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Battling Networks of Rival Social Movements

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Social Movements

- Informal and formal networks of groups, organizations and individuals that are:
- Based on shared beliefs, social identity and solidarity;
- Mobilized around conflictual issues;
- Using various forms of protest;

Counter-Movements

Networks of individuals and organizations that share many of the same objects of concern as the social movements that they *oppose*. There are two broad types:

- Non-elite members benefiting from members of the elite providing resources when there is convergence between a movement's goals and the interests of these elite members;
- Extensive elite participation and direct elite involvement in creating a counter-movement.

Counter-Movements *assume* the guise of social movements.

Conditions for Forming Counter-movements

- Signs of success by the targeted social movement.
- The presence of some segment of the population whose interests are threatened by the targeted social movement.
- The availability of allies for the counter-movement.

Wise Use View of Environmentalists

- “Environmentalism is the new paganism, trees are worshipped and humans sacrificed at its altar . . . it is evil . . . and we intend to destroy it.” (Ron Arnold, Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise)
- “If we cannot beat the environmentalists in the ballot box or the jury box then we need to open the cartridge (ammunition) box.” (James Watt, Mountain States Legal Foundation)

Two Value Systems

- The First Value System gives priority to:
 - Economic growth.
 - Concentrating and mobilizing political power.
 - National security.
- The Second value system gives priority to:
 - Welfare of people, especially health.
 - Empowerment of citizens.

An Upsurge of Environmental Laws

- The National Environmental Protection Act (1968)
- The Clean Air Act (1970)
- The Occupational Health and Safety Act (1970)
- The Endangered Species Act (1973)
- The Clean Water Act (1977) and
- The Freedom of Information Act (1966).

Environmental Social Movements and Their Goals

Type	Goals
Radical Structuralist	Mobilize to defeat economic elites and dismantle the current mode of production completely.
Deep Ecology (Retreatist)	Transform society through adopting appropriate technology and adopting a life style of voluntary simplicity.
Reformist	Modify production to reduce substantially harmful environmental problems.
Ameliorate Problems	Change consumer behavior in the direction of adopting green behaviors that are environmentally sensitive.
Address Cosmetic Problems	Recycle litter and deal with the unsightly consequences of production and consumption.
Address Social Equity Issues	Address economic survival concerns of people as the major problem ahead of environmental protection.
Anti -Environmentalist	The major problem is not the state of the environment. Rather, it is the environmentalist 'alarmists' who have to be stopped.

Trigger Organizations

- We define a trigger organization by two criteria:
 - Being extreme with regard to debates over the environment;
 - Taking provocative steps to promote their cause.
- Examples on the Environmentalist side include:
 - Foundation for Deep Ecology
 - The Turning Point Project
 - Greenpeace
 - People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA)
 - Earth First!

Three (or four) Waves of Organizational Formation

- The First wave:
 - Inspired by John Muir, Gifford Pinochet and Theodore Roosevelt.
 - Organizations formed include: the Sierra Club, the Isaac Walton League of America, Ducks Unlimited, Defenders of Wildlife and the National Audubon Society.
- The Second wave:
 - Emerged out of the social ferment of the 1960s where the focus shifted from protecting the land for its own sake to a consideration of the harmful consequences for humans from toxic wastes and other forms of pollution.
 - Organizations formed include: the Environmental Defense Fund, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, and Environmental Action.

- The Third Wave:
 - Initial responses of environmental organizations to the counter offensive launched by the corporate community.
 - Organizations formed include: Earth Island Institute, the Native Forest Council and the Sea Turtle Restoration Network.
- The (possible) Fourth Wave:
 - A more aggressive response to the counter offensive.
 - Organizations formed include The Foundation for Deep Ecology.

The Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise

“The Center was founded by a group of distinguished businessmen, educators, legislators and students who were deeply concerned about the *rollback of 200 years of individual rights* and the *multitude of restrictions being imposed on America’s free enterprise system by big government* - and the lack of understanding of this problem by the American people.”
(<http://www.cdfc.org/> Emphases added)

Opponents include

- “Progressivists, a spectrum of socialists, democratic socialists, eco-socialists, and other anti-capitalists who don’t want to say the ‘S’ word.” (Presumably the ‘S’ word is ‘socialist’.)
- “Nature advocates, including environmentalists and animal rights activists”.
- “Socialist and communist states and advocates, for social and political reasons”.

