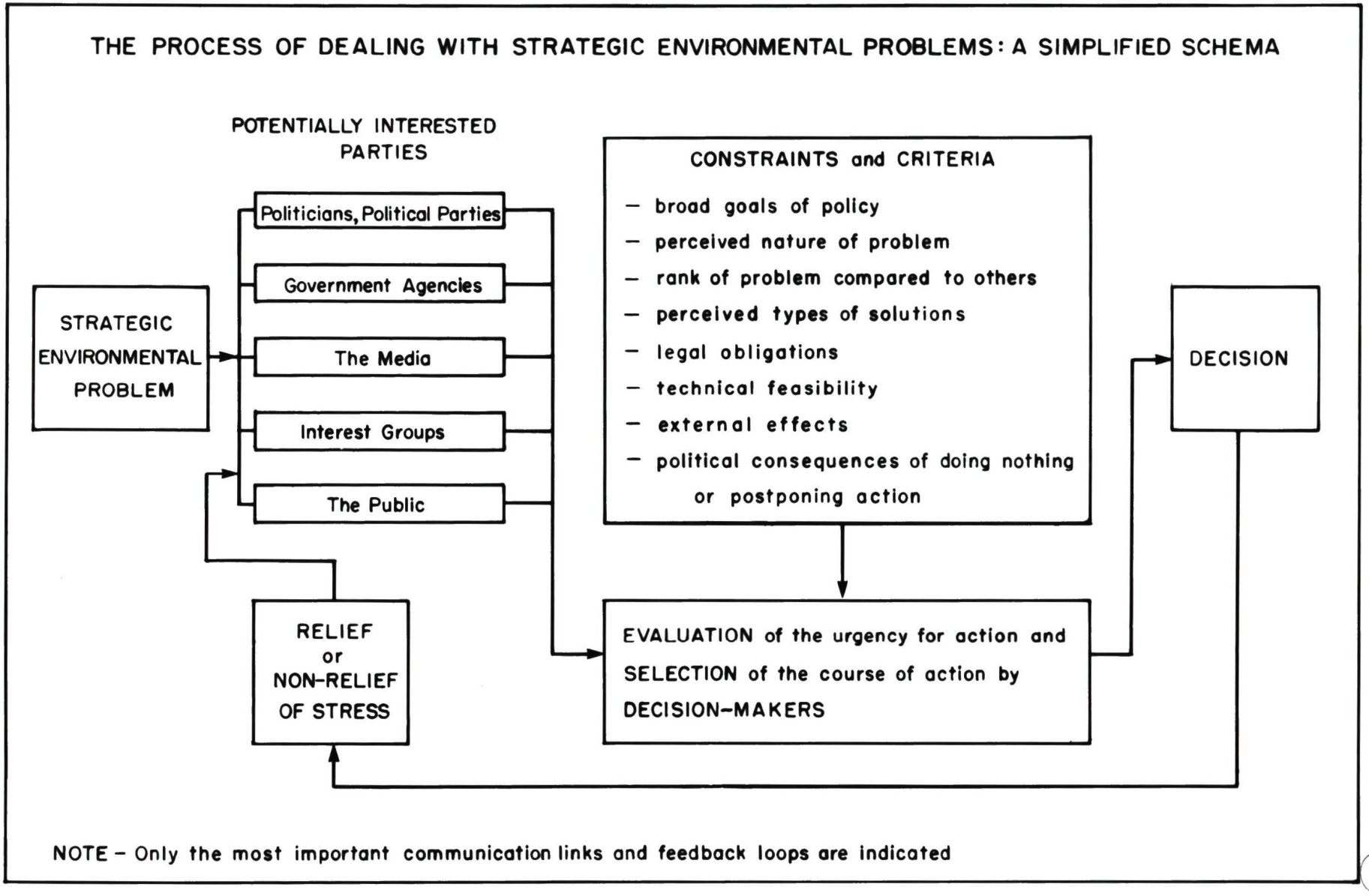
Since the interest here is only in those environmental problems in which environmental interest groups play a role in the decision-making process, Figure 5 deals only with strategic problems. Drawing on the above research on

FIGURE 4



W.R.D. Sewell and C.J.B.Wood, in "Environmental Decision-making and Environmental Stress : the Goldstream Controversy"

FIGURE 5


THE PROCESS OF DEALING WITH STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS: A SIMPLIFIED SCHEMA
POTENTIALLY INTERESTED PARTIES
Politicians, Political Parties
Government Agencies
The Media
Interest Groups
The Public
STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM
CONSTRAINTS and CRITERIA
– broad goals of policy
– perceived nature of problem
– rank of problem compared to others
– perceived types of solutions
– legal obligations
– technical feasibility
– external effects
– political consequences of doing nothing or postponing action
DECISION
RELIEF or NON-RELIEF OF STRESS
EVALUATION of the urgency for action and SELECTION of the course of action by DECISION-MAKERS
NOTE – Only the most important communication links and feedback loops are indicated

decision-making processes, a simple analytical framework can be devised for considering a strategic environmental problem and the related decision-making process.

As noted above, environmental problems can be described as either routine or strategic. The potentially interested parties include politicians and political parties, government agencies, the media, interest groups and the public. Each of these actors influences the process to some extent. For example, the public, the media, or interest groups may act as a source of information about the environmental problem. The knowledge and personality (opinions, values, and attitudes) of each different type of actor affects the kinds of interactions the individuals concerned engage in, as does the decision-makers' place in the decision hierarchy, or his role identification.

The interested parties and the decision-makers are inter-connected by channels of communication. These may be either direct (formal) or indirect (informal); formal channels of communication include such means as public hearings, personal visits, committee meetings, and presentation of briefs, while informal channels of communication include such means as discussions, public meetings and newspaper reports. At all times the group operates within the general context of the institutional (policy-making) structure. This network of actions and channels of communication filters and evaluates the information transmitted to them by environmental interest groups as well as others. Policies are formulated according to the considerations and constraints imposed by economics or previous policy precedents. As noted in the Figure 5 the decision which results

is fed back to the interested parties. If the solution is satisfactory and relieves the stress, the decision will remain as originally devised. If the solution is unsatisfactory, the interested parties may interact again, make submissions to the decision-makers and perhaps force a re-evaluation of the problems and possible solutions. The latter course is represented by dotted lines on the diagram.

In summary the elements set out in Figure 4 are common to all decision-making processes. All processes involve the recognition of goals, the identification of problems, specification of solutions, evaluation of alternatives, and selection of a strategy. The factors which affect the process, however, vary both in nature and in relative importance from one process to another. Particularly important in this regard is the institutional framework of laws, policies, a gencies and traditions. Some frameworks, for example, encourage the consideration of a wide range of alternative strategies in the search for a solution to a given problem. Others discourage it. Some frameworks provide for continuous interaction among participants in the process by the establishment of formal lines of communication, while others do not.

The study described herein deals with decision-making in a particular areal unit, British Columbia. It is also primarily concerned with the role of a particular element in such decision-making, namely, the environmental interest group. To provide a background for the analyses of the role of the latter, Chapter 3 describes the environmental policy-making process in British Columbia.

FOOTNOTES

[1]B.H. Zisk, American Political Interest Groups: Readings in Theory and Research (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1969), p. 56. Note also that there is no agreement in the literature on whether the term pressure group is more appropriate than interest group. The latter, however, emphasizes the multiple functions of these groups, of which the application of political pressure is only one; consequently, the term interest group has been used throughout this study.

[2]D.R. Hall, Co-operative Lobbying - the Power of Pressure (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1969), p. ix; and B.H. Zisk, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 58.

[3]See D. Cartwright and A. Zander, eds., Group Dynamics: Research and Theory (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 24.

[4]Among the research on characteristics of interest groups, contributions have been made by or reported in: N. Babchuk and A. Booth, "Voluntary Association Membership: A Longitudinal Analysis," American Sociological Review, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 31-45 on the sphere of operations; E. Berne, The Structure and Dynamics of Organizations and Groups (Philadelphia, Pa.: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1963), pp. 116-117 and C.W. Gordon and N. Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (February 1959), p. 26 on the membership qualifications imposed by groups; D. Cartwright and A. Zander, op. cit., footnote 3, p. 54 about the type of group and its function; D.R. Hall, op. cit., footnote 2, pp. 131, 132 on the size of organizations; B.L. Hinton and H.J. Reitz, Groups and Organizations: Integrated Readings in the Analysis of Social Behavior (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Pub. Co., Inc., 1971), pp. 9, 31 on group formation; R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, The Canadian Political System: Environment, Structure and Process (Toronto: McGraw Hill Co. of Canada Ltd., 1971), pp. 301, 302 also on group formation, but including a discussion of group concerns; R. Presthus, "Interest Groups and the Canadian Parliament: Activities, Interaction, Legitimacy, and Influence," Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 4, No. 4 (December 1971), p. 447 on types of groups; R.H. Salisbury, Interest Group Politics in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 131 concerning the distinction between single groups and federations of groups; and H. Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 9, 29, 74 on the degree of interest in political issues.

[5]See N. Babchuk and A. Booth, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 34; and H. Zeigler, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 93-199.

[6]Discussion of formal and informal relationships among group members may be found in W. Breed, The Self-Guiding Society: based on the Active Society by A. Etzioni (New York: Free Press, 1971), p. 22; and E.T. Reeves, The Dynamics of Group Behavior (New York: American Management Association, Inc., 1970), p. 77.

[7]References to the kinds of people involved in environmental interest groups, the size of such groups, and the leadership-membership distinctions, communication patterns, and financial power, may be found in: Council on Environmental Quality, Environmental Quality: the First Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, August 1970), pp. 5, 40, 213, 214; C. Ferguson, Efforts by the Citizen, Labatt Breweries, and Government to Achieve Environmental Quality in B.C. (Vancouver: Labatt Breweries of B.C. Ltd., 1971), pp. 1, 40, 41; D.E. Morrison et al., "The Environmental Movement: Some Preliminary Observations and Predictions," in W.R. Burch, Jr., et al., Social Behavior, Natural Resources and the Environment (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 261, 264; T. O'Riordan, "Towards a Strategy of Public Involvement," in W.R.D. Sewell and I. Burton, eds., Perceptions and Attitudes in Resources Management (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971), pp. 104, 105.

[8]Descriptions of instrumental, expressive or mixed mode organizations are to be found in: A. Booth, N. Babchuk, and A. Knox, "Social Stratification and Membership in Instrumental-Expressive Voluntary Associations," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1968), pp. 428, 429; C.W. Gordon and N. Babchuk, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 25, 26, 28; R.H. Salisbury, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 47; H. Zeigler, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 74; and B.H. Zisk, op. cit., footnote 1, pp. 25, 64.

[9]C.W. Gordon and N. Babchuk, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 24, 27 raise the point about stated objectives not corresponding to actual goals due to the element of prestige in association membership.

[10]References which illustrate the instrumental, expressive, or mixed functions of environmental interest groups include: M. Allaby, The Eco-Activists: Youth Fights for a Human Environment (London: Charles Knight and Co., Ltd., 1971), p. 67; D. Chant, Pollution Probe (Toronto: New Press, 1970), p. 190; Council on Environmental Quality, op. cit., footnote 7, p. 214; C.J. Davies III, The Politics of Pollution (New York: Pegasus, 1970), pp. 85-90; C. Ferguson, op. cit., footnote 7, pp. 1; 40, 41; J.C. Hendee, R.P. Gale and J. Harry, "Conservation, Politics, and Democracy," Journal of Soil and Water Conservation (November-December 1969), p. 213; and D. Lowenthal, "The Environmental Crusade: Ideals and Realities," Landscape Architecture, Vol. 60, No. 4, p. 293.

[11]H. Zeigler, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 73 provides illustrations of groups originating in response to an immediate problem.

[12]Discussion of "relative deprivation" is found primarily in A.M. Lee, Principles of Sociology (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1964), p. 199; and in D.E. Morrison, "Some Notes Toward Theory on Relative Deprivation, Social Movements, and Social Change," American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 14, No. 5 (May-June 1971), p. 675.

[13]R.H. Salisbury, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 36, discusses the rebalancing of bargaining disadvantages.

[14]H. Zeigler, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 73, considers group action or formation resulting from institutional deficiencies.

[15]N. Hinrichs, Population,Environment, and People (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971), p. 169.

[16]The functions of interest groups, both on a personal and a social or political level, are covered by: N. Babchuk and A. Booth, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 31; D. Chant, op. cit., footnote 10, p. 141; C.W. Gordon and N. Babchuk, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 23; R. Hagedorn and S. Labovitz, "An Analysis of Community and Professional Participation Among Occupations," Social Forces, Vol. 46, No. 4 (June 1967), p. 483; N. Hinrichs, op. cit., footnote 15, pp. 169, 186; B.L. Hinton and H.J. Reitz, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 32; C.E. Lindblom, The Policy-Making Process (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 49; D.E. Morrison, op. cit., footnote 12, pp. 676, 677; R.H. Salisbury, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 13; R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 297-299; H. Zeigler, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 7, 76; B.H. Zisk, op. cit., footnote 1, pp. 3, 22, 25.

[17]L.A. Froman, Jr., "Some Effects of Interest Group Strength in State Politics," American Political Science Review, Vol. 60, No. 4 (December 1966), p. 954.

[18]N. Hinrichs, op. cit., footnote 15, pp. 169 and 186, comments on the education function of interest groups.

[19]The formation of environmental interest groups in response to environmental degradation and/or in response to alienation from the decision-making process is one subject of study for each of the following researchers: Council on Environmental Quality, op. cit., footnote 7, pp. 213, 215, 216; A. D'Amato, "Environmental Degradation and Legal Action," Science and Public Affairs, Vol. 26, No. 3 (March 1970), p. 24; H.D. Johnson, No Deposit-No Return -- Man and His Environment: a View Toward Survival (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1970), 351 pp; D.E. Morrison et al., op. cit., footnote 7, pp. 99, 100; Resources for the Future, Annual Report 1971 (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), pp. 11, 12, 16-18; J. Sax, Defending the Environment: A Strategy for Citizen Action (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 252 pp.

[20]For examples of varying arguments regarding the length of residence, or male versus female predominance in groups, see: J.C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Organizations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (June 1957), pp. 315-326; and N. Babchuk and A. Booth, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 31-45.

[21]The list of characteristics of interest group members is drawn from research carried out or reported upon by: R. Alford and H. Scoble, "Community Leadership, Education, and Political Behavior," American Sociological Review, Vol. 33 (April 1968), p. 259; N. Babchuk and A. Booth, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 32; J.E. Curtis and K. Peter, "Integration," Chapter 6 in J.E. Gallagher and R.D. Lambert, eds., Social Process and Institution (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 151; J.C. Scott, Jr., op. cit., footnote 20, pp. 319-323.

[22]J.C. Scott, Jr., op. cit., footnote 20, p. 325.

[23]Reflections on, and research relating to, the role of youth in environmental interest groups is reported in: J. Harry, R.P. Gale, and J.C. Hendee, "Conservation: an Upper-Middle Class Social Movement," Journal of Leisure Research, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Summer 1969), pp. 248, 253; J.C. Hendee et al., op. cit., footnote 10, p. 212; V. Hine and L.P. Gerlach, "Many Concerned, Few Committed," Natural History, Vol. 79, No. 6 (June-July 1970), p. 16; D.E. Morrison et al., op. cit., footnote 7, p. 25; L. Tognacci et. al., "Environmental Quality: How Universal is Public Concern?" Environment and Behavior, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 83.

[24]The positive-toned descriptions of environmental interest group members include those by: H.M. McClosky, Political Inquiry: the Nature and Uses of Survey Research (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1969), 163 pp; and D.E. Morrison et al., op. cit., footnote 7, pp. 270-276. D. Lowenthal, op. cit., footnote 10, pp. 293-294, however, presents a negative description of environmental group membership.

[25]A. Booth, N. Babchuk, and A. Knox, op. cit., footnote 8, p. 428; and D. Cartwright and A. Zander, op. cit., footnote 3, p. 489, acknowledge the functions necessary for group survival.

[26]The way in which group structure develops is considered in, for example, D. Cartwright and A. Zander, op. cit., footnote 3, p. 487; and A.M. Lee, op. cit., footnote 12, p. 202.

[27]The factors which may influence the development of group structure are discussed further in B.L. Hinton and H.J. Reitz, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 93.

[28]As indicated in the text, several important leadership studies have been reported by: D. Cartwright and A. Zander, op. cit., footnote 3, pp. 486, 487 and 489-499; R.A. Dahl, "The Analysis of Influence in Local Communities," in Frieden and Morris, Urban Planning and Social Policy (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), p. 228; B.L. Hinton and H.J. Reitz, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 475; R.H. Salisbury, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 153, 155; and B.H. Zisk, op. cit., footnote 1, pp. 86-95 and 132-148.

[29]See R. Alford and H. Scoble, op. cit., footnote 21, p. 271; and R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 302.

[30]The research on the choice of group leaders may be found in: D. Cartwright and A. Zander, op. cit., footnote 3, p. 494; R.H. Salisbury, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 141; and P.B. Smith, Group Processes (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 232.

[31]For a more detailed discussion of the mathematical representations of group structure and feedback loops, see D. Cartwright and A. Zander, op. cit., footnote 3, pp. 492-507. Note also that group cohesion implies that communication between leaders and followers is constant and continuous, not isolated or spasmodic.

[32]These and other functions are discussed further by: N. Hinrichs, op. cit., footnote 15, p. 172; R.H. Salisbury, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 135; P.B. Smith, op. cit., footnote 30, p. 245; and R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 316.

[33]For descriptions of leadership characteristics, see: G.M. Beal et al., Leadership and Dynamic Group Action (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1962), p. 33; E.T. Reeves, op. cit., footnote 6, pp. 184, 185; G.B. Rush and R.S. Denisoff, Social and Political Movements (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1971), pp. 373, 374; P.B. Smith, op. cit., footnote 30, p. 245; S. Verba, "Democratic Participation," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 373 (September 1967), p. 63.

[34]A.M. Lee, op. cit., footnote 12, p. 203, discusses the roles that leaders are required to play according to the stage of group development.

[35]The patterns for the diagrams illustrating communication flows were modified after those by A. Bavelas, "Communication Patterns in Task-Oriented Groups," in D. Cartwright and A. Zander, op. cit., footnote 3, pp. 486, 498, and 504.

[36]Communication flows on a group, rather than individual scale, are considered by J.E. Curtis and J.W. Petras, "Community Power, Power Studies and the Sociology of Knowledge," Human Organization, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Fall 1970), p. 206.

[37]The roles of group size, professionals and financial resources in achieving impact are discussed in G.H. Beal et al., op. cit., footnote 33, p. 78; R.H. Salisbury, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 141; L. Tognacci et al., op. cit., footnote 23, p. 85; and R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 315, 316.

[38]See, for example, A. Booth, N. Babchuk, and A. Knox, op. cit., footnote 8, p. 429; C.W. Gordon and N. Babchuk, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 23.

[39]The tenet in democracy that citizens should participate in decisions that affect them is discussed in R.M. Burke, "Citizen Participation Strategies," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 34 (September 1968), p. 287; and in S. Verba, op. cit., footnote 33, p. 57.

[40]Among those researchers who have studied the political demands of interest groups are: R.S. Bolan, "Emerging Views of Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners , Vol. 33 (July 1967), p. 236; D.M. Connor and K.T. Bradley, Public Participation in Planning the St. John River (Paper presented at the 1971 ASCE Irrigation and Drainage Specialty Conference at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 1971), p. 2; J.W. Gardner, "America: Toward New Priorities - Common Cause: a New Citizen's Lobby," Current, No. 123 (November 1970), p. 7; and R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 297, 298.

[41]Goals of politically oriented groups are discussed by: S. Arnskin, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners , Vol. 35 (July 1969), p. 216; R.S. Bolan, op. cit., footnote 40, p. 236; R.M. Burke, op. cit., footnote 39, p. 292; D.M. Connor and K.T. Bradley, op. cit., footnote 40, p. 11; C.J. Davies III, op. cit., footnote 10, p. 85; and R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 297.

[42]The broader goals of citizen participation in general are considered by: J.P. Reynolds, "Public Participation in Planning," Town Planning Review, Vol. 40, No. 2 (July 1969), p.131; W.R.D. Sewell and H.D. Foster, "Environmental Revival: Promise and Performance," Environment and Behavior , Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 124; as well as by S. Arnstein, op. cit., footnote 41, p. 216; R.M. Burke, op. cit., footnote 39, p. 292; and R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 299.

[43]J.E. Anderson, Politics and Economic Policy-Making (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1970), pp. 6, 8, 11; and N. Hinrichs, op. cit., footnote 15, p. 169, discuss interest group access to policy-making processes.

[44]For further details on the educational objectives of interest groups, see: N. Hinrichs, op. cit., footnote 15, p. 169; A.M. Lee, op. cit., footnote 12, p. 201; R.C. Leone, "Public Interest Advocacy and the Regulatory Process," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science , Vol. 400 (March 1972), p. 51.

[45]Brief discussions of the goal of changing public attitudes are undertaken by: J.E. Anderson, op. cit., footnote 43, p. 9; and R.M. Burke, op. cit., footnote 39, p. 288.

[46]The variations in the kinds of group goals and their potential to affect varying numbers of people are described in G.A. Atkinson, "Pollution, Protest and Participation," Ekistics, Vol. 26, No. 156 (1968), p. 430; D. Cartwright and A. Zander, op. cit., footnote 3, p. 402; B.L. Hinton and H.J. Reitz, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 125; A.M. Lee, op. cit., footnote 12, p. 211; S. Verba, op. cit., footnote 33, p. 60; H. Zeigler, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 76.

[47]For further descriptions of the characteristics of environmental interest groups and their roles that relate to achievement of their goals, see: L.K. Caldwell, Environment: a Challenge to Modern Society (Garden City, New York: Natural History Press, 1970), p. 186, who considers the institutionalization of environmental concerns; Council on Environmental Quality, op. cit., footnote 7, p. 214, for a brief note on plans for political action; C. Ferguson, op. cit., footnote 7, pp. 38, 40, who looks at the role environmental groups in B.C. have tended to play and the goals they pursued; J. Harry, R.P. Gale, and J.C. Hendee, op. cit., footnote 23, p. 252, who describe the use of watchdog tactics; D. Lowenthal, op. cit., footnote 10, p. 291, who discusses the emotional participation of groups; T. O'Riordan, op. cit., footnote 7, pp. 100, 102, for discussion of crisis-orientation of group activity; C. Schoenfeld, "Environmentalism: Fad or Fixture," American Forests, Vol. 78, No. 3 (March 1972), p. 18, who notes the desirability of "politicization" of groups; S.B. Stein, "Environmental Control and Different Levels of Government," Canadian Public Administration, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Fall 1971), pp. 130, 131; and W. Wronski, "The Public Servant and the Protest Group," Canadian Public Administration, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Fall 1971), p. 66, who both discuss political sensitivity to environmental interest groups.

[48]See B.H. Zisk, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 159.

[49]Many researchers have studied the use of direct methods of communication with policy-makers; among them are: D.E. Connor, Constructive Citizen Participation (Unpublished paper, Ottawa 1972), p. 2; C.J. Davies III, op. cit., footnote 10, p. 86; R.W. Gable, "Interest Groups as Policy Shapers," in J.E. Anderson, op. cit., footnote 43, p. 12; N. Hinrichs, op. cit., footnote 15, p. 172; R. Presthus, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 449, 451; R.H. Salisbury, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 378; R.J. Van Loon, and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 309-310; S. Verba, op. cit., footnote 33, pp. 58, 72; P. Wilkinson, Social Movement (London: Pall Mall Press Ltd., 1971), p. 116; H. Zeigler, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 235; B.H. Zisk, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 174.

[50]The following studies have reported on the use of indirect communication methods: D.C. Corbett, "The Pressure Group and the Public Interest," in J.E. Hodgetts and D.C. Corbett, Canadian Public Administration (Toronto: MacMillan, 1960), p. 458; N. Hinrichs, op. cit., footnote 15, pp. 172, 175; R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 320; S. Verba, op. cit., footnote 33, p. 58; P. Wilkinson, op. cit., footnote 49, p. 116.

[51]Characteristics of interest groups (and their members) that may influence policy-makers in a positive way, are described in the following reports: J.E. Anderson, op. cit., footnote 43, pp. 311, 316; R.A. Dahl, op. cit., footnote 28, p. 231; H.J. Dawson, "Pressure Groups and the Canadian Bureaucracy: Farm Organization in Canada," in W.D.K. Kernaghan, Bureaucracy in Canadian Government (Toronto: Methuen, 1969), pp. 105-111; R.H. Salisbury, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 378; R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 311, 316; B.H. Zisk, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 174.

[52]J.E. Anderson, op. cit., footnote 43, pp. 3, 6, 9-12, 16; R.S. Bolan, op. cit., footnote 40, p. 236; and R. Presthus, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 448, 450, discuss the targets of group action strategies and the kinds of elected officials which are important to reach to affect policy-making.

[53]Studies reporting on the communication lines between interest groups and policy-makers, the media, and other groups include: W. Breed, op. cit., footnote 6, p. 83; D.C. Corbett, op. cit., footnote 50, p. 454; H.J. Dawson, op. cit., footnote 51, p. 107; O.M. Kruhlak et al., The Canadian Political Process: A Reader (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 313; S. Verba, op. cit., footnote 33, p. 61; P. Wilkinson, op. cit., footnote 49, p. 119.

[54]Notes or theories on the strategies selected by environmental interest groups in their attempts to influence policy-making processes have been reported in: M. Allaby, op. cit., footnote 10, p. 71; D.C. Corbett, op. cit., footnote 50, p. 454; H.J. Dawson, op. cit., footnote 51, p. 107; C. Ferguson, op. cit., footnote 7, p. 40; J.C. Hendee et al., op. cit., footnote 10, p. 213; M.M. Hufschmidt, "Environmental Quality as a Policy and Planning Objective," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 37, No. 4 (July 1971), pp. 231, 237; D.E. Morrison et al., op. cit., footnote 7, pp. 9, 10.

[55]Normative models and the assumptions underlying them have been described in: R.A. Bauer and K.J. Jergen, eds., The Study of Policy Formation (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 103; R.A. Dahl, op. cit., footnote 28, pp. 225-241; H. Simon, "Theories of Decision-Making in Economics and Behavioral Science," in The Royal Economic Society and the American Economic Association, Surveys of Economic Theory: Resource Allocation (London: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 1-28.

[56]Simon's criticisms of the assumptions of normative models is found in H. Simon, op. cit., footnote 55, pp. 1-28. Other objections have been raised by: R.A. Bauer and K.J. Jergen, op. cit., footnote 55, p. 92; I.K. Fox, Promising Areas for Research on Institutional Design for Water Management (Paper presented at Chicago, Ill., 14 January 1970), p. 3; T. O'Riordan, op. cit., footnote 7, p. 109.

[57]See I.K. Fox, op. cit., footnote 56, pp. 1-22. Also R.A. Dahl, op. cit., footnote 28, pp. 225-240.

[58]See G.F. White, "The Choice of Use in Resource Management," Natural Resources Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1961), pp. 23-40.

[59]See R.E. Kasperson, "Environmental Stress and the Municipal Political System," in R.E. Kasperson and J. Minghi, eds., The Structure of Political Geography (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1969), p. 485.

[60]See R.W. Kates, Hazard and Choice Perception in Flood Plain Management (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 78, 1962).

[61]W.R.D. Sewell and C.J.B. Wood, Environmental Decision-Making and Environmental Stress: the Goldstream Controversy. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, May 1971.

[62]See T. O'Riordan, op. cit., footnote 7, p. 100. Also see R.E. Kasperson, op. cit., footnote 59, p. 485; and M. Holden, Jr., Pollution Control as a Bargaining Process: An Essay on Regulatory Decision-Making (Ithaca; New York: Cornell University Water Resources Center, Publication No. 9, October 1966), pp. 1-53.

CHAPTER 3

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY-MAKING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Until relatively recently, environmental policy-making in British Columbia has been located in the hands of a small group of individuals, primarily politicians and their technical advisors. Some of the reasons are not difficult to find. Environmental topics have traditionally been regarded as health problems, and as such, matters with which only technical experts could properly deal.[1] In addition, environmental issues have seldom been of broad public concern: problems of raising the standard of living, protecting consumer rights, dealing with crime, providing defense and security and so on have generally occupied much more public attention. Beyond this, the institutional framework, and prevailing political philosophies about the appropriate role of the public in policy-making in the province, have tended to limit such involvement.

As the illustrations presented in Chapter 1 indicate, however, there is growing dissatisfaction with the means by which public views are ascertained. Pressure is mounting for the development of more formal and continuous channels of communication between the public, the decision-makers, and their technical advisors. Provision of such channels will require some important modifications of existing laws, policies, and agency structures, as well as shifts in attitudes toward public participation in decision-making.

The Institutional Framework

The institutional framework has exerted a particularly profound influence on environmental policy-making, both in defining responsibilities of various levels of government, in specifying processes by which problems shall be identified and solutions sought, and in providing (or not providing) means for consulting public opinion. Among the various elements in the institutional framework, three have had particular importance in the above connection. These are (a) the division of jurisdiction in the British North America Act, (b) the concentration upon health problems by management agencies, and (c) the reliance upon traditional, detached means of assessing public views.

Division of Jurisdiction

The British North America (B.N.A.) Act divided constitutional jurisdiction for environmental management between the federal and the provincial governments. The federal government's responsibilities concern such matters as taxation and banking, criminal laws and justice, and defense. The provincial legislatures are responsible for all matters of a local or private nature in the province, including provincial taxation, education, and management of public lands.

Responsibility for dealing with environmental problems, however, was not clearly defined in the B.N.A. Act. Such problems were conceived initially as health problems, or more specifically, epidemiological matters in which both the federal and provincial governments had an interest. For the most part, it seems, the federal government has chosen to provide technical advice and to

administer broad national regulations relating to the control of certain diseases. The provincial governments, largely through delegation of responsibilities to local authorities, have been responsible for detection and removal of causes of such diseases.

Over the years, the concept of environmental problems has gradually broadened to include such matters as the elimination of slums, the provision of amenity rights[2] (such as clean air and open spaces), and most recently, the prevention of ecological disasters resulting from exploitation of resources in the Arctic, or from ocean transportation of oil. As a consequence, clauses of the B.N.A. Act relating to resource ownership, and to the broad powers of the federal government for the maintenance of peace and general welfare have become relevant in the definition of responsibilities.

According to Sections 92, 95, and 109 of the B.N.A. Act, the provinces own the natural resources within their boundaries, except for national parks, public harbours, and canals and ajoining lands, which are federally owned. Except for certain provisions concerning inter-provincial and international concerns, jurisdiction lies mainly with the provinces too. The federal authority has jurisdiction over navigational uses of streams and lakes, the maintenance of fisheries, and matters relating to agricultural water use.

Municipal or local governments receive their powers and responsibility from provincial legislation, and have control over purely local environmental management affairs such as municipal air pollution, regulation of water supplies, or sewage disposal. Since most environmental problems arise at the local level,

municipal governments can have great influence on environmental management action.

However, both MacNeill and Stein[3] indicate that, to a certain extent, there is still some disagreement about the precise fields of responsibility of the provincial and federal governments. This has resulted in the lack of comprehensive jurisdiction, at either level of government, over all aspects of environmental management, and has contributed to the absence of operational standards, for example, in water quality administration, and the lack of enforcement of current legislation. A good example of this problem is provided by the Canada Water Act.

Although there is clearly a national concern about water pollution, the circumstances under which the federal government can or ought to take action are in question. The Canada Water Act (passed June 26, 1970) permits the federal government to (a) enter into agreements with the provinces for comprehensive environmental management or water quality management on a sequential basin-by-basin basis, and (b) to act unilaterally, if all reasonable attempts to achieve cooperation with the provinces have failed, on certain urgent problems such as serious pollution, or management of international and boundary waters.[4] Despite this enabling legislation, there remain certain restricting qualifications to the federal government's right to act unilaterally. For example, the minister must satisfy the Governor-in-Council that all reasonable efforts to reach a settlement with the provincial governments have been made. Even then, the federal government can only formulate comprehensive water resource management plans

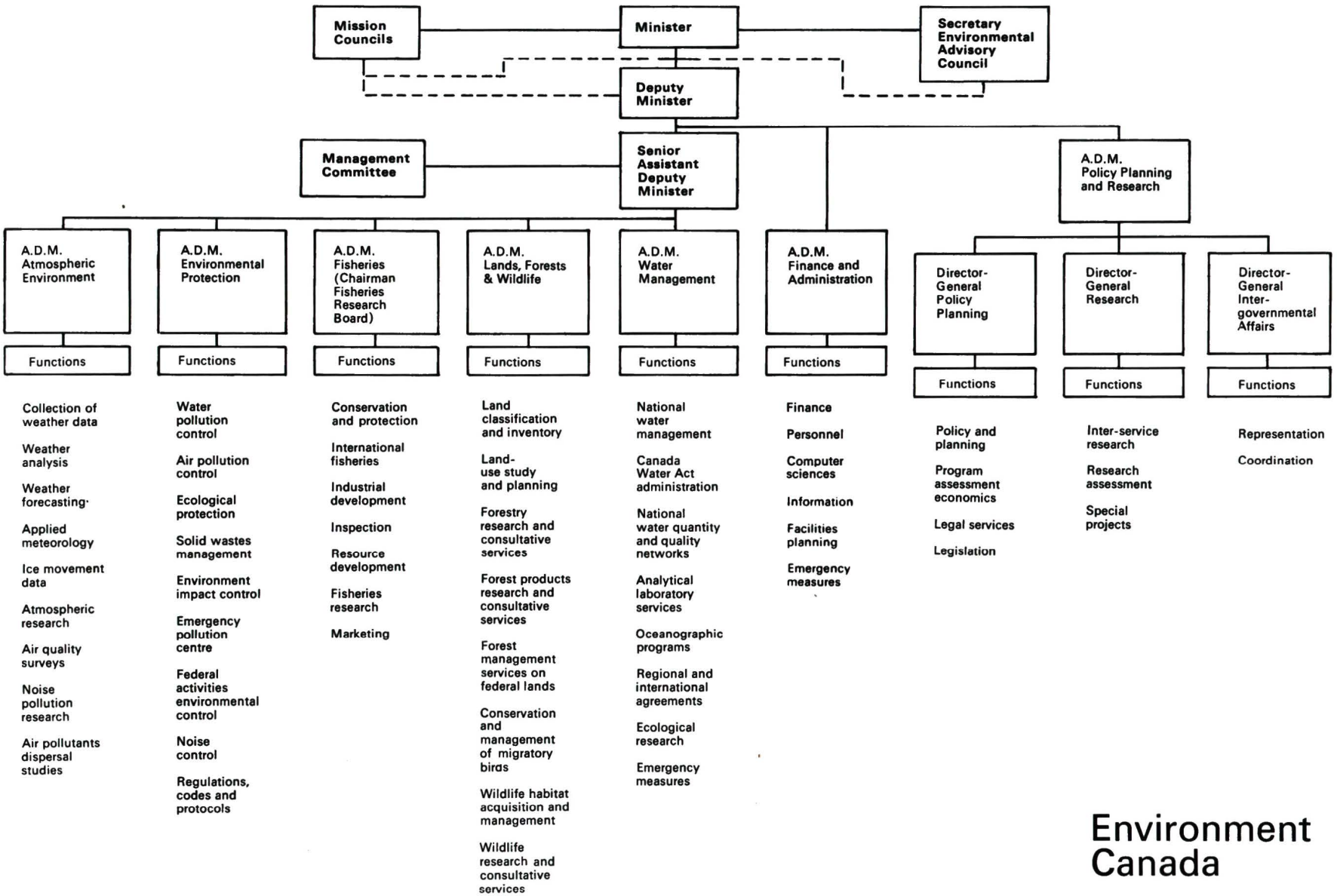
and projects; it cannot implement them[5] nor force the provinces to comply with them. A consequence is that action is often delayed until a crisis situation is reached. Similar problems may arise in matters relating to air quality management and on questions of control over Arctic waters.

Management Agencies

Each level of government has established a number of agencies to deal with environmental management problems. At the federal level the most important of these is the Department of the Environment. Its major areas of interest are in water management; lands, forests and wildlife; fisheries; the atmosphere, and environmental protection. To this end it undertakes a wide variety of functions, ranging from data collection and comprehensive planning to the provision of financial aid for construction, and the imposition of regulations (Figure 6). Liason is maintained with other federal government agencies which have duties in this field, including the Canadian Meteorological Service of the Ministry of Transport, the Air Pollution Control Division of the Department of National Health and Welfare, the Water Sector of the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, the Canada Land Inventory of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, and the Canadian Wildlife Service of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, as well as with the International Joint Commission.

The principal provincial agencies dealing with environmental problems are the Department of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources, and the Department of Recreation and Conservation. The main interests of these agencies, the major statutes which they administer directly or which have an effect on their operation,

FIGURE 6



Environment Canada

and the functions they perform are summarized in Figure 7. The British Columbia Pollution Control Branch has a particularly important role to play. It deals with all matters pertaining to the discharge of domestic or industrial waste into any water or on land (with certain exceptions), as well as air pollution. It carries out water quality surveys and investigates applications for waste discharge permits, deciding whether to issue them and under what conditions; it can also prescribe standards for controlling pollution.

The various environmental management agencies at the different levels of government are staffed by groups of professionals which specialize in particular problems. Thus, for example, the personnel of the Lands and Water Resources Service which includes the Pollution Control Branch, consists of 127 engineering graduates, 31 graduates in agriculture, 12 chemists, 9 biologists and 1 graduate in each of business administration, commerce, physics, meterology, economic geography, and geography.[6] Their attitudes concerning problems, potential solutions, and relative roles of government professionals and the public, play an important part in policy formulation and implementation.[7]

External Inputs

Environmental decisions made in British Columbia take many forms, ranging from choices between competing land uses, to authorization of and specifications for sewage treatment plants, to allocation of water, and to the conception, and subsequent sanctioning of hydro-electric development projects. Within those agencies directly charged with environmental management, however, formal inclusion of extra-government inputs -- of both individual citizens and groups --

FIGURE 7

PROVINCIAL AGENCY FUNCTIONS RELATING TO ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

DEPARTMENT OF LANDS, FORESTS, AND WATER RESOURCES

SERVICE	OBJECTIVES	FUNCTIONS	MAJOR STATUTES
Lands Service	The Lands Service is charged with the administration of all vacant unreserved Crown land within the province. The prime consideration with policy is to ensure that future recreational needs and any Crown requirements are taken care of, and that the Crown lands are alienated in the best public interest.	In the administration of these objectives, the Lands Service is required to carry out field inspection work prior to processing applications for leases Crown Grants, purchases and easements. The Surveys and Mapping Branch carries out legal surveys. For example, the Lands Service carries out feasibility studies for recommending reserves for public use, wildlife areas, and for park sites: other sections of the Service carry out surveys and plan storage reservoirs, public works sites, and provincial parks.	Land Act 1970 Drainage, Dyking and Development Act 1960 Forests Act 1960 Highways Act 1960 Mineral Act 1960 Municipal Act 1960 Water Act 1960 Skagit Valley Lands Act 1947 Environment and Land Use Act 1971
Forest Service	The Forest Service has control over matters relating to forestry: the broad aim is directed to wise use and management of forest land resources in B.C. Conservation of forests, reforestation, prevention of fires, and sales of Crown timber all fall within the jurisdiction of the Forest Service, as does the objective to bring all	The execution of these objectives requires the Forest Service to take inventory of the resource, to research new harvesting, planting and regenerating techniques within the multiple use concept.	Forest Act 1960 Litter Act 1970 Mineral Act 1960 Parks Act 1965 Pollution Control Act 1967 Land Act 1970 Water Act 1960 Environment and Land Use Act 1971

DEPARTMENT OF LANDS, FORESTS, AND WATER RESOURCES (continued)

SERVICE	OBJECTIVES	FUNCTIONS	MAJOR STATUTES
Forest Service (cont'd.)	productive lands under sustained-yield management.		
Water Resources Service	The Water Resources Service is divided into three main branches: The Water Rights, Water Investigations, and Pollution Control Branch. The Water Rights Branch is responsible for the administration of the Water Act, and for licensing water use in the province; the Water Investigations Branch deals with technical matters pertaining to the water resources of B.C., and the Pollution Control Branch administers the Pollution Control Act.	The Water Rights Branch receives applications for water licenses, and authorizes their issue. The Water Investigations Branch investigates problems relating to irrigation and water supply, flooding, drainage, snow-melt, and carries out studies on groundwater supply and potential hydroelectric resources. The Pollution Control Branch deals with all matters pertaining to the discharge of domestic or industrial waste into any waters (or on land); to do so it carries out water quality surveys, and investigates applications for discharge permits; it may also prescribe standards for pollution control.	Department of Lands, Forests and Water Resources Act 1960 Drainage, Dyking and Development Act 1960 Okanagan Flood Control Act Pollution Control Act 1967 Water Act 1960

DEPARTMENT OF RECREATION AND CONSERVATION

BRANCH	OBJECTIVES	FUNCTIONS	MAJOR STATUTES
Parks Branch	The Parks Branch is concerned with the management and administration of parks and recreation areas. Among the purposes of this Branch are included: the development, and maintenance of a comprehensive park system for use and enjoyment in perpetuity; the conservation of the recreational values of parks.	The functions and responsibilities of the Parks Branch require that adequate facilities for sightseeing, swimming and water sports, boating, fishing, nature study and photography are provided. To do so, studies of the future public needs, appraisals of the capacity of public lands, and recommendations of reservations of land are made.	Park Act 1965 West Coast National Park Act 1969 Regional Parks Act 1965 Accelerated Park Development Act 1971 Litter Act 1970 Department of Recreation and Conservation Act 1960 Land Act 1970 Forest Act 1960 Municipal Act 1960
Fish and Wildlife Branch	The two broad purposes of wildlife management activities are the regulation of use and the maintenance, protection and enhancement of the resource. Preservation of suitable land and water environments for wildlife and outdoor recreation is also an objective.	To carry out these objectives, the Fish and Wildlife Branch promotes licensing programs, and enforces other regulatory measures such as bag limits. Considerable fundamental and applied research on fish and wildlife takes place, as well as programs of education and information. Technically, the Branch carries out activities such as supplying fish for stocking purposes from hatcheries.	Fisheries Act 1960 Wildlife Act 1966 Water Act 1960 Land Act 1970 Firearms Act 1966 Creston Valley Wildlife Management Area Act 1968 Park Act 1965

is rare. Generally these agencies do not seek public views (although in broad terms their function is to respond to the public's wishes), but rather place emphasis for the planning and policy-making purposes on knowledge of politicians and technical experts. Although this tendency to use professionally competent personnel to make technical decisions is logical, contributions from the public concerning their values and attitudes toward resource use are of as much value as the thoughts of the legislators.[8] The way in which environmental decisions are presently made, however, tends to exclude or severely limit citizen participation.

For example, the Pollution Control Act (Section 4-c) provides for the establishment of the Pollution Control Board. This committee (generally consisting of three persons) makes decisions about the quantity, quality and character of the effluent to be discharged into the air or water on the basis of the information and advice received from the technical committees that are appointed by the Board. In preliminary decisions, therefore, neither non-voluntary, economically-oriented organizations such as labor unions, or business and professional unions, nor voluntary, socially or environmentally-oriented groups such as recreational clubs or service organizations need have a direct input. Similarly, the Environment and Land Use Committee and Technical Sub-Committee are staffed by experts and specialists and do not necessarily require any citizen participation (Section 4-b, c of the Environment and Land Use Act).

Certain other agencies provide for participation of certain segments of society: for example, the Tourist Council of the Department of Recreation and

Conservation encourages its members to "collaborate with all organizations interested in the stimulation of tourist traffic" (Section 12-c), which generally means economic interest groups are the ones to take part.

Increasing awareness on the part of government has led to their acknowledgement of past inadequacies in dealing with complex environmental matters, and to the recognition of growing public concern for environmental quality. Consequently, provisions have been made for assessment of public views to make the individual citizen feel he is consulted, if not directly involved in the decision-making process. The primary means by which this has been done is to allow citizens to file objections to, or to register appeals against, decisions that have been (or will shortly be) made, in relation to specific environmental issues or problems. These objections or appeals are heard at public hearings; the next section considers the public hearing and other means of assessing views.