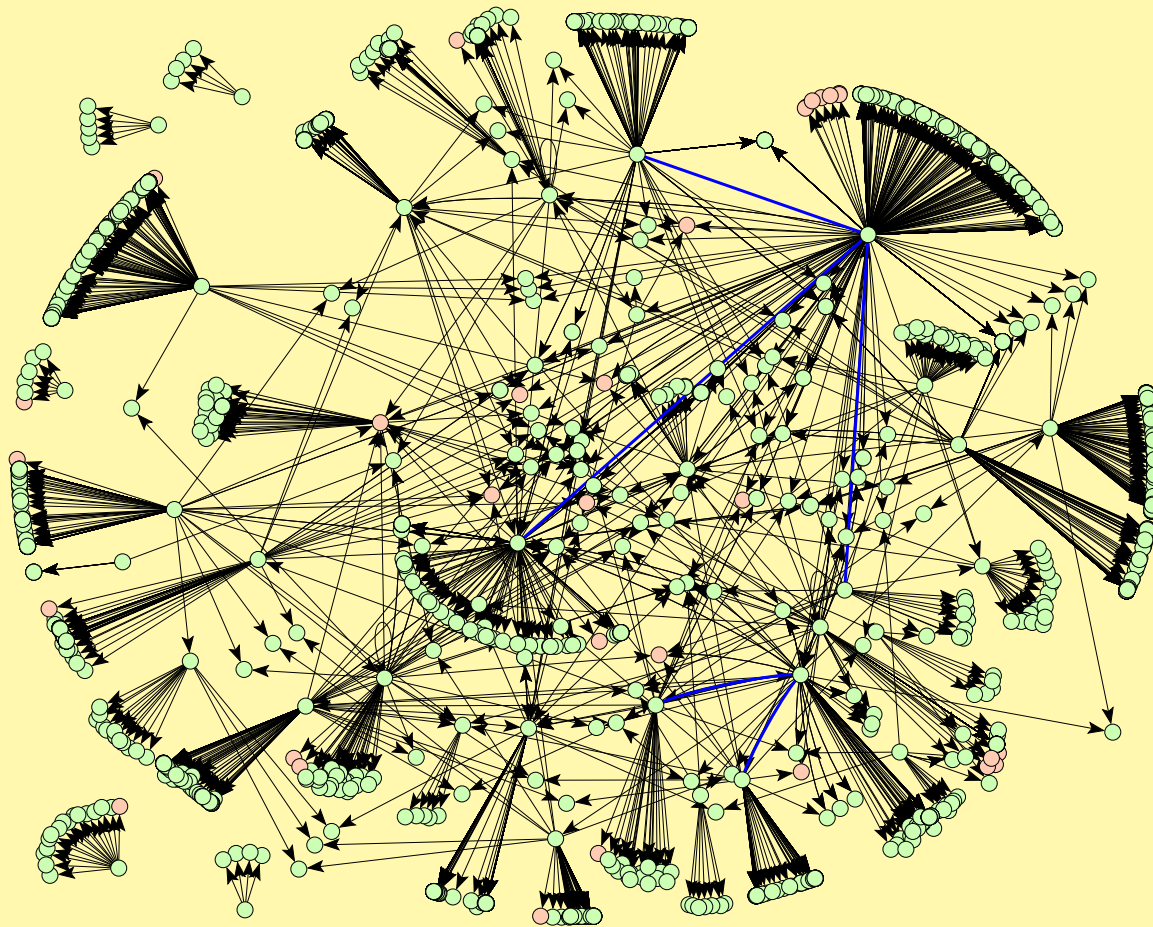
Data Collection

- Expanding selection (Doreian and Woodard, 1994) applied to the organizations *in* the Turning Point project stepping out three steps over web citation links. This gives the ‘Turning Point Project Network’.
- Expanding selection from the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, going out 3 steps over web citation links. This leads to the ‘Wise Use Network’.
- Massive cleaning
- Merging the two networks to create the joint network.
- More massive cleaning.

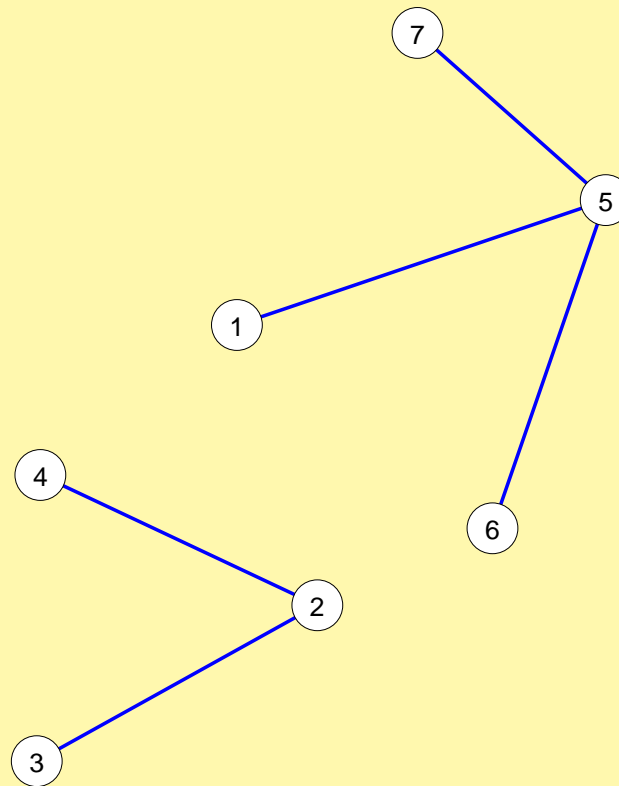
Descriptive Information for the Wise Use and Turning Point Networks