Means of Assessing Views

If the B.C. government is to react in any reasonable way to the public's attitudes and preferences, it must have a reliable tool to assess such preferences. Aside from reliance on the traditional ballot box, referendum and occasional public opinion poll, more emphasis has recently been placed on the public hearing or inquiry to provide evidence of public views. Only certain agencies, however, have the legislative power to employ public hearings: the Environment and Land Use Committee, the Water Rights Branch, and the Pollution Control Board are of primary concern here.

In each of the above agencies, it is the Committee, Comptroller, or Director, respectively, who has been delegated the power and responsibility for deciding on whether an objection warrants a hearing. Criticisms have been raised on at least two aspects of this process. Firstly, since hearings can only be initiated at the discretion of particular government officials, critics maintain that public hearings are mainly an exchange of views amongst various levels of government and economic interests.[9] Critics have also noted the difficulties that citizens encounter when trying to file objections; the expense required to produce multiple copies of reports, and the many administrative details which must be correctly followed discourage many potential participants.[10]

Each of the major means of assessing public views has limitations, and there has been pressure to seek more effective means of involving the public in decision-making. A few moves have been made recently in this connection both at the federal and provincial levels of government. These include the establishment of the Environmental Advisory Council of the Department of the Environment based in Ottawa, the Environment and Land Use Committee in British Columbia, the Okanagan (B.C.) public participation experiments, and the Canadian Resource and Environment Ministers (CREM) grass-roots involvement experiments.

The Environmental Advisory Council (formally established June 11, 1971) functions to provide advice from outside the government directly to the Minister and Deputy-Minister and their advisory councils. The Environmental Council is to be selected from "public groups and organizations", and will include "prominent

Canadians from industry, the Universities, and the scientific community." The Department of the Environment views this Council as a vehicle for bringing together "informed Canadians with strong, and sometimes divergent, outlooks on the harmonization of environmental protection and economic development of resources", "as provision of a forum for rationalization of these views", and as "a basis for providing reasoned advice to the Minister on these matters." According to a press release of the Department, environmental matters of public concern may be investigated in order to explain the issues and the facts.[11]

Public participation appears to be given only token recognition: no mention is made of how the potential members will be contacted, neither is any stipulation made as to qualifications for membership in the Council, nor the frequency with which it shall meet. To date this committee has met about once; there seems to be some concern as to the functions of the Council.

The Environmental and Land Use Committee in B.C. (formally established October 26, 1971) represents the Departments of Agriculture, Mines, Municipal Affairs, Health, Recreation and Conservation, and Lands, Forests and Water Resources, and consists of the six Cabinet Ministers that head these departments. The technical Committee of the Environment and Land Use Committee was also established October 26, 1971, and the eight Deputy-Ministers of the above departments comprise this institution. In turn, the Technical Sub-Committee consists of senior departmental staff members below the Deputy-Minister.

The Environment and Land Use Committee was organized to increase public concern and awareness of the environment, and to ensure that all aspects

of the natural environment were considered in management practices. However, public participation seems possible only at the lowest echelon, where the public may be consulted by the members of the Technical Sub Committee if they so desire, for information purposes.[12]

An experiment of a different type -- extra-institutional in nature -- was made when the Okanagan Basin Public Involvement Study began in 1969. The first phase of this study was to inform and educate the public -- through a series of bulletins and public meetings -- to the nature of the water resource in the Okanagan Basin. The second step will be to identify the development objectives and goals sought and to use the knowledge of the area's inhabitants in assessing which alternatives might be feasible or most desirable. This study works directly with the public and solicits their views and opinions from the beginning of the planning process.[13]

A similar public participation scheme, but on a much larger, Canada-wide scale, and dealing with much broader concerns, is the series of conferences resulting from the 1966 decision of the Canadian Council of Resource and Environment Ministers to deliberately attempt to involve more people from citizen's organizations and other groups not traditionally directly involved in making decisions about natural resources. The CREM hope, through a series of local public meetings, of regional workshops, and provincial conferences, to gain and be able to represent the awareness and views about environmental problems in every sector of society at a large national conference late in 1972. The B.C.

Natural Resources conference and the CREM provide or sponsor a framework for participation in environmental management,[14] enabling the public to participate if it wishes to do so.

Despite the federal and provincial governments' efforts in the field of public participation, the agencies established are limited in terms of the representativeness of their membership, and in terms of the clarity of the functions they are supposed to execute. It appears that only the Okanagan Study provides citizens with the opportunity to actually participate in decision-making and to see the effects of their influence. However, there is a great deal of difference between the influence of an advisory group with citizens represented, and an action group composed entirely of interested citizens.

The Decision-Making Process in Action

Environmental management decisions vary considerably in their nature and complexity, and particularly in the extent to which they involve particular levels of government and particular interests within the public. To illustrate the process by which a decision might be made, two different cases are described below: one involved a decision at the local level as to whether water should be released from a city water supply reservoir; the other involved a problem of federal-provincial responsibility for damages created by dam construction.

In the Fall of 1970, the normal flow of the Goldstream River near Victoria, B.C., fell too low to permit the migration of the salmon runs. The Water Commissioner, noting that there had been a dry summer, that the city's

reservoirs were at a low level, and suspecting that people and green lawns were more important than fish, announced that no water would be released to facilitate the migration. Public reaction was large and adverse. However, no formal channels for monitoring public views were available, as the water management officials viewed this as a routine problem; it had occurred before, in 1964 and 1969. In 1970, however, a great deal of information was generated by the press, diffused through the community, and the feedback from this persuaded the decision-makers to re-evaluate the problem. The public was obviously concerned enough about the problem to voluntarily curtail some water consumption to help ease the supply situation, and to educate everyone, including schoolchildren, about ways to save the salmon: a complete reversal in the decision-makers' attitudes resulted. The eventual decision was to release water, and the fish runs were saved. In this instance, the public reaction, massive and for the most part unarticulated, was instrumental in preserving the salmon stock.[15]

Modern engineering skills and advanced construction techniques have made large projects the vogue in satisfying water and power demands. In British Columbia, the Peace River Development and the Bennett Dam provide one example. Before construction of this project, some surveys of the ecological impact of the dam were made. Whether they were adequate or not, they were ignored, as were social costs of the project. Planning utilized cost-benefit analysis in the narrowest economic sense. In addition, interested members of the public and even those directly affected by the decision to proceed with construction had no normal way to have their views considered in the policy process. After the dam

was built, problems emerged downstream and in Alberta. Adverse effects were experienced by migrating birds, fur-bearing animals, and a commercial fish species. As a result of the deterioration of the area after the dam was built, the Indians living in the area, who relied on trapping and fishing for their livelihood, were deprived of their traditional lifestyle.[16] The Federal government which has jurisdiction over Indian affairs, and the Province of British Columbia which is able to legislate control over the resources within its boundaries, disagree as to the injury, compensation and responsibility entailed. A British Columbia Supreme Court ruling is pending on this conflict of interest.[17] The public, in this instance, had no voice in the decision. And not only do professional confrontations occur between the government agencies and levels, but the environmental administrators are often removed from public opinion or are protected by layers of bureaucracy; they are able to hand down decisions to the public after they have been made or implemented.[18]

These cases emphasize the fact that contact between the public and environmental management agencies is very limited and that even when it does occur it is often in the form of a request for approval rather than an invitation to rationally weigh a set of alternatives. It also emphasizes the fact that participation tends to be ad hoc rather than continuous, crisis-response rather than knowledge forewarned, and emotional rather than factual. These facts help to explain in part the emergence of environmental interest groups in British Columbia.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See J.E. McMeiken, Public Health Professionals and the Environment: A Study of Perceptions and Attitudes (Department of Geography, University of Victoria, 1970); and W.R.D. Sewell, "Environmental Perceptions and Attitudes of Engineers and Public Health Officials," Environment and Behavior, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 23-60.

[2]See J.W. MacNeill, Environmental Management (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971).

[3]J.W. MacNeill, op. cit., pp. 8-10 and 175-183; and S.B. Stein, "Environmental Control and Different Levels of Government," Canadian Public Administration, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Fall, 1971), pp. 129-144.

[4]E.R. Tinney and R.J. Van Loon, Canadian Federal Water Resource Policy (Paper prepared for Meeting of O.E.C.D. Water Management Research Group, Burlington, Ontario, 15-24 July 1970).

[5]J.W. MacNeill, op. cit., p. 10; and C.G. Morley, Legal Developments in Canadian Water Management, Paper delivered to Natural Resources and Energy Subsections Panel at the Mid-winter meeting of the Ontario Branch of the Canadian Bar Association, Toronto, February 4, 1972, p. 5.

[6]These figures are correct for July, 1972.

[7]W.R.D. Sewell, op. cit., pp. 23-60.

[8]D. Swanson, "Public Perceptions and Resources Planning," in W.R.D. Sewell and I. Burton, eds., Perceptions and Attitudes in Resources Management (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971), pp. 91-98.

[9]D. Swanson, op. cit., pp. 91-98.

[10]R.A. Carpenter, "Information for Decisions in Environmental Policy," Science, Vol. 168 (June 12, 1970), pp. 1316-1322.

[11]Information Canada, Environment Canada: Its Organization and Objectives (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971).

[12]Environment and Land Use Act, 1971, c. 17.

[13]This understanding of the Okanagan Public Involvement Study is based on personal communication with Mr. Glen Sinclair, Public Involvement Officer, Canada-B.C. Okanagan Basin Agreement, August 2, 1970 and Mr. Jonathan O'Riordan, Water Management Service, Department of the Environment, July 27, 1972.

[14]This information was gained from the Canadian Council of Resource and Environment Ministers, Participants Workbook, and from various pamphlets produced by the B.C. Natural Resources Conference.

[15]W.R.D. Sewell and C.J.B. Wood, Environmental Decision-making and Environmental Stress: the Goldstream Controversy, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, May 1971.

[16]D. Anderson, "Government and the Environment: a Need for Public Participation," University of British Columbia Law Review, Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1971), p. 112.

[17]C.G. Morley, op. cit., pp. 20, 21.

[18]T. O'Riordan, "Towards a Strategy of Public Involvement," in W.R.D. Sewell and I. Burton, op. cit., p. 102.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Environmental interest groups have grown rapidly both in number and in size in British Columbia in the past decade. Although no precise data are available, it seems from the records gathered in the course of the research reported on here that ten years ago there were between ten and fifteen groups in the province which were concerned primarily with environmental issues. Today there are more than one hundred, and possibly as many as two or three hundred of these organizations. They have tried in a variety of ways to exert influence upon the decision-making process. Some have succeeded while others have apparently failed. Some have grown in size while others have declined in membership or have been abandoned. The reasons for success (or failure), and survival (or demise) are not immediately clear, nor is the degree of influence these groups have actually had on policy-making. The study reported on here was intended as a contribution towards overcoming this deficiency.

Selection of the Sample

The study was based upon interviews conducted in the summer of 1972 with officials and members of ten environmental interest groups in Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia. Four of the environmental interest groups contacted were in Victoria, and the other six were located in Vancouver.

Types of Groups

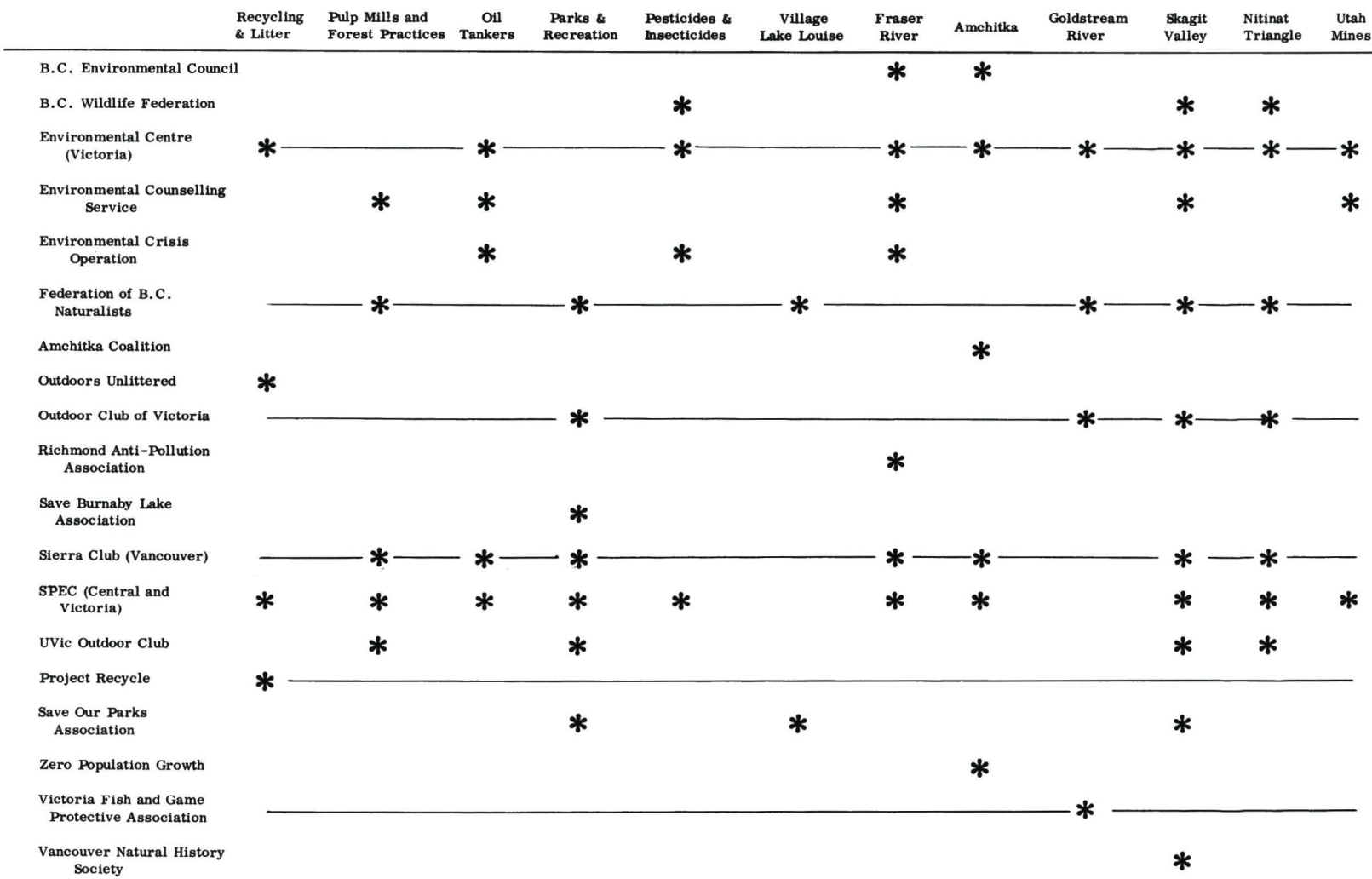
As noted in Chapter 2, environmental interest groups differ considerably in the number of problems they attack: some focus upon a few issues, while others select a wide variety of issues. The groups also differ according to the areal focus of their concern: in some cases it is with local problems, while in others it extends to provincial or national issues. Selection of groups for the sample was based in large part upon considerations of breadth of issues and the geographical focus of interest. As Table 1 indicates, certain problems have attracted the attention of many groups, whereas others have attracted only a few. By the same token, some groups appear frequently in the Table, whereas others appear only once or twice.

In order to incorporate as many of the variations as possible, the following groups were interviewed in Victoria and Vancouver: -

(a) Groups in Victoria:
1) The Federation of British Columbia Naturalists (F.B.C.N.)
2) The Greater Victoria Environmental Centre (Environment 100)
3) The Sierra Club
4) The Canadian Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control Society (S.P.E.C.)

(b) Groups in Vancouver:
1) The British Columbia Environmental Council (B.C.E.C.) registered as Federated Environmental Association
2) The British Columbia Wildlife Federation (B.C.W.F.)
3) The Canadian Coalition to Stop the Amchitka Nuclear Blast (Amchitka Coalition)
4) The Save Burnaby Lake Association
5) The Sierra Club
6) The Canadian Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control Society (S.P.E.C.)

FIGURE 1. INVOLVEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST GROUPS IN SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS



Note: Some of the data for this table were collected in August of 1971.

Some of the ways in which these groups may be distinguished from each other are described in the brief descriptions which follow:

The Federation of British Columbia Naturalists (F.B.C.N.)

The Federation of B.C. Naturalists, formed in 1963, is the co-ordinating body for the seventeen Naturalists' clubs within the province. The objectives of this organization include the unification of Club conservational efforts and the preservation of the outdoors through action on problems that threaten the environment. The clubs are primarily recreational and educational in character, although the Federation has submitted briefs to the government concerning Skagit Park and about the British Columbia Litter Act, and held anti-litter campaigns.

The Greater Victoria Environmental Centre (Environment 100)

The Environmental Centre, which began operation in May of 1970, is designed to serve as a public-service clearinghouse of environmental information. As part of this function, the centre strives to provide reliable information on issues relevant to the Capital Region, and the Centre also functions to co-ordinate the various environmentally-oriented activities in the area. This group, of 120 invited members, is non-partisan and not activist in nature.

The Sierra Club

Both the Victoria and Vancouver Chapters of the Sierra Club, formed in 1971 and 1969, respectively, have directed their environmental efforts toward land use problems, particularly in relation to forest practices and the preservation of

wilderness areas. These groups have been actively engaged in promoting informational and educational programs to arouse public interest in and awareness of values to be obtained through the prevention of environmental destruction. The Sierra Club has also submitted briefs to the British Columbia government concerning such issues as the Cypress Bowl, Bowron Lakes, and the West Coast life-saving trail.

The Canadian Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control Society (S.P.E.C.)

S.P.E.C., an activist group since it was established in 1969, operates around a central executive in Vancouver which provides each independently organized and functional group with a common source of advice on informational resources, and assistance in confronting industry, the government or individuals about pollution issues. SPEC, noted for its aggressiveness and vocal expression on environmental matters, has also presented many briefs; some, like the protest about strip mining within the Elk Valley appear to have been influential in initiating government legislation.

The B.C. Environmental Council (B.C.E.C.)

The B.C. Environmental Council, created with the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of its 32 member groups on specific environmental problems, is an "organization of organizations." As such it attempts to improve co-operation between groups, to avoid duplication of studies, serve as an informative source on environmental problems, give advice, and provide assistance in preparation and presentation of briefs. The fact that groups such as the B.C. Central Credit

Union, the B.C. Branch of the Canadian Institute of Public Health Inspectors, Church organizations, District Councils, the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union as well as environmental groups are members, enables the B.C.E.C. to represent a wide cross-section of professional and lay views on legal, medical and ecological issues, and to sponsor competent research. B.C.E.C. has also initiated or been engaged in various political protest movements, such as the Fraser River "Sail-In" held June 11, 1972.

The B.C. Wildlife Federation (B.C.W.F.)

The B.C.W.F. is one of the largest conservation organizations in the province: its membership exceeds 13,000, composed of members of Rod and Gun Clubs, Fish and Game Clubs, and other sportsmens groups in British Columbia. The B.C.W.F. strives to ensure long range management of British Columbia fish, wildlife, park and outdoor resources, and to convince government and private agencies that conservation interests must be taken into account in all natural resource development. The B.C.W.F. is not a political activist group. Rather its efforts have been directed towards provision of educational materials on the value of fish, wildlife, park and outdoor recreational resources in natural resource developments. It receives an annual provincial grant for its work.

The Canadian Coalition to Stop the Amchitka Nuclear Blast

The Amchitka Coalition was formed in May of 1971, and consisted of church, labor, social agencies, environmental and peace organizations. Jointly they attempted to educate and stimulate the public to protest the nuclear test

planned for Amchitka Island in Alaska in the United States of America. Although not successful in stopping the blast, the group managed to raise considerable nation-wide public and political opposition; and this action may have been partly responsible for repeated postponements of the blast date. Since this group is no longer functioning, however, it did not achieve its long-range goal of creating awareness about issues of decision-making, and broad questions of the values which society seeks.

The Save Burnaby Lake Association

The Save Burnaby Lake Association, formed in 1969, united outside professional people with an interest in the problems that industrial development around the lake might cause, and local people who were interested in the preservation of the lake as a nature sanctuary. The group conducted biological research, and was active in local politics, but after about two years with apparently little response from the municipality, the group virtually died.

The selection of these ten particular groups was based on the belief that they were representative of the broad range of types of goals and activities of environmental interest groups in the province. It was also believed that a study of such groups active in different problem situations would enable comparisons to be made as to foci of concern as well as of effectiveness of communication.

Issues

Besides the attempt to consider a wide range of types of environmental

interest groups, an effort was also made to study a broad selection of environmental issues. As Table 2 illustrates, the issues selected exhibit different characteristics, especially in regard to such matters as scale and geographic location of the problem, the locus of concern and jurisdiction, and the existence and use of formal channels of communication. A brief description of each of these characteristics follows.

The "type of conflict or concern" indicates the major aspect(s) of the eight environmental problems, and it also provides an indication of the diversity of issues to which groups respond (if they have not generated the issue). The "type of problem", expressed as strategic or routine, is intended to indicate the decision-makers' evaluation for the urgency (or non-urgency, respectively) of action on a problem. As is described in Chapter 2, the public and decision-makers' views as to the urgency of the problem and need for public involvement may be polemic. The distinction between the dates of "commencement of the problem" and "public interest in the problem" is made to illustrate the fact that some issues that had only recently emerged have attracted almost immediate public concern, whereas others have existed for some time but just lately have aroused attention. This feature may be of importance in assessing when and why a routine problem becomes a strategic one. "Scale of the problem" and "locus of concern" indicate somewhat similar features of environmental problems: the scale of the problem refers to the physical size of the area affected by the problem (except in the case of the international scale which refers to an impact occurring in more than one country, although perhaps confined to a relatively small area

TABLE 2. CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Element \ Issues	Amchitka	Burnaby Lake	E. Kootenays Strip Mining	Fraser River	Goldstream River	Nitinat Triangle	Skagit Valley	Utah Mines
Type of conflict or concern	threats to Canadians of radio-active leakage, tidal waves and earthquakes, by detonation of American nuclear warhead	land use: pollution and industrial/urban development vs. preservation.	land use: wildlife habitat destruction and lack of safeguards for strip mining: associated RR, superport.	industrial/domestic pollution; floods; development of river islands for gravel operations; fisheries.	water allocation: domestic water supply vs. salmon run.	land use: logging vs. recreation and preservation.	land use: dam construction for an American utility flooding Canadian valley vs. recreation, wildlife.	pollution resulting from discharge of mine tailings into the sea.
Type of problem	routine	routine	routine	routine	routine	routine	routine	routine
Commencement of problem	1965 - Longshot nuclear blast 1969 - Milrow nuclear test 1971 - crisis: blast date set (October)	building for a period of years	1966 - rumors of coal sales	building, especially in regard to floods, for a number of years.	1964	1969-1970	1941	1969
Public interest in problem		1969	1969 - information given about superport, railroad	public has long-standing, but muted interest.	1970	1970 - crisis in 1971 with road development threat.	1969	1969
Scale of Problem	local, regional	Local	local, regional	local, regional, provincial, international.	local	local, regional	local, regional, provincial, international	local
Locus of concern	local to international	local	local, regional, provincial	local, regional, provincial, international.	local	local to international	local to international	local, regional
Jurisdiction	no Canadian jurisdiction	municipal	provincial	provincial, federal.	municipal, federal	provincial	provincial, federal	municipal, provincial
Use of formal communication channels by public such as hearings	no Canadian access to U.S.A.; none used in Canada.	used municipal council meetings; no hearings.	none, but a legislative committee was established.	Pollution Control Board has held hearings.	none	none	I.J.C. hearings in 1940's, again in June of 1971.	P.C.B. held hearings but excluded all but 4 objectors.
Type of Public involvement	protest and confrontation	attempted co-operation with municipality	co-operation in attempting to assess impacts of superport, strip mining; but protest against construction	confrontation and protest	both confrontation and co-operation in reducing water consumption.	confrontation	confrontation	confrontation
Ad hoc response to crisis or pre-crisis involvement	ad hoc	ad hoc	ad hoc	on-going involvement; ad hoc responses	ad hoc	pre-crisis involvement by Sierra Club.	ad hoc	ad hoc
Public involvement	specific groups and mass action	specific groups and local people	specific groups	specific groups	mass action and some groups	specific groups and public interest	specific groups	specific groups and local people
Media coverage	press, radio, TV	press	press, TV	press, radio, TV	press, radio	press, radio, TV	press, radio, TV	press, radio, TV
Nationalism (or anti-Americanism)	American test of nuclear warhead	none	coal mined by subsidiary of American firm, and sold to Japan.	none	none	none	reservoir for American dam and hydro flood valley	American mining company developing the mine and dumping tailings.
Confirmed achievements and present status of problem	groups unsuccessful in halting blast.	groups unsuccessful in achieving park or Sanctuary Status for Lake.	some reclamation regulations proposed by B.C.W.F. were accepted, legislation adopted.	some sewage treatment plants installed.	Public reaction resulted in the decision to release water to the salmon; problem temporarily resolved - pressure diffused.	issue remains unresolved	issue remains unresolved	compromise: increased safeguards but tailings discharge continues.

of those countries), and the locus of concern indicates to what extent knowledge of, and concern or interest in, the issue has spread, that is, whether an issue is discussed or acted upon at any level other than local. "Jurisdiction", however, indicates which level of government agency has been delegated the responsibility or authority to act on a problem. As is noted in Chapter 3, jurisdiction may have a great influence on environmental management action. The "existence and use of formal communication channels" notes the means provided and used for inclusion of external inputs (public participation) in the decision-making process.

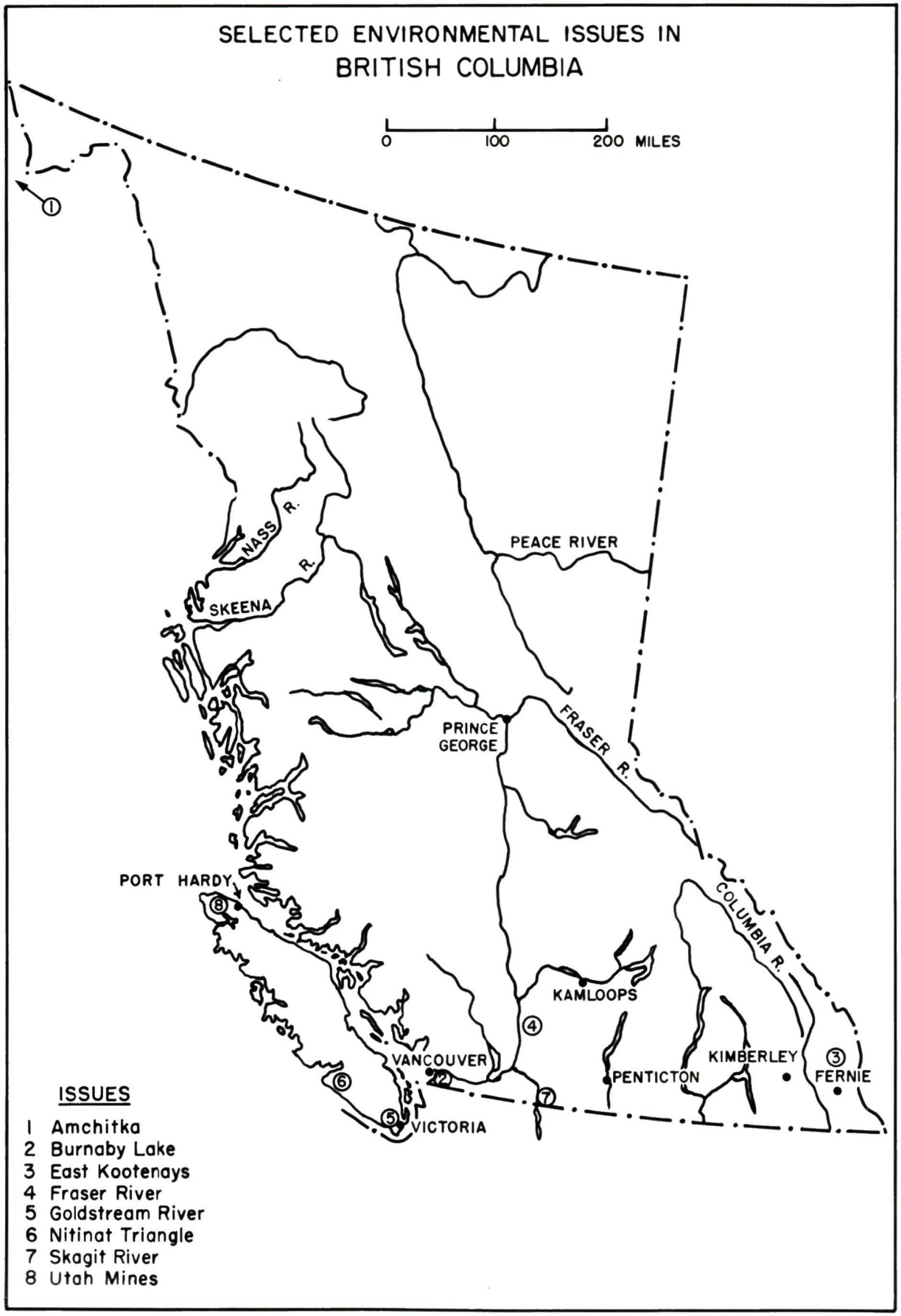
"Type of public involvement" refers to the predominant kinds of action of groups -- either protest and confrontation or co-operation -- involved in the issues. Protest actions such as demonstrations, but including both the direct and indirect types as described in Chapter 2, are taken as indicative of fairly intensive group interest in and desire to participate in decision-making about the issue or problem. Involvement of the "co-operation" type also refers to high group interest, but concern is expressed in more traditional, government-institution-oriented ways such as research projects. This characteristic may also help determine why some groups are successful in their contacts with government, where others are not. The feature of "ad hoc response to crisis or pre-crisis involvement" provides an indication of whether groups respond to crises or are instrumental in creating them. The feature of "public involvement" notes whether concern over the issue was voiced mostly by the public, by environmental groups, or by both. "Media coverage", important in creating public awareness, is noted according to what types were employed. Another

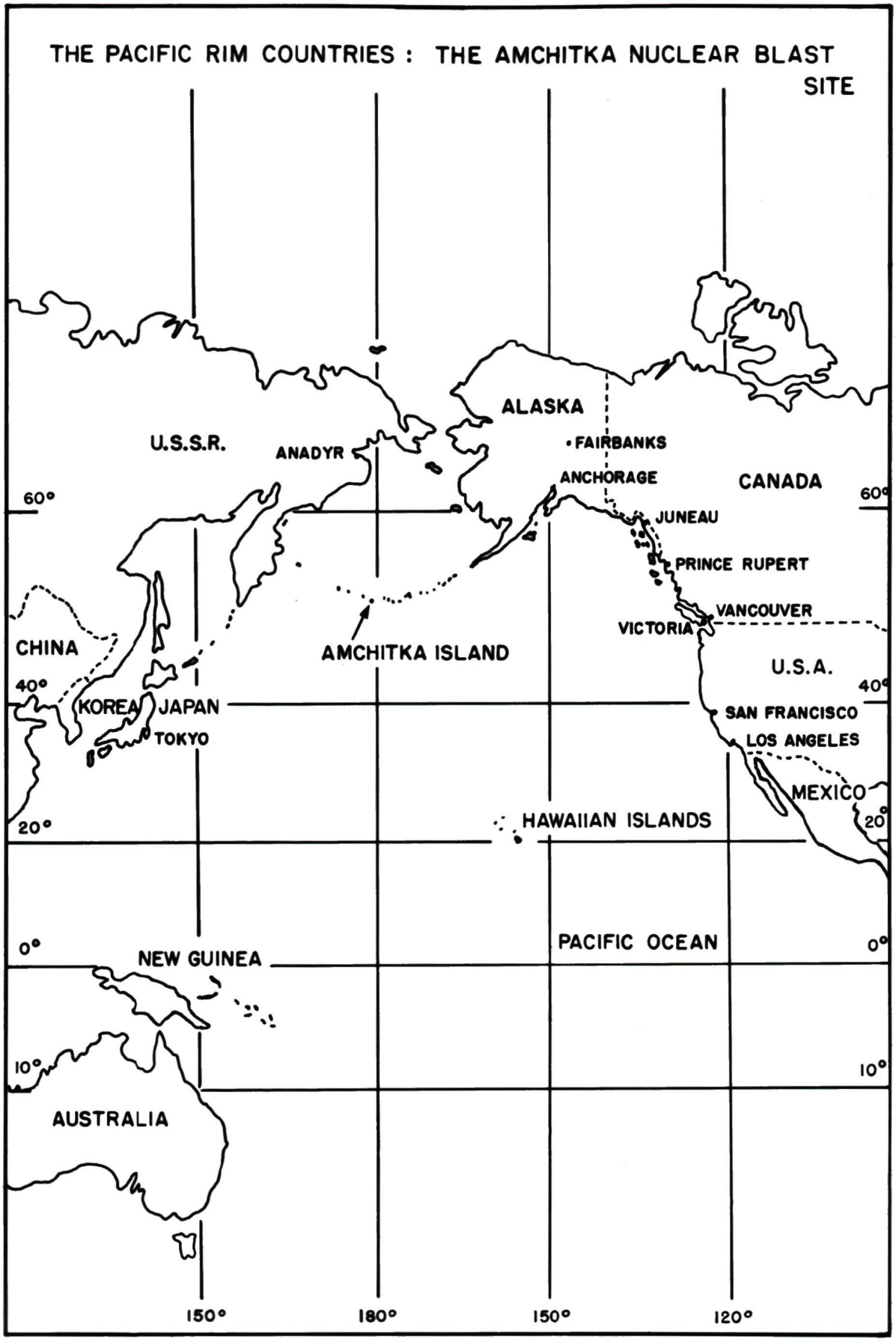
characteristic which might account for variations in public involvement is the presence of Canadian nationalism -- often expressed as anti-American sentiment -- in the issue. Table 2 concludes with a statement on the achievements of group action or the present status of the problem.

A brief description of the basic problem in each of the issues follows.

The Amchitka Nuclear Blast

Code named "Cannikin", the test of the 5 megaton warhead for the American Spartan missile -- a part of the Safeguard ABM system -- was planned for Amchitka Island, one in the chain of Aleutian Islands (Alaska, U.S.A.) about 2500 miles northwest of Vancouver, B.C. for October of 1971. Environmental (and other) groups reacted to this issue for several reasons: (a) the fear that radioactive materials would leak from the site, adding to atmospheric pollution and raising the threat of genetic damage, (b) the possible triggering of earthquakes and tidal waves, notwithstanding the toll of vegetation, animal, bird and marine life on Amchitka itself, (c) the obsolescence of the warhead which the test was originally designed to examine, and (d) the virtual imposition of the risks and effects of such an apparently unnecessary test of a piece of military machinery on neighbouring countries. The issue generated massive international opposition: although public action may have been responsible for the considerable delay in the detonation date, no protest was effective in cancelling the test. Immediately following the blast, however, public interest declined rapidly and most groups formed as a direct result of this issue are no longer functioning.[1] (Figures 8 and 9)


SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA
0
100
200 MILES
NASS R.
SKEENA R.
PEACE RIVER
PRINCE GEORGE
FRASER R.
PORT HARDY
COLUMBIA R.
KAMLOOPS
VANCOUVER
PENTICTON
KIMBERLEY
FERNIE
VICTORIA
ISSUES
1 Amchitka
2 Burnaby Lake
3 East Kootenays
4 Fraser River
5 Goldstream River
6 Nitinat Triangle
7 Skagit River
8 Utah Mines

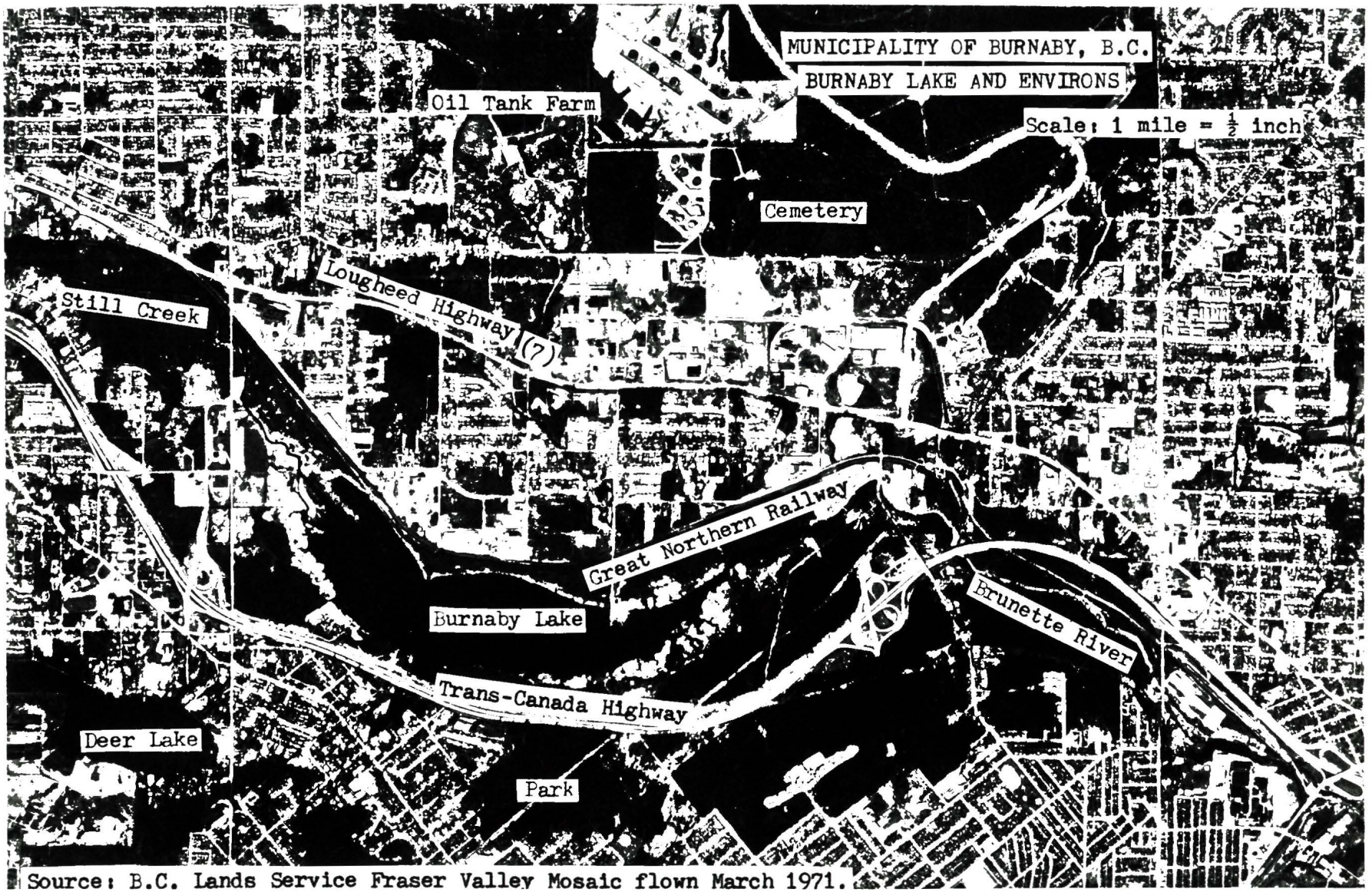

THE PACIFIC RIM COUNTRIES : THE AMCHITKA NUCLEAR BLAST SITE
ALASKA
U.S.S.R.
ANADYR
FAIRBANKS
ANCHORAGE
CANADA
60°
JUNEAU
PRINCE RUPERT
VANCOUVER
VICTORIA
CHINA
AMCHITKA ISLAND
U.S.A.
40°
KOREA
JAPAN
TOKYO
SAN FRANCISCO
LOS ANGELES
MEXICO
20°
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
0°
NEW GUINEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
10°
AUSTRALIA
150°
180°
150°
120°

Burnaby Lake Conservation Issue

The Burnaby Lake issue was much narrower in scope and local in concern than Amchitka. The basic problem with this small lake in Burnaby, British Columbia, was that its function as a natural wildlife sanctuary was being threatened by the encroaching industrial and residential development; in 1969 and 1970, extensive kills of waterfowl had occurred as wastes entered into the lake from the surrounding urban and industrial areas. Because of the increasing recognition of the recreational potential of the lake, and the resultant activity pressure on the lake and its environs by visitors, it seemed desirable to the local environmental groups and interested individuals that studies to gain information for far-sighted planning and to ensure careful management of the resource should be undertaken. With the aid of an Opportunities for Youth grant, such a study[2] was carried out in 1971; it presented several planning suggestions to the municipality, but as no concrete plans emerged, the group gradually disbanded and is no longer functioning. (Figures 8 and 10)

The East Kootenay Strip Mining Issue

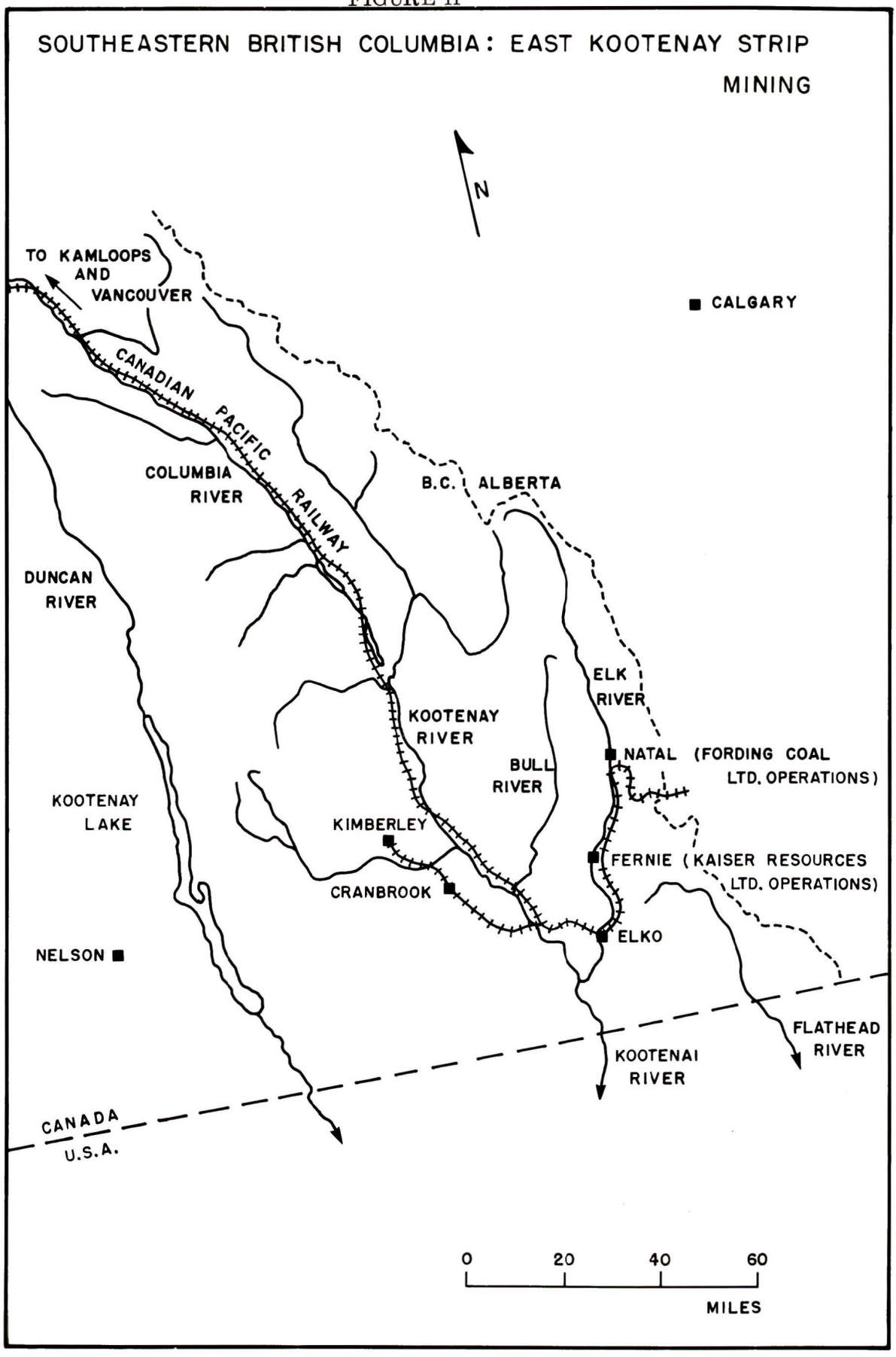
In order to fulfill their long-term obligations to supply Japan with coal, the British Columbia government gave permission for Kaiser Resources Ltd. to proceed with strip mining near Fernie in 1969, and in 1972 Fording Coal Ltd. initiated production to supply 3 million long tons of metallurgical coking coal per year.[3] Groups such as the B.C. Wildlife Federation claimed that the decision had been made without consideration of any implications for any interest other than that of moving coal to Japan: apparently no consideration had been given to the



Source: B.C. Lands Service Fraser Valley Mosaic flown March 1971.

FIGURE 10

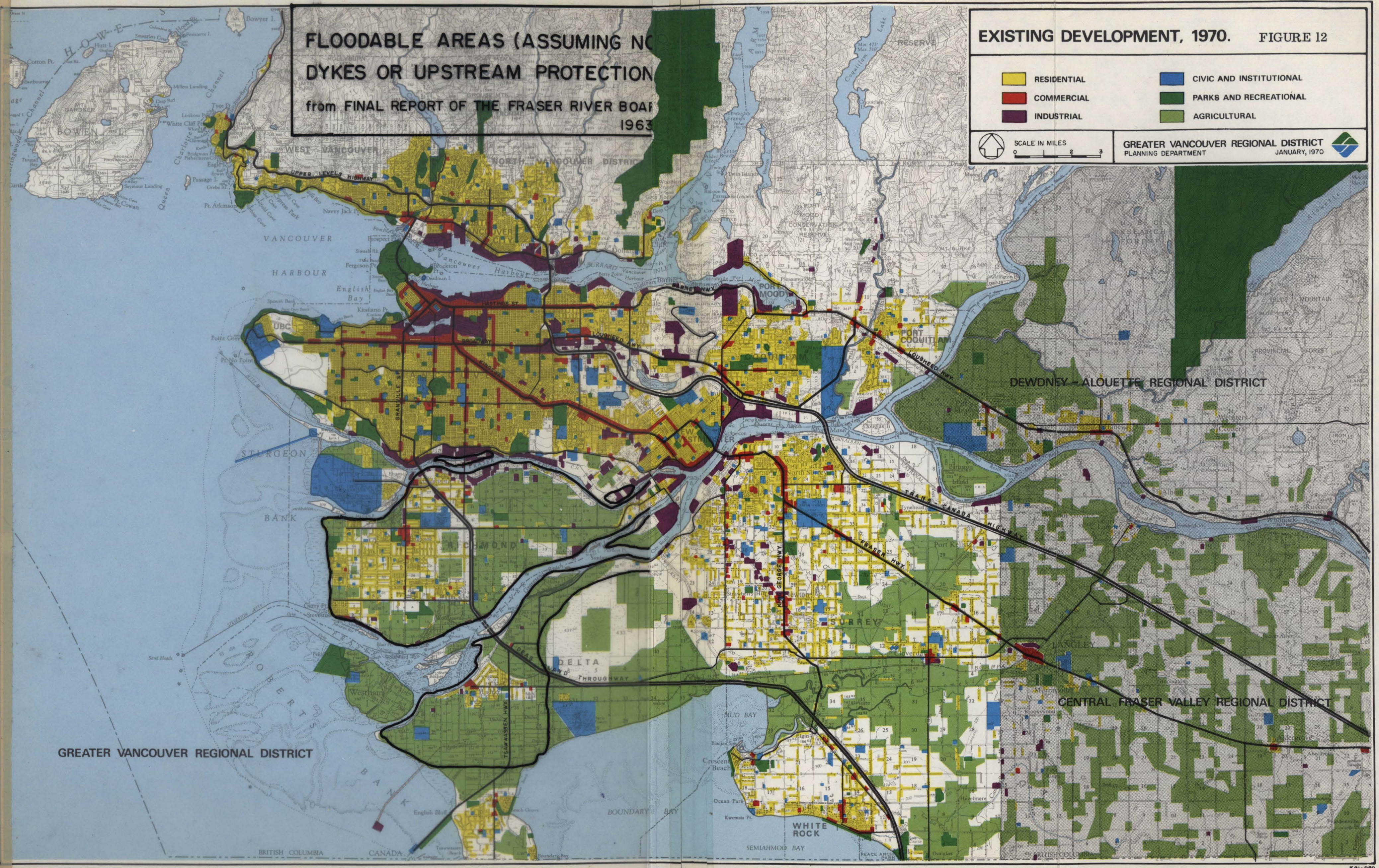
FIGURE 11


SOUTHEASTERN BRITISH COLUMBIA: EAST KOOTENAY STRIP MINING
N
TO KAMLOOPS AND VANCOUVER
CALGARY
CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
COLUMBIA RIVER
B.C.
ALBERTA
DUNCAN RIVER
ELK RIVER
KOOTENAY RIVER
NATAL (FORDING COAL LTD. OPERATIONS)
BULL RIVER
KOOTENAY LAKE
KIMBERLEY
FERNIE (KAISER RESOURCES LTD. OPERATIONS)
CRANBROOK
ELKO
NELSON
FLATHEAD RIVER
KOOTENAI RIVER
CANADA
U.S.A.
0
20
40
60
MILES

effects of wildlife habitat destruction, especially on the elk herds, nor were there any written or pending reclamation regulations in British Columbia legislation. Failure to recognize the erosion and reclamation problems, as well as the related problems of the routing and subsequent land expropriation required for the railway through Delta's agricultural land, the Kootenay railroad, and the Roberts Bank superport, aroused members of the wildlife groups and others of the public to action. One very important agent in arousing public concern was the CBC Television -- it produced two outstanding films which demonstrated the effects of strip mining and the lack of government controls. Agitation towards and concrete suggestions for the development of legislation to safeguard wildlife and the landscape led to the adoption of some legal measures where the government had planned none.[4] (Figures 8 and 11)

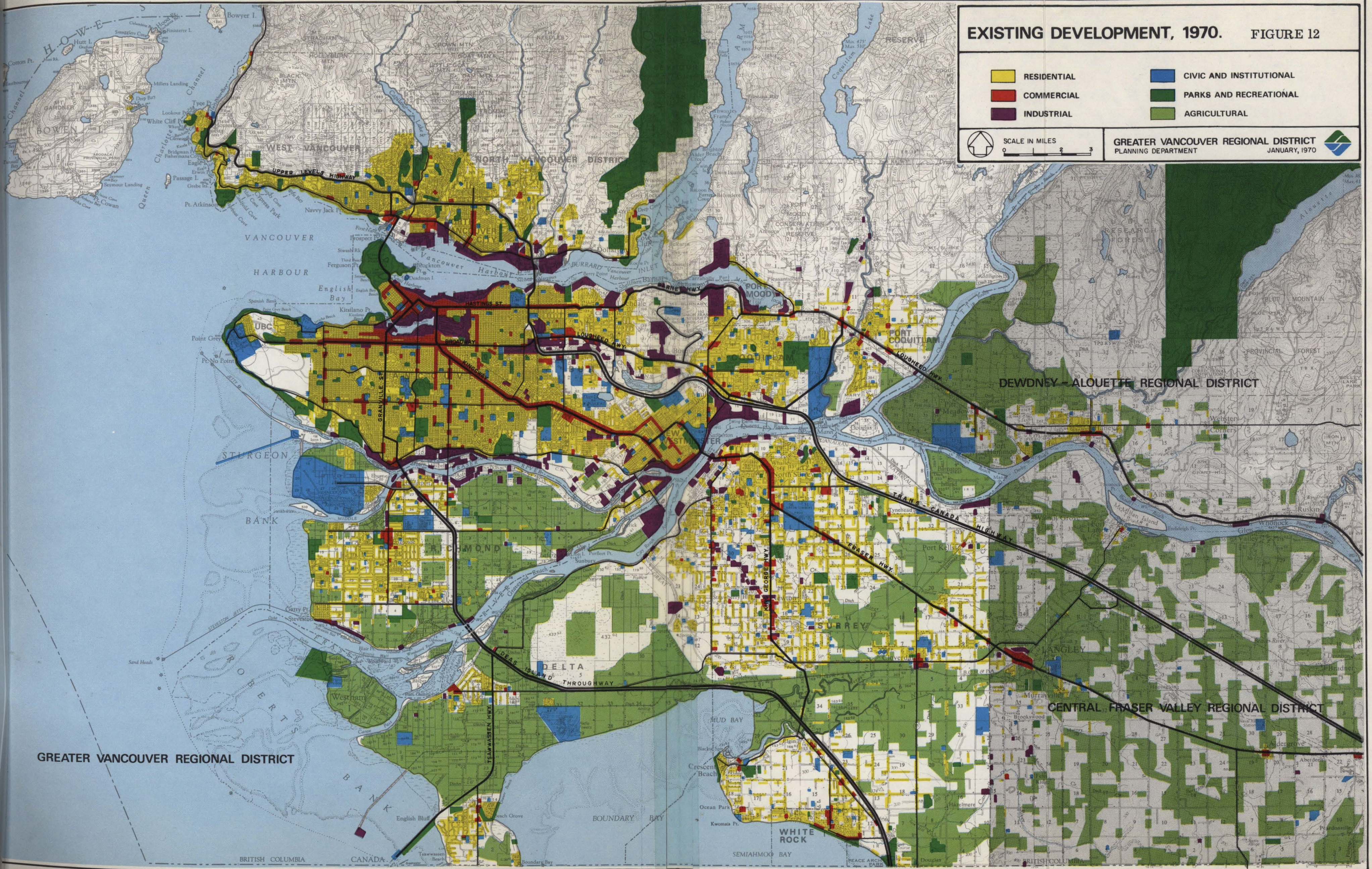
The Fraser River: Pollution, Fisheries, and Floods

The major problems of public interest on the Fraser River involve domestic and industrial pollution, preservation of the fisheries and of greenbelt areas, water access rights, wildlife habitat, and periodic inundations from spring and winter floods. Public action has been piecemeal, in relation to specific development proposals of agencies such as the Fraser River Harbour Commission's plans to use the gravel channel islands as quarries, or the need for sewage treatment facilities. As yet, there has been no major crisis to unite public concern, because relatively speaking, the Fraser is clean, incompletely developed as a harbor site and has experienced no major flood since 1948. However, much concern is expressed about the possibility of the Moran Dam construction; this might well be the next 'live' issue.[5] (Figures 8 and 12)



FLOODABLE AREAS (ASSUMING NO
DYKES OR UPSTREAM PROTECTION
from FINAL REPORT OF THE FRASER RIVER BOAR
1963
EXISTING DEVELOPMENT, 1970.
FIGURE 12
RESIDENTIAL
COMMERCIAL
INDUSTRIAL
CIVIC AND INSTITUTIONAL
PARKS AND RECREATIONAL
AGRICULTURAL
SCALE IN MILES
0 1 2 3
GREATER VANCOUVER REGIONAL DISTRICT
PLANNING DEPARTMENT
JANUARY, 1970
WEST VANCOUVER
UPPER LEVELS HIGHWAY
NORTH VANCOUVER DISTRICT
VANCOUVER
HARBOUR
English Bay
UBC
GRANVILLE ST.
HASTINGS ST.
LOUGHEED HWY.
PORT MOODY
PORT COQUITLAM
DEWDNEY - ALOUETTE REGIONAL DISTRICT
STURGEON
BANK
RICHMOND
TRANS - CANADA HIGHWAY
FRASER HWY
SURREY
LANGLEY
DELTA
DEAS ISLAND THROUGHWAY
TSAWWASSEN HWY
ROBERTS
BANK
MUD BAY
Crescent Beach
WHITE ROCK
SEMIAHMOO BAY
BOUNDARY BAY
CENTRAL FRASER VALLEY REGIONAL DISTRICT
GREATER VANCOUVER REGIONAL DISTRICT
BOWEN I.
BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA

K21-020


EXISTING DEVELOPMENT, 1970. FIGURE 12
RESIDENTIAL
COMMERCIAL
INDUSTRIAL
CIVIC AND INSTITUTIONAL
PARKS AND RECREATIONAL
AGRICULTURAL
SCALE IN MILES
0 1 2 3
GREATER VANCOUVER REGIONAL DISTRICT
PLANNING DEPARTMENT
JANUARY, 1970
DEWDNEY - ALOUETTE REGIONAL DISTRICT
CENTRAL FRASER VALLEY REGIONAL DISTRICT
GREATER VANCOUVER REGIONAL DISTRICT
WEST VANCOUVER
NORTH VANCOUVER DISTRICT
VANCOUVER HARBOUR
ENGLISH BAY
UBC
HASTINGS ST
GRANVILLE ST
LOUGHEED HWY
PORT MOODY
PORT COQUITLAM
COQUITLAM
TRANS CANADA HIGHWAY
FRASER HWY
KING GEORGE HWY
STURGEON BANK
RICHMOND
SURREY
LANGLEY
DELTA
DEAS ISLAND THROUGHWAY
TSAWWASSEN HWY
ROBERTS BANK
BOUNDARY BAY
MUD BAY
WHITE ROCK
SEMIAHMOO BAY
BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA
UPPER LEVELS HIGHWAY
BOWEN
HOWE SOUND
K21-020

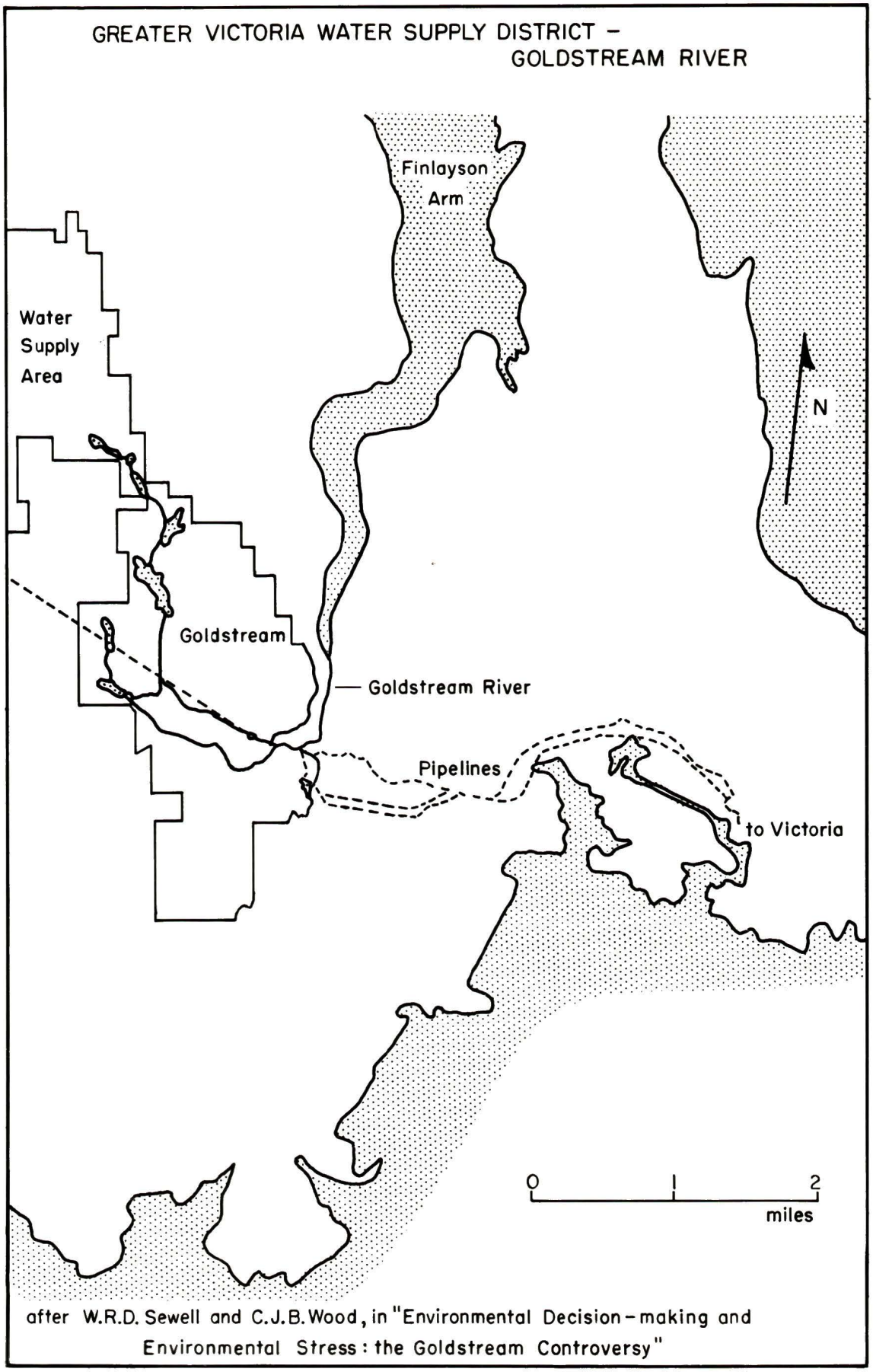
The Goldstream River: Green Lawns versus Salmon

The Victoria Water Commissioner announced in the Fall of 1970 that, due to the lack of rainfall that summer and low water levels in the city's reservoirs, no water would be released to augment the natural flow of the Goldstream River which is a salmon spawning stream on southeast Vancouver Island. Intense public reaction was sparked by the Water Commissioner's statements that people were more important than fish, that people preferred green lawns in summer to watching fish spawn in the fall, and that the public would be unwilling to accept an increase in water prices or to undertake the necessary conservation measures to compensate for the water released to the fish. The media were largely responsible for generating feedback from the public to the Water Commissioner; voluntary reduction in consumption and the large adverse reaction resulted in the Commissioner reversing his decision and releasing water to enable the fish to spawn. Following that decision, 30,000 people lined the banks of the river to watch the spectacle.[6] (Figures 8 and 13)

The Nitinat Triangle

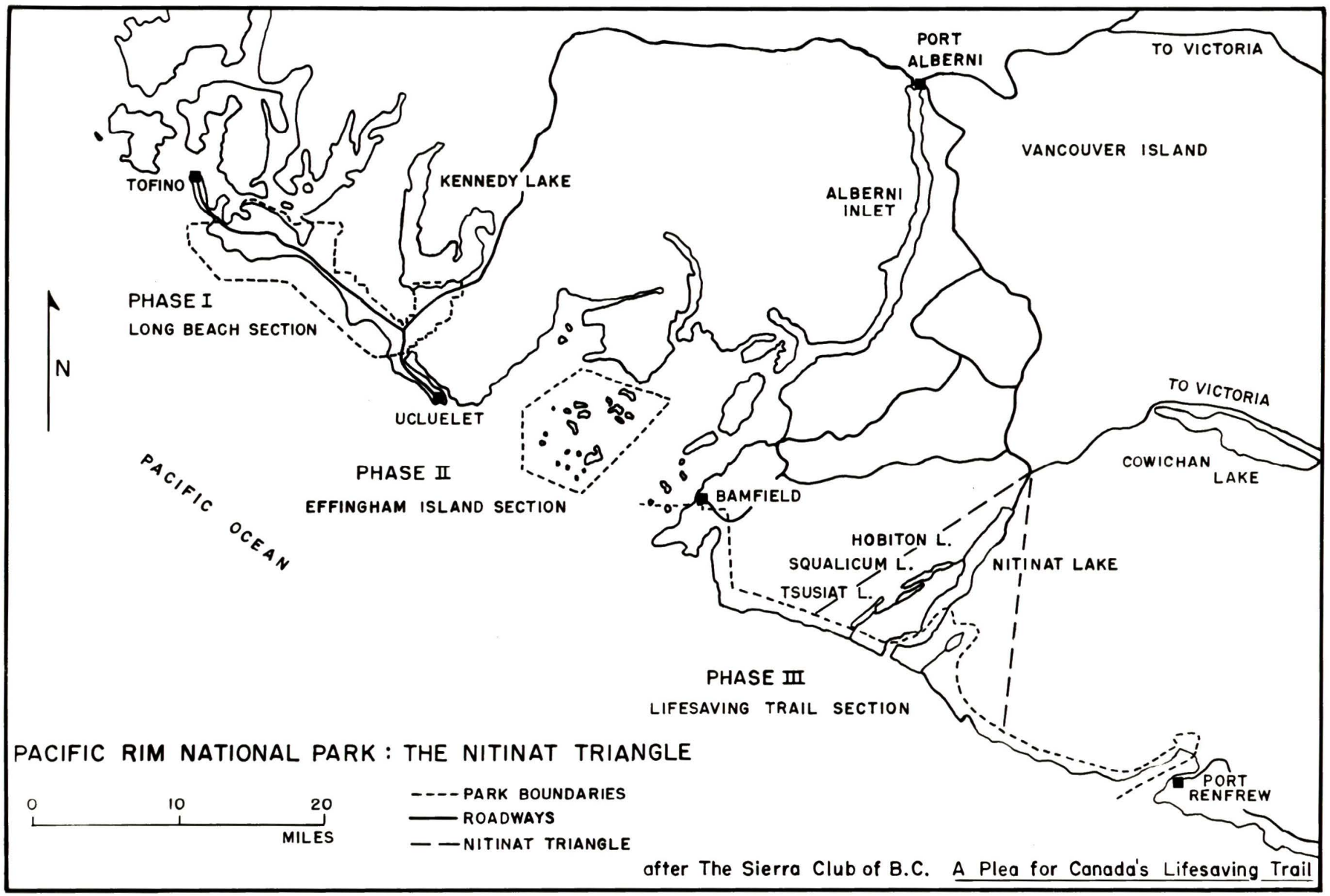
On April 2, 1969, an Act to authorize the establishment of the Pacific Rim National Park was passed. This Act divided the park development plans into three phases, the third of which concerns the West Coast lifesaving Trail. Adjacent to this Trail, in the Nitinat Lake district, is an area of excellent park potential which has not been included in the park. Recreationists have proposed that the 56,000 acres of this area (known as the Nitinat Triangle) be included in phase III of the park; others have compromised and proposed, in order that an all-or-nothing

FIGURE 13



after W.R.D. Sewell and C.J.B. Wood, in "Environmental Decision-making and Environmental Stress: the Goldstream Controversy"

FIGURE 14

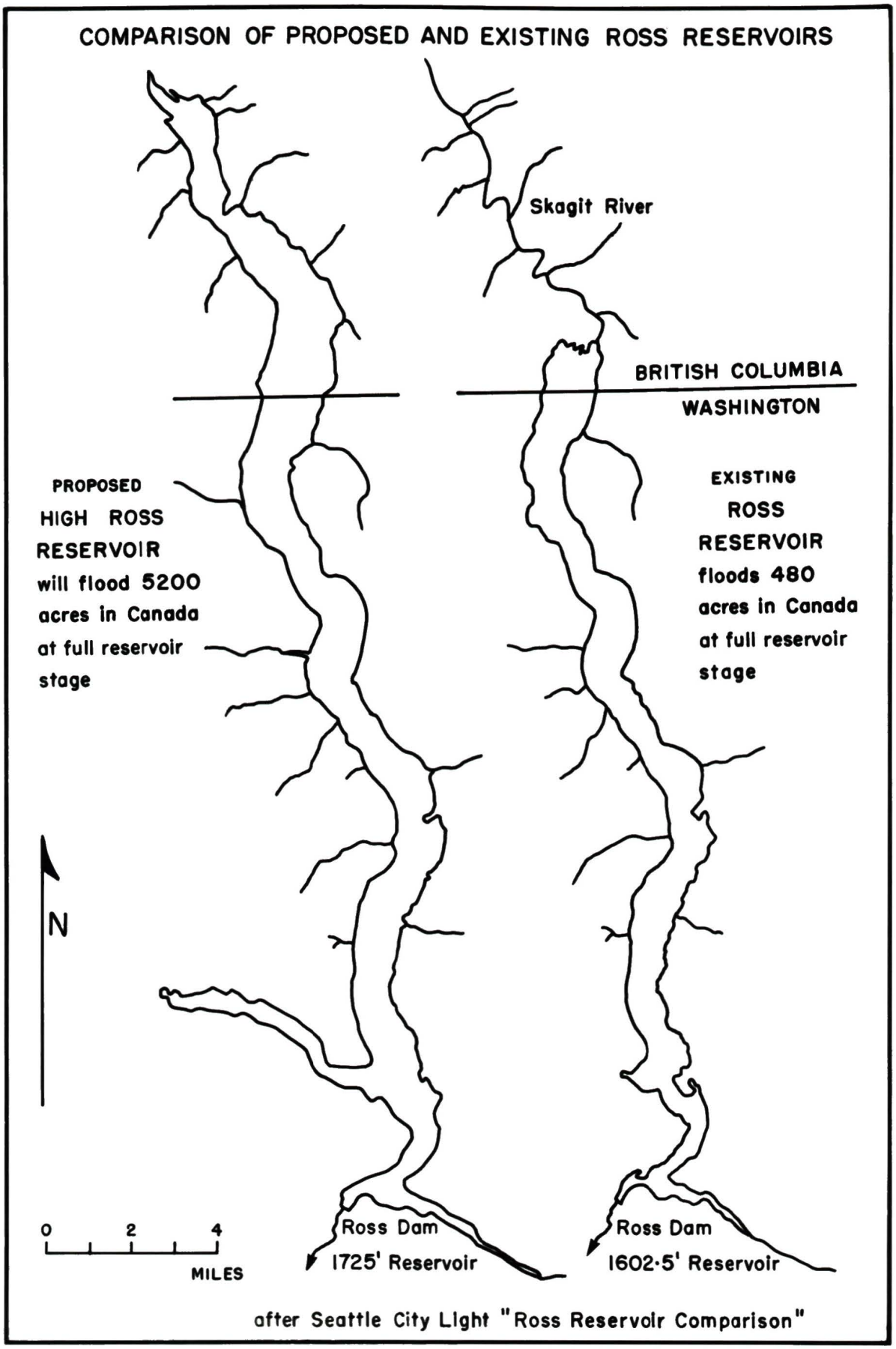

PORT ALBERNI
TO VICTORIA
VANCOUVER ISLAND
TOFINO
KENNEDY LAKE
ALBERNI INLET
PHASE I
LONG BEACH SECTION
N
UCLUELET
TO VICTORIA
COWICHAN LAKE
PACIFIC OCEAN
PHASE II
EFFINGHAM ISLAND SECTION
BAMFIELD
HOBITON L.
SQUALICUM L.
NITINAT LAKE
TSUSIAT L.
PHASE III
LIFESAVING TRAIL SECTION
PORT RENFREW
PACIFIC RIM NATIONAL PARK : THE NITINAT TRIANGLE
0 10 20
MILES
PARK BOUNDARIES
ROADWAYS
NITINAT TRIANGLE
after The Sierra Club of B.C. A Plea for Canada's Lifesaving Trail

situation does not occur, that only the valley of the Tsusiat, Hobiton, and Squalicum Lakes be preserved. The forest companies, especially B.C. Forest Products Company, which has the lease on the timber in this area, oppose these proposals on the grounds that too large an area will be locked up as parkland, that no-one will ever use such a wilderness, that jobs will be lost, and that there is plenty of wilderness in B.C. already. Recreationists have countered these arguments well in 1969-70 and through 1972, and in addition point out that there is a scientific value to preserving portions of the Nitinat area. They have also claimed that the recreational values of the area are high. As yet no decision has been made as to whether the total Nitinat Triangle area, or the Hobiton-Tsusiat area, will be included in phase III.[7] (Figures 8 and 14)

Skagit Valley: The Ross Dam Proposal

The basic problem involved here concerns the international conflict over the proposed use of a wilderness valley for water storage for hydro-electric power generation. Negotiations among and between several levels of government in both the United States and Canada had taken place since before World War II. However, in 1969 the public became involved in demonstrating their opposition to Seattle City Light's preparations for raising the height of Ross Dam to its ultimate height of 1725 feet which would flood the 5,200 acres of the Skagit Valley in B.C., destroy various wildlife habitats, and destroy miles of trout streams and spawning gravel, and reduce the recreational potential of the area.[8] Opposition from the public and some local politicians resulted in hearings of the I.J.C. in the fall of 1971; since that date, Seattle City Light has applied for permission from the

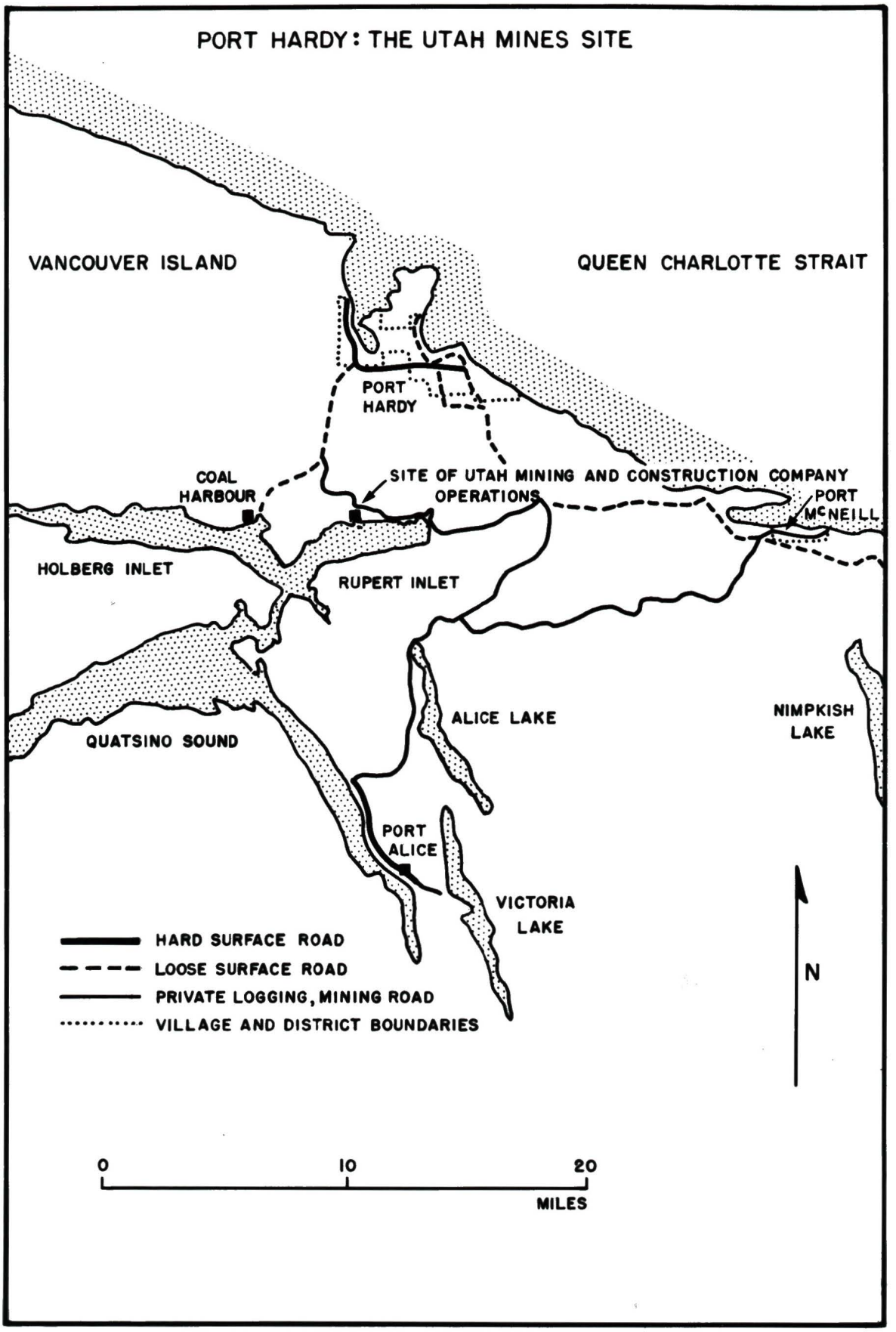
FIGURE 15


COMPARISON OF PROPOSED AND EXISTING ROSS RESERVOIRS
Skagit River
BRITISH COLUMBIA
WASHINGTON
PROPOSED
HIGH ROSS
RESERVOIR
will flood 5200
acres in Canada
at full reservoir
stage
EXISTING
ROSS
RESERVOIR
floods 480
acres in Canada
at full reservoir
stage
N
0 2 4
MILES
Ross Dam
1725' Reservoir
Ross Dam
1602·5' Reservoir
after Seattle City Light "Ross Reservoir Comparison"

Federal Power Commission to proceed with construction, but as yet no final decision has been made. (Figures 8 and 15)

Utah Mines (1970)

In this case, the Utah Mining and Construction Company had applied to the British Columbia government to establish a copper mine near Port Hardy on Vancouver Island; in order to discharge their tailings the company had to publish their intentions in a paper such as the British Columbia Gazette. Members of SPEC (and probably others) noted Utah Mine's application and opposed it. In preparation of briefs to the PCB, however, any persons opposed were handicapped by a lack of information on the specifics of the Utah proposal; the resultant statements were often erroneous and based on emotion rather than fact. The director of the P.C.B. called a public hearing, but for various reasons, only 4 out of 142 opponents were permitted to appear at the hearing. All four were laymen and suffered much anguish from nervous apprehension at the prospect of confronting the experts from Utah Mining Company. For this and other reasons, the hearings were less than representative and inadequate to assess public views. In fact, government officials admitted that prior to the hearings on the issue, government agencies had made commitments to the Company which made the Board's findings as to whether the project should proceed irrelevant one way or another. In this instance public pressure was unsuccessful in preventing the discharge of tailings into the sea. (Figures 8 and 16)


PORT HARDY: THE UTAH MINES SITE
VANCOUVER ISLAND
QUEEN CHARLOTTE STRAIT
PORT HARDY
COAL HARBOUR
SITE OF UTAH MINING AND CONSTRUCTION COMPANY OPERATIONS
PORT McNEILL
HOLBERG INLET
RUPERT INLET
ALICE LAKE
NIMPKISH LAKE
QUATSINO SOUND
PORT ALICE
VICTORIA LAKE
HARD SURFACE ROAD
LOOSE SURFACE ROAD
PRIVATE LOGGING, MINING ROAD
VILLAGE AND DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
N
0
10
20
MILES

Preliminary Statements to be Examined

Studies undertaken to date in connection with interest groups in general, and scattered information about the activities of environmental groups in particular, suggested a broad statement to be examined in the study, namely that:

> The efficacy of the environmental interest group as an influence in policy-making is a function of five main factors: its goals, its internal organization and membership, the issues upon which it concentrates its attention, the strategies it selects to attain its objectives, and the views of the policy-makers as to the appropriate role of the public in policy formulation.

To determine the validity of this statement, the influence of each of the five factors specified needs to be ascertained. The types of information needed for this purpose are noted below.

Goals Sought

The goals sought by a body are generally a reflection of such factors as:

(a) the kinds of people who belong to the organization and especially those who compose its executive

(b) the resources available to the group

(c) the prevailing values in society.

Hence in assessing the influence of goals sought on the efficacy of interest groups in affecting policy-making, information must be sought first on the specific aims of the various groups. These might include such broad objectives as achieving zero population growth, or making people aware of pollution, or they might focus specifically upon such goals as obtaining sewage treatment plants for a city or

town, or having litter legislation enacted. Second, data are needed on the socio-economic status, professional qualifications, and experience of members, and especially the executive. As noted in the research reported upon in Chapter 2, the goals sought by different social groups vary considerably: those in ghettos do not seek the same objectives as those who live in middle class neighbourhoods. Third, information is required on the amount and sources of financial resources. The greater the amount of money available, the greater the range of opportunities for influence and the more ambitious the goals that may be sought. At the same time, the narrower the sources, the greater the obligations to a particular segment of society. Fourthly, information is required on the values prevalent in society. In broad terms, these values relate to economic growth and expansion and the quality of life and the environment. For the purposes of this essay, however, information was collected on the aims, the professional qualifications of the executive, and the financial resources of the selected environmental groups.

Internal Organization and Membership

Group organization is generally a function of:

(a) the characteristics of the membership and leadership

(b) the availability of resources

(c) the goals sought and strategies employed on issues selected.

To ascertain what influence a group's structure has upon its impact on policy-making, information should be sought on the origins of the group, on some of the characteristics of members such as age, education, environmental interests, and lay or professional qualifications, and the amount of financial and manpower

resources available to the group. Data are needed to establish who the decision-makers of the group are, the existence and use of communications patterns within and between groups, the media, and the policy-makers, and the role that personalities, and leadership positions have in the selection of goals, issues and strategies of the group, as well as the role of the executive in providing knowledge and advice of decision-making conventions and available access routes.

These and similar pieces of information could provide answers to questions of credibility of the environmental interest groups, the orientation to the policy-making establishment, the tendency for certain types of issues to require certain types of action and response, the influence of the media on a group's choice of issues, and the group's influence on the media in arousing public opinion, and the processes by which issues and strategies are selected. However, due to time and financial constraints, this study concentrated data on the environmental interests of members (including the executive), membership numbers, the kinds of decisions groups make and the decision-making personnel.

Issues Selected and Strategies Chosen

The issues selected and the strategies chosen are hypothesized to be reflections of:

(a) the characteristics and roles of leadership and membership

(b) the group's desired goals and image

(c) the perceived issues available for action at a particular time

(d) the perceptions of the strategies most likely to be useful.

To substantiate this hypothesis data are required on the characteristics of group

participants, the internal organization characteristics and their effects on the choice of goals and image to be created. Additionally, information about the type, the scale, and kind of action required on issues that were perceived at a particular moment, and the reasons for selection (or rejection) of certain issues upon which to focus attention and resources, and the types of strategy that are believed to be most successful are needed. For example, it might be possible to determine the extent to which environmental interest groups tend to select those issues in which there is a reasonable chance of attaining success rather than those issues for which decisions may never be arrived at, or will occur sometime in the distant future. This study focussed on the actions and issues chosen, the reasons for their selection, and the strategies that were applied or used.

Government Attitudes to Public Participation

The efficacy of environmental interest groups was hypothesized as being a function of political attitudes as to the appropriate role of the public in policy-making. The extent of this influence was believed to rest upon at least three major factors:

(a) the provision of formal avenues of access to and communication with decision-makers

(b) the extent to which opposing views are articulated

(c) views on the importance of environmental problems as compared to other problems facing British Columbia.

Information is required therefore on the attitudes of decision-makers and

their technical advisors as to whether the public should participate directly in the policy-making process, or whether their views should be sought indirectly. It is also important to determine the extent to which reliance is placed upon formal lines of communication as compared with informal or 'ad hoc' lines. Data are needed on whose views are sought and by what means. It is necessary to know, for example, whether reliance is placed upon the informed, middle class citizenry to bring forward the views of "the public", or whether an attempt is made to cover the broad spectrum of the latter. Are only "supporting" views sought or is an attempt made to assess opposing views as well? Ideally, data should have been sought also on the relative importance attached to environmental problems by politicians and government officials. Clearly, if such problems are regarded as being of relatively minor importance, or matters which are 'routine' rather than 'strategic', relatively little emphasis is likely to be placed upon the need to seek views of interest groups or the "public at large". Due to constraints of time and funds, however, this latter data was not obtained.

The Questionnaire

The face-to-face interview, guided by a questionnaire was selected as the most appropriate means of gathering data for the study. Two basic considerations influenced this choice. First, the questionnaire has proven to be an extremely useful technique in other studies requiring similar kinds of information as this study because of the variation in format that it permits. Questions may be asked in such a manner that responses will vary from the short, factual type to the

lengthier, complicated open-ended style. Second, the face-to-face interview has several advantages over the mail questionnaire, notably the opportunity to explain the purposes of the study and to establish a rapport with the respondent. In particular, it may well furnish the only means of obtaining needed data on perceptions and attitudes.

The questionnaire administered to the environmental interest groups was divided into three main sections. The first sought information on the views on environmental problems in British Columbia and where the responsibility for action lay. It was also intended to yield information on the goals sought and the range of issues in which the groups had been active. The second, designed to provide more specific information on the issues and strategies selected, asked the respondents about their group's involvement in the eight particular environmental issues described above, namely, Amchitka, Burnaby Lake, the East Kootenays, Fraser River, Goldstream River, Nitinat Triangle, Skagit Valley, and Utah Mines. The third section sought general information on the name, date of formation, size of membership, availability of resources, and the nature of the group's internal organization. (A copy of the questionnaire and general letter of introduction is included as Appendix A.)

A second questionnaire, much shorter in length and simpler in content, was administered to a sample of members of the interest groups. This brief questionnaire was designed to provide information as to whether members and executive perceive the same environmental problems to be important, and to provide a check on membership and executive perceptions of group goals. Members

were also asked about their role in group decision-making, communications, and selection of activities. (A copy of this questionnaire is included as Appendix B.)

Contacting and Interviewing the Respondents

This study was based on a sample of 34 executives and members of ten environmental interest groups in Victoria and Vancouver; 16 of the sample occupied leadership positions, and 18 were general members-at-large. (It was originally intended to interview 2 members of the executive and 2 or 3 members of each group, but because this interviewing took place during the summer months, the individuals to be contacted were often unavailable. However, in cases where other names were recommended, those individuals were contacted. Since the members to be interviewed were randomly selected -- most often, by the president or secretary looking through a membership file and selecting any 5 names -- there seemed to be no valid reason to refrain from including them).

Initial contact with potential respondents was established by telephone, at which time the purpose of the request for an interview was explained, and a convenient time to meet arranged. Interviews with the executive members lasted an average of one and one-half to two hours although some were as long as three and four hours. The average length of an interview with a member was twenty to thirty minutes: some lasted as long as two hours. Upon completion of the interview and receipt of the questionnaire (some respondents wished to return their questionnaire by mail at a later date), a letter of thanks was sent (Appendix C.)

The composition of the final sample is as follows:

Group	Number of Executives Interviewed	Number of Members Interviewed
a) Victoria		
The Federation of B.C. Naturalists	2	2
The Greater Victoria Environmental Centre	2	3
The Sierra Club	1	4
S.P.E.C.	2	1
b) Vancouver		
The B.C. Environmental Council	1	0*
The B.C. Wildlife Federation	2	0△
The Amchitka Coalition	1	2
The Save Burnaby Lake Association	1	1□
The Sierra Club	2	1
S.P.E.C.	2	4
	16	10

total = 34

*this group until very recently had no individual membership

△membership list not available

□defunct: membership very difficult to locate.

In only one case was there any opposition to completing the full questionnaire: the problem was encountered with the questions on finances and membership - the information was not divulged for fear that it could harm the group's future operations. Although there was an overall return of 77%, 3 executive members and 7 general members who had been approached and indicated their willingness to co-operate, did not return their questionnaires. Although the sample size is small, it was felt that enough of a variation in members -- from the complete activist to the apathetic -- was achieved to give a balance to the data.

The results of the study are discussed in Chapter 5.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The information for the description of the Amchitka issue was drawn from more than thirty of the news sheets and other publications of the Amchitka Coalition. A description of the Amchitka test is also to be found in a 41 page publication of the United States Atomic Energy Commission entitled Project Cannikin (May 1971).

[2]The study, Burnaby Lake Students' Projects (Vancouver, August 1971), is the major source of information about the problems in the Burnaby Lake area.

[3]Figures relating to coal production are from Province of British Columbia, Financial and Economic Review 1972 (Victoria: Department of Finance, 1972), p. 45.

[4]Discussion of the East Kootenays strip mining project was based on personal discussion with Mr. Geoff Warden, Executive Director of the B.C. Wildlife Federation.

[5]For information on recent environmental interest group activities, see the B.C. Environmental Council Newsletter, B.C. Environment News, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July 1972), p. 5.

[6]For further information on the Goldstream crisis, see: W.R.D. Sewell and C.J.B. Wood, "Environmental Decision-making and Environmental Stress: the Goldstream Controversy," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, May 1971.

[7]The Sierra Club of B.C. has produced many information sheets about the Nitinat Triangle issue, and have also published a 35 page book entitled West Coast National Park Life-Saving Trail: a Plea for Wider Boundaries (1971).

[8]A brief summary of the Skagit issue is found in the B.C. Wildlife Federation Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 1 (November 1970), pp. 1-4. Also see the public information releases prepared by the R.O.S.S. Committee (Run Out Skagit Spoilers).

[9]For further information on the Utah hearing, see D. Anderson, "Government and the Environment: a Need for Public Participation," University of British Columbia Law Review, Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1971), p. 112. Discussion of the issue is also based upon personal communication with the Pollution Control Branch and the SPEC group about the problem of exclusion from the hearings.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The research undertaken for this study attempted to gather information on the goals of environmental interest groups, the strategies they adopted, the nature of their membership, the internal organizational characteristics of such groups and their apparent efficacy. The results obtained shed some light on the nature of these groups in the Victoria and Vancouver regions of British Columbia, and also indicated the extent to which some of the groups have succeeded in influencing policy.

Goals of Environmental Interest groups

Most environmental groups have one or more statements in their constitutions which suggest that the group is in favour of the preservation of environmental quality. Often, these groups are also dedicated to environmental improvement. For example, one of the main objectives of SPEC is "the preservation and development of a quality environment...." Similarly, among the objectives of the B.C. Wildlife Federation is a statement committing the group to "act wherever possible to prevent pollution."

The objectives are also stated in the information leaflets, the briefs, and the press releases prepared for public distribution by the environmental groups. For example the Environmental Centre of Greater Victoria, in an information sheet dated 10 May 1972, describes its aims as "to provide objective, easily understandable information (about environmental problems and possible alternatives), freely available on request". Likewise, the Federation of B.C. Naturalists indicate in a news sheet of June 10, 1970, that the F.B.C.N. was

formed to "work on the many larger problems threatening the outdoors environment" and "...to help preserve our outdoors."

Many groups are specific about the goals they seek within their general objectives. The B.C. Environmental Council, for example, within its principal objective of attempting to "increase public involvement in the decision making process, as it relates to environmental concerns" is especially concerned with the "public discussion of energy policies and alternatives for B.C.", and with "public discussion of harbor development proposals, particularly for the lower Fraser River". This information was released in the B.C. Environment News (April 1972) which is published by the B.C.E.C. Another group which illustrates this tendency to work for specific goals within general aims is the Amchitka Coalition: although its most widely publicized objective was to "stop the Amchitka blast", the group's longer-term commitment to "changing environmental values" was largely overlooked in the emphasis on the issue. The Sierra Club in Victoria provides another example. Technically a group that is concerned about land use practices and their effect on the environment, it has included problems of logging in the Nitinat Triangle, oil tanker shipments along the B.C. Coast and the damming of the Skagit as specific issues within its broad area of interest.

From a listing of the responses to the question (number 4) "what are the acknowledged goals of the organization?", five major categories may be identified which cover the general and the specific concerns. These five types were:

a) education and information, which entailed the provision of public information, the communication of an overview of general or specific environmental problems and alternatives towards their solution, and the desire to create awareness in the public (or to change their attitudes),

b) preservation and conservation, which included the promotion of park development and better management of the provinces' resources,

c) the co-ordination of active environmental groups,

d) ecotage, which implies the active involvement, either directly in political spheres (including the use of pressure tactics), or in "learning-by-doing" activities that relate directly to the physical environment (for example, hiking through litter to a park) and only indirectly to political decision-making about the environment, and

e) pollution control, which embraced a more general concern for achieving environmental quality, however defined.

Table 3 provides a summary of these goals; note that many groups combine several of these goals.

Table 3. Stated Goals of Groups

Goal	Total	Percentage
education and information	26	43.3
preservation and conservation	16	26.6
pollution control	8	13.3
ecotage	8	13.3
co-ordination of environmental groups	2	3.3

Note: - most respondents indicated more than one goal; only 1 member did not know what the group's goals were.
- percentages do not sum to 100% due to rounding error.

From the responses to the question on group goals it was extremely difficult to distinguish between the goals sought and the means by which these goals might be achieved. For example, both the categories of "pollution control" and of "ecotage" may be regarded as goals or as means, depending on the

objective defined. In this study, the means sought to attain the objectives--either explicitly stated or implicitly suggested--are defined as "strategies". Strategies range from the monitoring of water quality to the use of political pressure tactics, and will be discussed later in this chapter.

In terms of the sample interviewed, there seemed to be a close correspondence between the views of the executives and the members as to group goals,[1] perhaps partly because the goals were most often perceived in general terms. However, there was less apparent correspondence between the executive and members in their perceptions of the concerns of their groups, which is the topic for the following section.

Concerns of Environmental Interest Groups

Often inherent in the goals of environmental groups is a challenge to the political status quo: groups create pressure to enact and enforce environmental legislation and laws in order to change or preserve the status quo of the physical environment. The degree of this challenge is seen in the focus, type, and scale of the concerns of such groups.

In British Columbia, according to those eco-activists sampled, concern for environmental problems ranked (in aggregate terms) beneath those of unemployment and social ills such as education and crime. (Table 4). This is not inconsistent with results of previous research,[2] and would seem to indicate that the concerns of members of environmental interest groups do not focus on elitist problems but on universal, widely acknowledged problems.

Table 4 provides a summary of the range of problems that those eco-activists interviewed perceived as important in response to the question (number 1) "What

are the major problems you feel B.C. is presently facing?" The seven categories are designated as follows:

a) unemployment: this category indicates concern with labor problems, inflation and taxation.

b) social ills: this is a "catch-all" category for such problems as education, drugs, medical assistance, old age, crime and juvenile delinquency.

c) emphasis on the growth and development ethic; included in this category are the problems of technology, over-consumption, resource exploitation, and loss of wildlife, waterfront, and agricultural lands.

d) government: this includes criticisms of the government structure and institutions, its leadership, its reaction (or lack of) to change, and its alienation from the governed.

e) pollution: included in the category are references to environmental degradation in general as well as to specific cases.

f) population: this category expresses concern with over-population and results of urbanization, and

g) lack of planning: which incorporates statements on the lack of environmental policies, the poor administration of resources and the lack of restrictions on foreign investment in and development of natural resources.

These categories seem to define the basic kinds of problems with which groups take issue.

Table 4. Problems Facing British Columbia

Problem	Total	Percentage
unemployment	23	20.7
social ills	21	18.9
emphasis on the growth and development ethic	19	17.1
government	14	12.6
pollution	12	10.8
population	12	10.8
lack of planning	10	9.0

Note: - most respondents indicated 3 or 4 problems
- percentages do not sum to 100% due to rounding error.

For comparison with Table 4, Table 5 provides a summary of the types of environmental problems perceived as most important by the respondents. The categories in Table 5 are identical to those in Table 4 with the exception of environmental education, which notes concern with problems of awareness, understanding, and attitudes to the environment; the growth ethic category which now includes the conservation-preservation problem; and the lack of planning category which in this instance includes land use conflicts and legislation problems. The question (number 2) asked was "Please indicate, in rank order, those environmental problems which you consider to be most important."

Table 5. Environmental Problems

Problem	Total	Percentage
emphasis on growth and development ethic	19	38.8
lack of planning	9	18.3
population	9	18.3
environmental education	6	12.2
government	4	8.1
pollution	2	4.0

Note: - most respondents indicated 2 or 3 problems
- percentages do not sum to 100% due to rounding error

Both the executives and the members sampled seemed to be oriented to present environmental problems rather than future concerns. This would seem to lend support to the comments in Chapter 2 concerning the inability of groups to anticipate possible environmental threats.

The original conservation movement, out of which the environmental movement has grown, was concerned with the broad problem of resource use versus resource preservation.[3] In contrast, many of the environmental groups in British Columbia today have moved beyond such relatively simple, clear-cut concerns to grapple with the complex environmental problems of the man-made environment as well as all aspects of the natural environment. This does not negate, however, the influence of outdoor recreation and conservation interests in the current environmental movement concerns, for many groups employ the outdoors to increase environmental awareness and understanding in order to help solve specific problems. For many of these kinds of groups, enactment of legislation for the preservation of the status quo--in terms of acres of wilderness country, for

example--represents a major victory. For example, the announcement in April of 1970 that the Pacific Rim National Park was to be formally established was viewed by the environmental groups as a whole as a major step forward.

Environmental problems, and the protests about them, may range from local to provincial, national and international. The data collected in this study revealed that the majority of groups engaged in activity on a local level. That is, most groups were concerned with problems such as litter and noise within a city, the pollution of a particular body of water resulting from use of a particular set of sewage outfalls, or development proposals such as Vancouver's third (bridge) crossing, or Victoria's Inner Harbor-Reid (high rise) project. Table 6 provides the summary of the numbers of issues the environmental groups had been involved with at the various levels, according to the responses to question number 5, "Please list as many as possible of the specific activities or issues that this group has been involved in, and the actions taken."

Table 6. Issues, Locus of Concern, and Group Activity.

Number of Issues	Locus of Concern	Number of times Groups Active
17	local	23
6	provincial	10
2	national	6
3	international	12

Note: - a total of 28 issues were noted by the 10 groups in answer to question 5 of the group questionnaire.
- the locus of concern indicates at which level the highest jurisdiction for a problem lies.
- the number of groups active is a total of all the groups who were active on all the issues at the various levels (one group may have been involved in 5 different local issues).

This table also illustrates the considerable amount of group activity on international issues such as the Amchitka blast. That the local and international levels of problems received the most attention from groups may be explained, possibly, by the fact that international issues are "the kind that everyone hates"; they affect large numbers of people. In a local issue, however, fewer people are affected by each problem, but the incidence of occurrence of local problems is much greater than international ones. Further, since those responsible for local decisions are much more accessible than those who make decisions with international ramifications, it is not surprising that there is more local activity. That is, if groups or individuals perceive themselves as having a responsibility to "do something about the environment", they may well begin on a local level because the problem is visible and the responsibility generally clear and accessible. Table 7 provides a summary of the results obtained from question number 3, "Please indicate those whom you feel are responsible for, or should take action, the above problems." (The "above problems" referred to are questions 1 and 2).

Table 7. Responsibility for Action on Environmental Problems

Locus of Responsibility	Number of times each locus noted		Percentage	
individuals and/or the public	20		22.2	
B.C. provincial government	19		21.1	
government in general (no level specified)	17	55	18.8	61.1
local or municipal government	10		11.1	
Canadian federal government	9		10.0	
industry	10		11.1	
United Nations	3		3.3	
United States	2		2.2	

Note: - the respondents often indicated more than one locus of responsibility according to the type of problem faced.
- the percentages do not sum to 100% due to rounding error.

Perhaps the most notable feature of this Table is that 22 percent of those interviewed recorded a personal responsibility for environmental action. To what extent this response is indicative of an individual's willingness to make personal sacrifices for the environmental cause (or is merely the repetition of current environmental thoughts) is not known, but it may be that such respondents are the most highly committed to the movement. Figure 17 expresses this possible difference between attitude and actions.

In common with findings of other studies, the government (both in general and at specified levels) is assigned the responsibility for action on environmental matters. This attitude of "where the people cannot take the responsibility, let the government assume it" may be a result of two factors: (a) the traditional reliance by the public on government action, and (b) the sense of the ineffectiveness of individual action. As indicated in Chapter 3, the government in

FIGURE 17

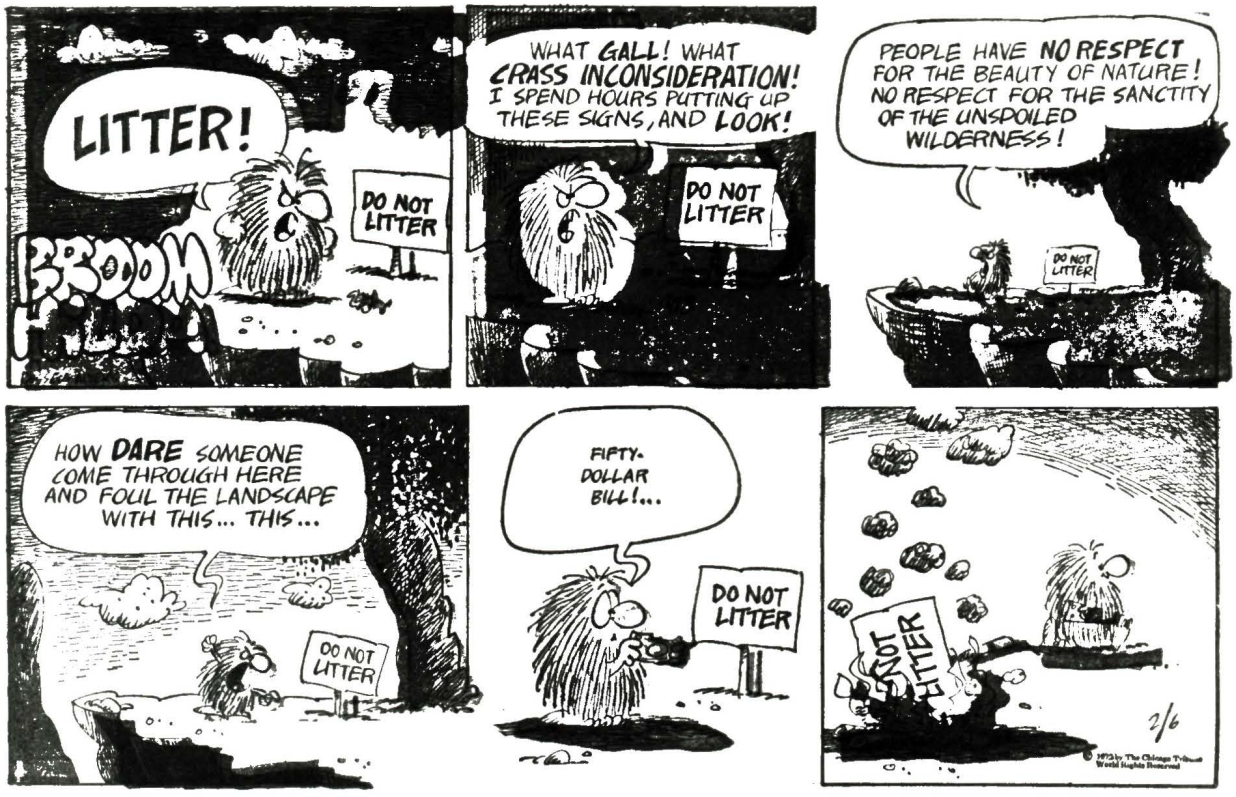


Illustration of Possible Environmental Attitudes and Actions

British Columbia has always been concerned with environmental matters as they relate to health; as environmental concerns have widened, however, the government is not perceived to have accommodated the change. People, however, have continued to assign that traditional responsibility for action to the government and express displeasure when no action occurs. This tradition, combined with the feeling that individuals cannot assume responsibility because they lack the technical capability necessary or because they feel the problem is too complex for a layman to handle, results in the situation where responsibility is shirked.

Organizational and Membership Characteristics of Environmental Interest Groups.

The working hypothesis noted in Chapter 4 was that the role which an environmental interest group plays in decision-making appears to be conditioned by a number of factors that relate to the way in which a group is organized, how it functions, and the characteristics of its members. Accordingly, information on these factors was collected and attempts made to assess group efficacy.

Preliminary analysis of the data yielded a number of findings which are summarized in Table 8; the numbers of the question(s) from which the information was derived are noted in the table. Note that the data is reported in general terms only; information was obtained on these characteristics only by assurance that no specific group could be identified.

Table 8. Summary of Organizational and Membership Characteristics of Environmental Interest Groups.

characteristic	question number	findings
a) number of years of operation	Part C#2	8 out of 10 groups studied had been functioning fewer than 5 years
type of group	C-1	6 out of 10 were single entities, 4 were federations
number of branch organizations or affiliates	C-3	single groups had from 0 to 27 branches, while federations had from 20 to 140 affiliates.
b) membership numbers	C-4	ranged from 15 to more than 13,000; federations generally possessed much larger memberships.
jobs held by group members	C-5	of the 10 groups studied, 4 groups acknowledged members with a clerical occupation, 5 groups indicated manual laborers were members, 6 groups had student members, housewives or retired members, and 9 groups noted the presence of professionally qualified members. It seemed that outdoor-type clubs attracted more of the manual workers than other groups.
c) finances	C-6	single entity groups averaged about $1,000 within a range of $500 to $4,000; most federations received at least $10,000, some as much as $70,000.
sources of funds	C-7	10 groups relied on membership dues, 9 relied on private donations, 6 groups received money from fund-raising activities, and 4 received Opportunities for Youth or Local Initiatives Program grants

Table 2. (continued)

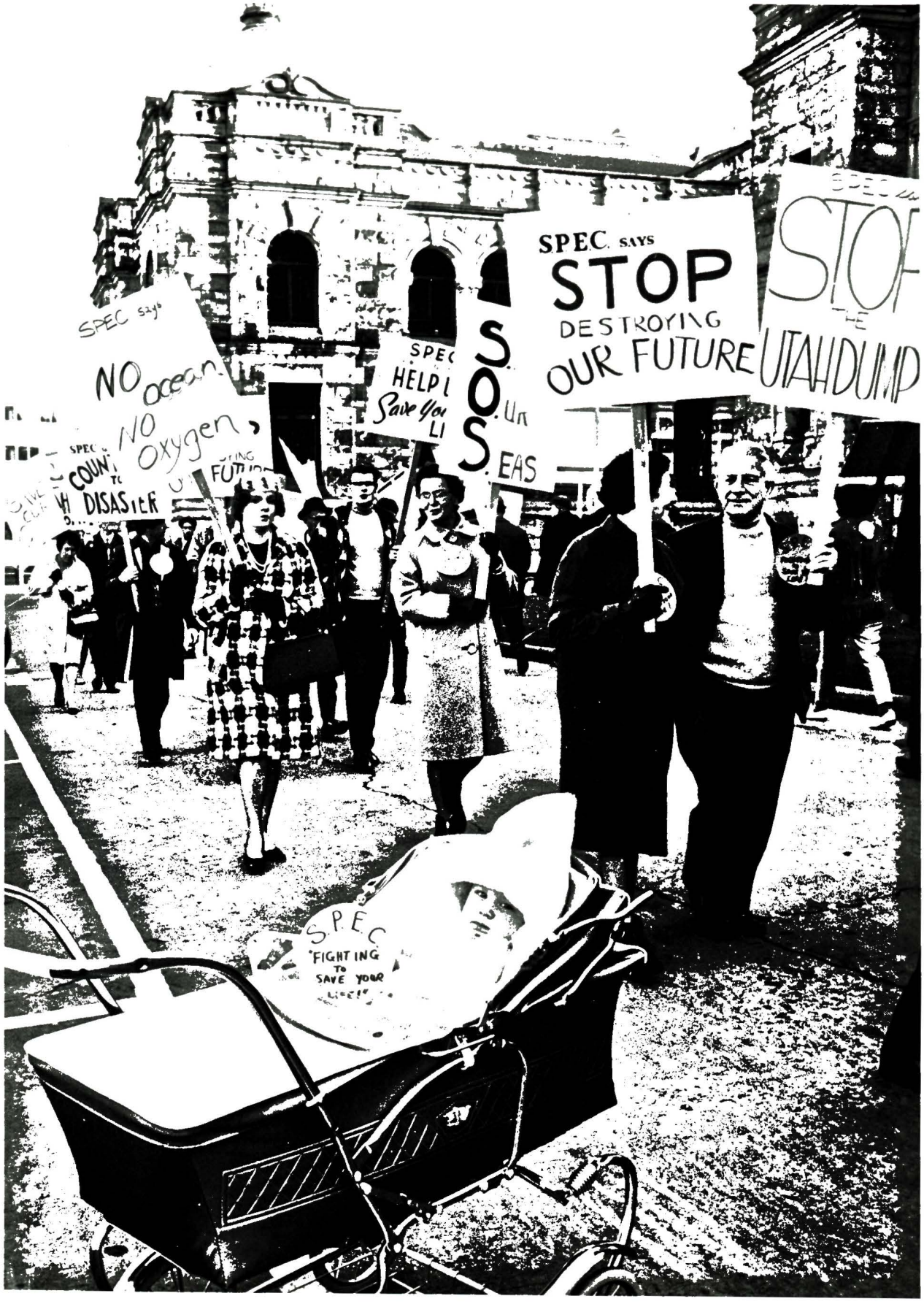
characteristic	question number(s)	findings
d) inter-group communication	C-12	the number of other groups each group contacted ranged from 2 to 45; federations contacted more by the very nature of their composition
number of executives	C-9	the range in number of executives was from 4 to 21; most groups operate with a core of leaders
within-group communication	C-10	formal meetings with group members are held only once per year in most groups but up to 12 times in others. Executive meetings were held as often as once per week or as little as once every 3 to 6 months.
methods of communication	C-11	members are generally contacted by newsletter, special bulletin or letter about group meetings and activities. Telephone is rarely used.
media communications	C-13,14	in general groups contacted about 3 media personnel with their newstories, press releases although some groups contact as many as 15. Media personnel were members of about half of the groups.
communication with governments	A-6	provincial authorities were contacted most often, then federal and municipal officials. contact was made with provincial authorities mostly by means of letter, personal visits and presentation of briefs; with federal officials by letter and telephone calls and with municipal authorities by personal visit, letter and telephone calls. heads of departments were contacted initially rather than lower echelons of power.

Table 2. (continued)

characteristics	question number(s)	findings
e) comments on J.C. Scott's quotation	C-17	- age was too old; age was too young; age was "just right" (Figure 18) - sex of the activist should be female - no mention of role of young people - members were transient and not the "average man" the consensus seemed to be that, although environmental groups had been active only a short time, they did seem to represent the middle-class, non-manual status individual.

Research has revealed ways in which environmental interest groups differ from other types of interest groups. Shortage of funds is a very serious problem for many environmental groups. Many groups feel the lack of money in terms of hiring competent personnel to conduct research and/or to manage the organization; reliance cannot be placed on membership funds alone as the fluctuation in membership from year to year may be as much as 100%. The budget of 500 to 1000 dollars most groups possess cannot hire an expert researcher for a very long period of time. Many groups also express reluctance to accept funds from the government or industrial concerns for fear of becoming dependent on those funds or for fear of compromising their political stands. Nevertheless, environmental groups may still play an effective role in policy making without large finances through reliance on effective leadership and committed volunteer help including technical expertise.

Environmental groups also seem to differ in clientele. Since their concerns are not with improving income or working conditions or with such social concerns as



Age is No Barrier to Action.

racial discrimination, there may be some important differences in the socio-economic characteristics of members. Further, the membership in environmental groups represents only a very small proportion of the number of people affected by environmental issues. This is unlike a trade union where, for example, most fishermen likely to be affected by problems in their jobs do belong to unions which fight their cases.

Environmental groups also differ in their established communication links. Since they have been in operation only a short time, environmental groups have not had the opportunity to build up their communication links as have the industrial or other concerns that are in opposition.

Issues and Strategies of Environmental Interest Group

Eight specific environmental issues were chosen in an attempt to discover why certain issues received greater attention than others, and why some groups seemed to be more effective than others. As noted in Chapter 2, different issues exhibit different characteristics: Table 9 outlines some of these.

Comparison of the issues in which groups have failed (the Amchitka blast, Burnaby Lake preservation, and the Utah Mines tailings disposal) and the one in which they were successful (Goldstream) indicates no factor common to all or distinct from all the others. Table 9 thus illustrates the difficulty in determining why certain issues were chosen, and which, if any, of the characteristics of the issue pre-determine success or failure of group action. This implies also that the measurement of efficacy is very difficult; perhaps success does not lie in the choice of issue but rather in the choice of strategy (or means) chosen to achieve a group's goal.

Table 9. Characteristics of Selected Environmental Issues.

	physical scale of problem	complexity (number of conflicting interests)	irreversibility	numbers of people affected	accessibility of decision-makers	costs and/or skills needed	risk-payoff	results
Amchitka Blast	large	complex	irreversible	large	inaccessible	high	high-high	failed
Burnaby Lake Preservation	small	simple	reversible	small	readily accessible	low	low-medium	apparently failed
E. Kootenays strip mining	medium	medium	irreversible	small	accessible	medium	low-medium	partially successful
Fraser R. pollution, floods, dams	large	complex	reversible & irreversible	large	accessible & inaccessible	high	medium-high	no policy decision made yet
Goldstream R.-salmon vs domestic water supply	small	simple	reversible	medium	readily accessible	low	low-medium	successful
Nitinat Triangle logging	medium	medium	irreversible	small	accessible	medium	medium-high	unsettled
Skagit Valley hydro development	large	complex	irreversible	small	inaccessible	high	high-medium	unsettled
Utah Mines tailing disposal	small	simple	reversible	small	accessible	low	medium-medium	failed

The tactics with which groups may become active in each of these issues take many forms: those most frequently employed can be classified as educational or political tactics. Educational tactics include:

a) lecture and public meetings
b) development and distribution of environmental-information materials
c) information booths, exhibitions and displays, films
d) research projects

Political tactics include:

a) public demonstrations and petition drives
b) raising support for environmental policy-makers
c) testifying at hearings
d) mailing campaigns, telegrams and telephone calls to decision-makers
e) personally visiting decision-makers
f) writing legislation

Other miscellaneous tactics include:

a) writing press releases
b) forming contacts with media personnel
c) initiating lawsuits
d) co-ordinating or co-operating with coalitions on specific issues
e) monitoring pollutants
f) proselytizing; interesting prominent persons in group activities.

Groups in British Columbia have used all of those; however, unlike the United States, where the courts are the most effective weapons against environmental degradation, Canadians must rely on people power for mass support and opposition. Table 10 provides a summary of the issues, the number of groups involved in each of the eight issues, and the number of different strategies employed by all the groups in activity on these issues.

Table 10. Summary of Issues, Numbers of Groups Involved and Strategies Employed.

Problem	Number of Groups	Number of different strategies
Amchitka blast	6	7
Burnaby Lake preservation	2	2
East Kootenays Strip mining	1	2
Fraser River: pollution & dams	5	5
Goldstream River: water vs. Salmon	1	1
Nitinat Triangle: Logging	6	10
Skagit Valley flooding	5	5
Utah Mines Tailings Discharge	2	4

The data in Table 10 seems to suggest that the higher the risk involved in becoming active on an issue, the more strategies are employed in attempts to influence the decision-makers. However, the number of groups involved is not related to the number of strategies used, as one group may diversify its tactics, whereas another might concentrate its attention on its one, most powerful strategy. There appears to be some attempt made to avoid duplication of efforts as well. The effect of these pressures from a greater number of sources may achieve the effect desired.

Table 11 provides more detailed information on the specific activities of specific groups; the particular issues each became involved in, and the different tactics that were used in particular instances in attempts to affect the decision-making process.

TABLE 11. ECO-ACTIVISM: ISSUES AND STRATEGIES OF ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST GROUPS

Group / Issue	Environment 100	F.B.C.N.	B.C.W.F.	Save Burnaby Lake Association	B.C.E.C.	Sierra Club (Vancouver)	Sierra Club (Victoria)	Amchitka Coalition	S.P.E.C. (Victoria)	S.P.E.C. (Vancouver)
Amchitka Blast	no overt action, information collection	sent letter of protest to U.S.A.	no overt action	no overt action	letters to U.S., Canadian governments, American utilities, TV, radio ads, letters, telegrams, telephone, information booklets.	Telephone, letter, telegram to Davis, Bennett, formed Greenpeace Foundation.	support for Vancouver Sierra	sent Greenpeace vessel, phone, letters, telegram, information sheets, TV ads, demonstrations.	letter, demonstrations	cooperation with Sierra & Greenpeace Foundation, demonstrations, letters.
Burnaby Lake Preservation	no overt action, information collection	carried out small-scale research with Save Burnaby Lake Association	no overt action	letters, visits and research report given to city and municipal councils	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action
East Kootenays Strip Mining	no overt action, information collection	no overt action	personal contact with, and letters to Fish & Wildlife, U.S. Fish & Wildlife, Dept. of Mines (B.C.)	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action
Fraser River: Pollution, Dams	no overt action, information collection	prepare articles for magazine & papers	expressed opposition to Moran in magazine	no overt action	letter, telephone, telegram, demonstrations, P.M., Fraser R. Bd., Planning Dept., Regional Dist., Comm. Planning Association.	letters to Davis, Williston, U.S. Senators	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	worked through B.C.E.C. to hold pollution tour of river
Goldstream River: Water vs. Salmon	no overt action, information collection	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	some members wrote letters to Water Commissioner	no overt action
Nitinat Triangle: Logging	no overt action, information collection	presented brief to Parks Department	gave support to Sierra Clubs	no overt action	no overt action	supported Victoria Sierra; write, telephone, public meetings with Davis, Chretien, Kiernan, Williston, Bennett.	TV, radio, public speakers, information booths, press, briefs, petitions, telephone, letter, public meetings-Chretien.	no overt action	letters to officials	supported Sierra Club
Skagit Valley Hydro Development	no overt action, information collection	worked with ROSS attended some hearings, participant in demonstration	supported ROSS, radio, TV ads., demonstration, brief	no overt action	no overt action	letters, visits to Cabinets of Fed., Prov. gov'ts., IJC hearings, demonstrations.	no overt action	no overt action	letters to officials	supported ROSS demonstration
Utah Mines Tailings Discharge	no overt action, information collection	presented brief, articles in newspapers, letters to P.C.B.	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	no overt action	letters, briefs and submission to PCB court case.

A brief analysis of these results indicates that more groups become involved in the larger, complex, higher risk and higher payoff issues than become involved in the smaller, simpler, lower risk and lower payoff issues. This finding is somewhat unexpected in the light of the general lack of financial and other resources claimed by most groups. Groups involved in the smaller issues, however, appeared to be slightly better off in terms of goal achievement. On the basis of this research it appears that if a single issue group fails in its attempts to influence policy it will die out or re-form, but if a multiple-issue group fails on one issue, it may still survive. The payoff seems to make no difference to the survival rate. However, it does appear that if an issue is not settled within several months of a group's initial involvement, the longer it can exert and maintain pressure on the decision-makers, the more likely it is to achieve a compromise solution if not a favorable decision.

Some groups choose to act on a particular issue, not for its environmental importance alone, but in order to boost the group's image; other groups also choose particular issues for their potential value as precedent setters in the decision-making process.

The tactics used most frequently were (a) letters, telegrams, and telephone calls, (b) alliance and co-operation with other groups, (c) demonstrations, and (d) briefs and petitions. With the exception of demonstrations which are more militant in nature, the strategies chosen reflect the view that institutionalized, legitimate channels of communication can carry protest tactics. Many groups claim that they take great care in the presentation of briefs: logic, facts,

and emotion were recognized as integral parts of any position taken, and generally--in those recent briefs available for scrutiny--these were reasonably stated and extreme positions or statements were avoided. The most effective techniques groups seem to have discovered is that patience, persistence, and non-partisan political positions result in action.

Summary

The preliminary hypothesis stated in Chapter 4 was that the efficacy of the environmental interest groups as an influence in policy-making is a function of five major factors: the goals sought, the internal organization and membership characteristics, the issues on which attendance is focussed, the strategies selected to achieve the group's objectives, and the views of the policy-makers as to the role of the public on policy formulation. The results of the study shed some light on the influence of each of these factors.

The results showed first that, where a group seeks fairly narrow goals and where it focusses its attention on a few specific and relatively small-scale, local issues, it is more likely to be successful in achieving the results it desires. There also appears to be some evidence that where technical expertise exists within a group or when a group is able to gain assistance from such experts, a group's chances of success tend to increase. Where communication both within and between groups occurs on a fairly regular and frequent basis, groups tend to achieve success. The results of this study also show that conventional strategies are generally more likely to influence policy.

While some of the environmental groups studied appear to have influenced the decision-making process (see Table 2, Chapter 4), it is extremely difficult

to determine precisely the underlying factors in any particular case. The mix of factors seems to vary as is suggested in a comparison of the Goldstream and Amchitka issues.

In the Goldstream crisis, a relatively small-scale, simple problem occurred proximate to a large centre of population. The decision-makers were highly accessible and concerned citizens were able to contact them directly to express their views about releasing (or not releasing) water to aid the salmon run. In contrast, the issues involved in the Amchitka blast issue were much more complex and far-reaching. Although the blast site was not located near any large centres of population, its position in the Pacific (see Figure 14) gave rise to fears of widespread radio activity, and those countries most likely to be affected--Canada, Russia and Japan--had no direct influence in the American decision-making process.

In both issues mass opposition was evident. In the Goldstream crisis it was largely unarticulated and local; in the Amchitka issue protest was province wide and given direction by the B.C. Amchitka Coalition. The expenditures required to finance Goldstream were small (less than 50 dollars for the newspaper advertisements) whereas in the Amchitka issue, telephone bills to American and Canadian legislators alone were often more than 200 dollars per month. Lack of efficacious action in this latter case seems to have resulted more from the remoteness of the decision-makers and the magnitude of the problem than from any other factors, although with the small sample size it is difficult to be precise.

Some groups appear to have had little or no influence on policy. Some of the reasons appear to lie in the lack of leadership and in the tendency to become active in more issues than their size or their finances can support. Enthusiasm alone does not generate or influence policy. Nor apparently do sit-ins, mass protest marches, or mile-long telegrams. A consequence has been for the environmental movement to become more sophisticated in its strategies, limiting its aims to attainable objectives and relying more on logical argument and irrefutable technical evidence than upon unbridled emotion.

FOOTNOTES

1. Out of interest a chi-square analysis was conducted. Due to the small sample size, no significant results were expected, and none materialized.

2. Research which indicates environmental concerns rank below concerns such as crime and unemployment, see D.A. Dillman and J.A. Christenson, "The Public Value for Pollution Control," in W.R. Burch, Jr., N.H. Cheek, Jr., and L. Taylor, Social Behavior, Natural Resources, and the Environment (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 237-256.

3. See, for example, W.R. Burch, Jr., N.A. Cheek, Jr., and L. Taylor, op.cit., footnote 2, pp. 280-305; I. Burton and R.W. Kates, eds., Readings in Resource Management and Conservation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965; R. Nash, ed., The American Environment: Readings in the History of Conservation (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1968); H. Jarrett, H., ed., Perspectives on Conservation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press for Resources for the Future, 1958); McConnell, G., "The Conservation Movement - past and present," Western Political Quarterly, Vol. 7 (1954), pp. 463-478.

3. R. Worcester, "The Hidden Activists," in New Society (June 8, 1972), pp. 512, 513.

4. M. Collins, A Comparative Study of the Opinions of the General Public and an Environmental Citizen Group Towards Pollution (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, November 1971).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The environmental interest group has arisen in response to two major social concerns that emerged in the 1960's; (a) the rapid deterioration in the quality of the environment, and (b) the apparently increasing alienation of the public in the decision-making process. While some of these groups appear to have been successful in influencing policy regarding the environment, and in providing greater access to decision-makers, it is still uncertain whether they are anything but a temporary phenomenon in the political arena.

Survival of the environmental interest group as a political force depends on the one hand, on its acceptance by the decision-makers themselves and, on the other, on the recognition of appropriate goals and effective strategies by the environmental groups.

Decision-makers in British Columbia have concentrated upon the traditional methods of consulting public opinion, none of which really reveals public attitudes. In fact, there appears to be some resistance to public involvement on the part of the politicians and their technical advisors; their reluctance is based on the grounds that decision-making processes will be slowed down by public participation, and on the view that the public is uninformed and unqualified to have any real input into the decisions already capably made by government civil service experts. Consequently, the "progressive steps" taken by the government towards a greater degree of participation by the public are only superficially beneficial, and in fact, are little removed from "tokenism" as described by Arnstein.[1]

There have been many environmental organizations; many of these have failed. There has been a growing degree of co-operation between and consolidation of resources among the many groups, but the main recent development has been the formation of specialist groups. These groups are very careful to marshall all the known available facts (and some of the less readily available information) on specific issues before making any statements. These groups aim to be reasonable in their demands and yet attempt to exert as much pressure as possible. One of the means by which interest in, and pressure about, an issue can be maintained is through widespread publicity, either via the T.V., press or radio media, or by the use of bumper stickers, buttons and other "labels". Environmental groups in general are taking more sophisticated approaches in dealing with the government.

These developments have implications both for policy and for decision-makers. On the one hand, if the government wishes to obtain a useful input from the citizenry, it will have to go beyond conventional techniques for consulting public opinion. The committee or advisory board composed entirely of Deputy-Ministers or political appointees is insufficient. It does not really reflect views of the public-at-large. Not only does it need to extend the range of means of tapping public opinion, but it also needs to determine the stages at which such views are most useful for planning and policy-making. Involvement of environmental groups at an early stage in the policy-making rather than when the plan has been made would be especially advantageous. This technique, besides diffusing potential crisis situations, could lead to the realization that

citizen participation is a viable practice. Decision-makers might also consider making the regulations governing participation more flexible and up-to-date. Submission of briefs is not the only means by which the public can express its concerns, although that method involves least direct contact with the public: it is possible that many valuable viewpoints are not expressed because of the stipulations that must be satisfied before a submission will be accepted. The experience with the Pollution Control Board seems to emphasize this.

Besides the implications for policy, this study points to three areas in which future research would contribute to understanding of environmental interest groups and their influence on the policy-making process. These areas are: (a) the attitudes of the decision-makers towards public participation, and to environmental groups in particular, (b) the methods of involving the public in the decision-making process, and (c) the characteristics of environmental groups, including the strategies adopted.

With the results of such studies it would be possible to determine more precisely the role that the public can usefully play in the decision-making process. In particular, it would help to assess the longer-term prospects for environmental interest groups.

FOOTNOTES

1. S.R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 35 (July 1969), pp. 216-224.

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APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST GROUP STUDY 1972

Group: _____

APPENDIX A

1

PART A

1. As the _____ of this group, what are the major problems you feel British Columbia is presently facing? (Please place them in rank order).

   a)

   b)

   c)

   d)

2. Please indicate, in rank order, those environmental problems which you consider to be the most important.

   a)

   b)

   c)

   d)

3. Please indicate those whom you feel are responsible for, or should take action on, the above problems.

problem	assumption of responsibility

2

4. What are the acknowledged goals of the organization?

5. Please list as many as possible of the specific activities or issues that this group has been involved in, and the actions taken.

date	issues	actions

APPENDIX A

3

6. Please indicate which government officials, administrators and/or technical advisors the group has contacted in the course of its activities.

	individuals contacted	methods used	frequency of contact
Provincial			
Federal			
Local			

4

PART B

On the following pages is a list of eight different environmental problems that people in British Columbia have been concerned about. Please indicate which ones your group has taken action on, the reasons for doing so, and continue through the remainder of the questions.

APPENDIX A

5

ISSUE	Why did your group take action?	Why were these issues selected rather than others?	Who made the decision to become active?
AMCHITKA			
BURNABY LAKE			
EAST KOOTENAYS			
FRASER RIVER			

6

How was this decision made?	When was it decided?	What gains were expecte by being active on these issues?

APPENDIX A

7 ISSUE	Which people were contacted about each of these issues?	For what reasons were each of these people contacted?	How was each person contacted? (Which methods were used?)	8 At what point in time was each person contacted?	Did the group's techniques alter over time?	Did the group achieve what it set out to achieve?	Are there any reasons for its success or failure?
AMCHITKA							
BURNABY LAKE							
EAST KOOTENAYS							
FRASER RIVER							

APPENDIX A

9

ISSUE	Why did your group take action?	Why were these issues selected rather than others?	Who made the decision to become active?
GOLDSTREAM RIVER			
NITINAT TRIANGLE			
SKAGIT VALLEY			
UTAH MINES			

10

How was this decision made?	When was it decided?	What gains were expect by being active on these issues?

APPENDIX A

11				12			
ISSUE	Which people were contacted about each of these issues?	For what reasons were each of these people contacted?	How was each person contacted (which methods were used)?	At what point in time was each person contacted?	Did the group's techniques alter over time?	Did the group achieve what it set out to achieve?	Are there any reasons for its success or failure
GOLDSTREAM RIVER							
NITINAT TRIANGLE							
SKAGIT RIVER							
UTAH MINES							

APPENDIX A

13

PART C

1. Name of the group

2. Date of establishment

3. Location and date of establishment of branch organizations

4. The total membership of the group in 1972 is
   in 1971 was
   in 1970 was

5. Please indicate the number of individuals who belong to each occupational category listed below:

   _____ have clerical jobs (such as secretaries, store clerks)
   _____ have professional jobs (such as doctors, government officials
   _____ are university or secondary school students
   _____ have manual labor jobs (such as factory workers, garagemen)
   _____ are retired, or housewives, or unemployed, or their occupatio
   are unknown

6. The total funds available to the group in 1972 are $ _____
   in 1971 were $ _____
   in 1970 were $ _____

14

7. The group's sources of funds for the last financial year (1971) were:

   membership dues $ _____
   government grants $ _____
   private donations $ _____
   fund-raising projects $ _____
   other (please specify)$ _____

8. Please indicate what kinds of decisions the group has faced, and whether the executive or the group membership made those decisions.

	types of decisions
executive	
group membership-at-large	

9. Please indicate the positions and names of the members of the executive and note their occupation. (If retired, please state former occupation).

position	name	occupation

APPENDIX A

10. How often does the total group membership meet as one body?

    How often does the group executive meet?

11. How often does the group officially communicate with all its members, and by what means does it do so?

12. Please indicate as many as possible of the names of other groups with which this group communicates, the methods by which it does so, and the frequency of communication.

group	methods	frequency

13. Please indicate which (if any) reporters, radio announcers, or television personalities the group communicates with, how each is contacted, and the number of time each is contacted.

personnel	media	method of contact	frequency

14. How many members of the group are members of media organizations?

15. Which contacts - formal or informal - are most important to this group, and why?

16. Are there any other important points about your group that have not been covered by the preceding questions?

APPENDIX A

17

17. Could you please indicate in which ways the following statement applies (or does not apply) to the members of your group?

> the standard environmental interest group member is " ... a 45 year old man of high social status, who is a Protestant, a non-manual worker, and possibly a son of native-born parents; who has two children, a college education, fifty or more "friends", his own home which is no more than the third house in which he has lived since he came to the community less than eleven years ago; and who participates as a member in an ... association which he attends approximately twice a month, which costs him 23 dollars a year, and of which he has been a member for ten years."

18

18. What did you think of the outcome of the Stockholm conference?

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA
VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Department of Geography

July 14, 1972.

Environmental Interest Group Study

The Department of Geography at the University of Victoria is undertaking a study to assess the role of interest groups in problems relating to the management of the environment. To this end, a number of groups are being contacted in Victoria and Vancouver during the summer of 1972. We would be most grateful for your co-operation in this regard.

One of my research assistants, Miss Dianne Draper will be contacting you in the near future to arrange an interview at your convenience. I would be most grateful for any time you might be able to devote to this part of our study.

We shall be happy to make a copy of the final report available to you when it is completed.

Yours sincerely,

[redacted]

W.R. Derrick Sewell.
Professor.

WRDS/rs.

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST GROUP STUDY 1972

Member of: _____

APPENDIX B

1

1. What are the major problems you feel British Columbia is presently facing? (Please place them in rank order).

   a)

   b)

   c)

   d)

2. Please indicate, in rank order, those environmental problems which you consider to be the most important.

   a)

   b)

   c)

   d)

3. Please indicate those whom you feel are responsible for, or should take action on, the above problems.

problem	assumption of responsibility

4. What are the acknowledged goals of the group?

2

5. What kinds of decisions of the group do members become involved in?

6. How do you, or how can you, communicate your ideas and feelings to the group?

7. What kinds of group activities can members become involved in?

8. Has the group been successful? What are some of the reasons it has (or has not been) successful?

9. What did you think of the outcome of the Stockholm conference?

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA
VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Department of Geography

July 26, 1972

Dear

We would like to thank you for your participation in the University of Victoria study of environmental interest groups. The data are now being analysed and we hope to have a report sometime later in the fall. We shall be making a copy of the report available to your group when it is completed.

Kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

W. R. Derrick Sewell
Professor

WRDS:cmb

VITA

Surname: DRAPER Given Names: DIANNE LOUISE

Place of Birth: VICTORIA, B.C. Date of Birth: APRIL 8, 1949

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