Network	Vertices	Arcs	Edges	Density
Turning Point	1694	1952	5	0.0684%
Wise Use	1297	1772	28	0.1009%

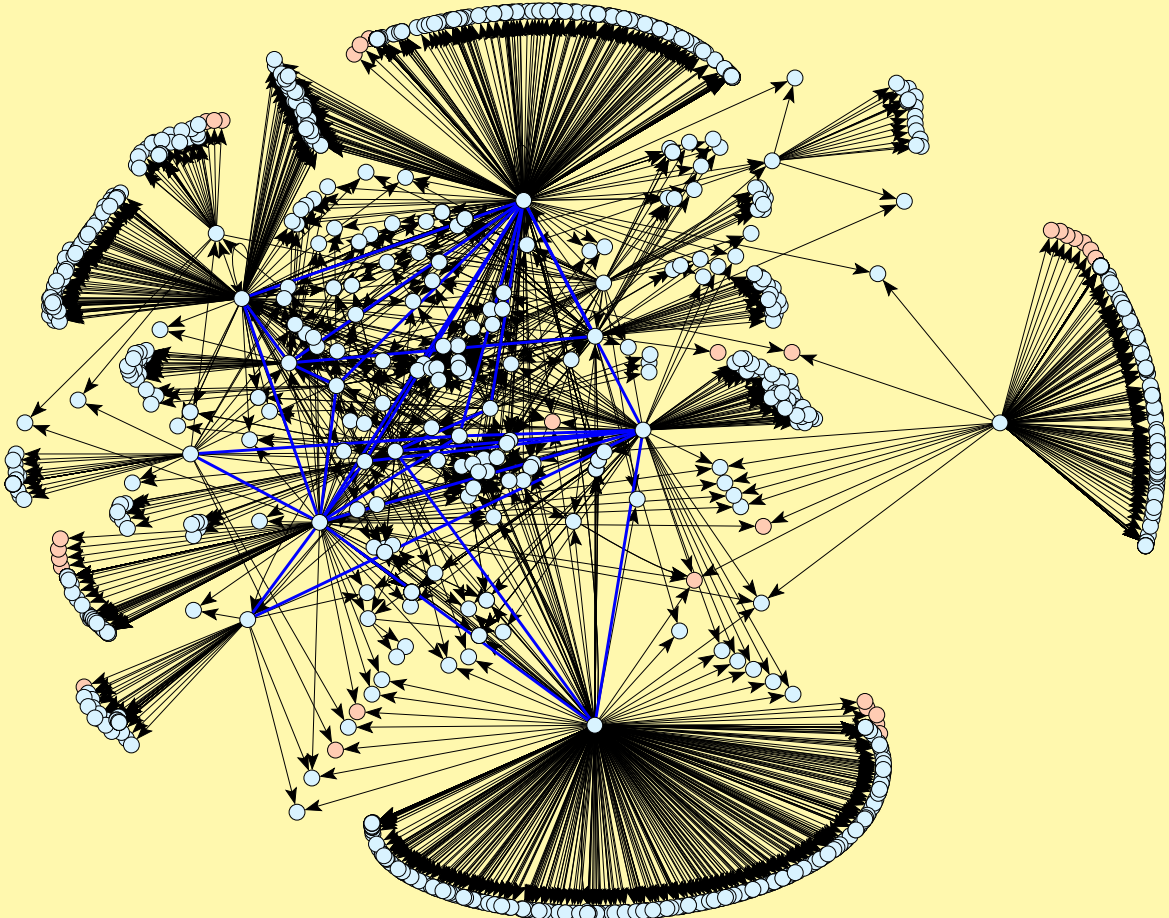
The Turning Point Project Network



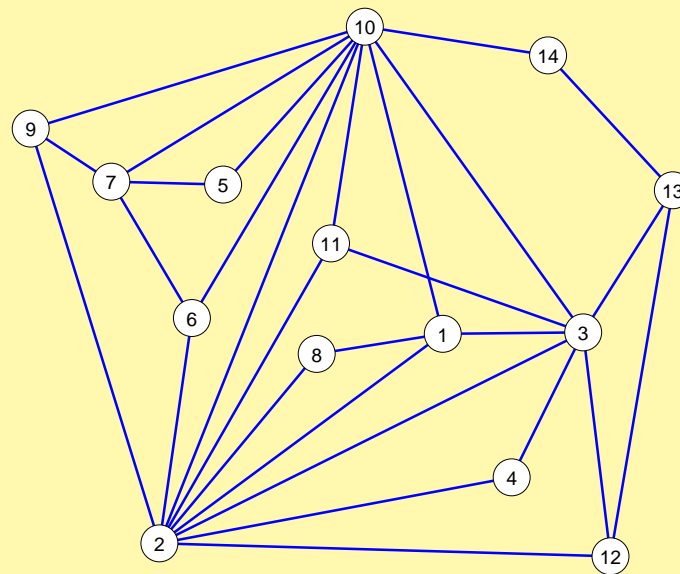
The Turning Point Project Edge Network



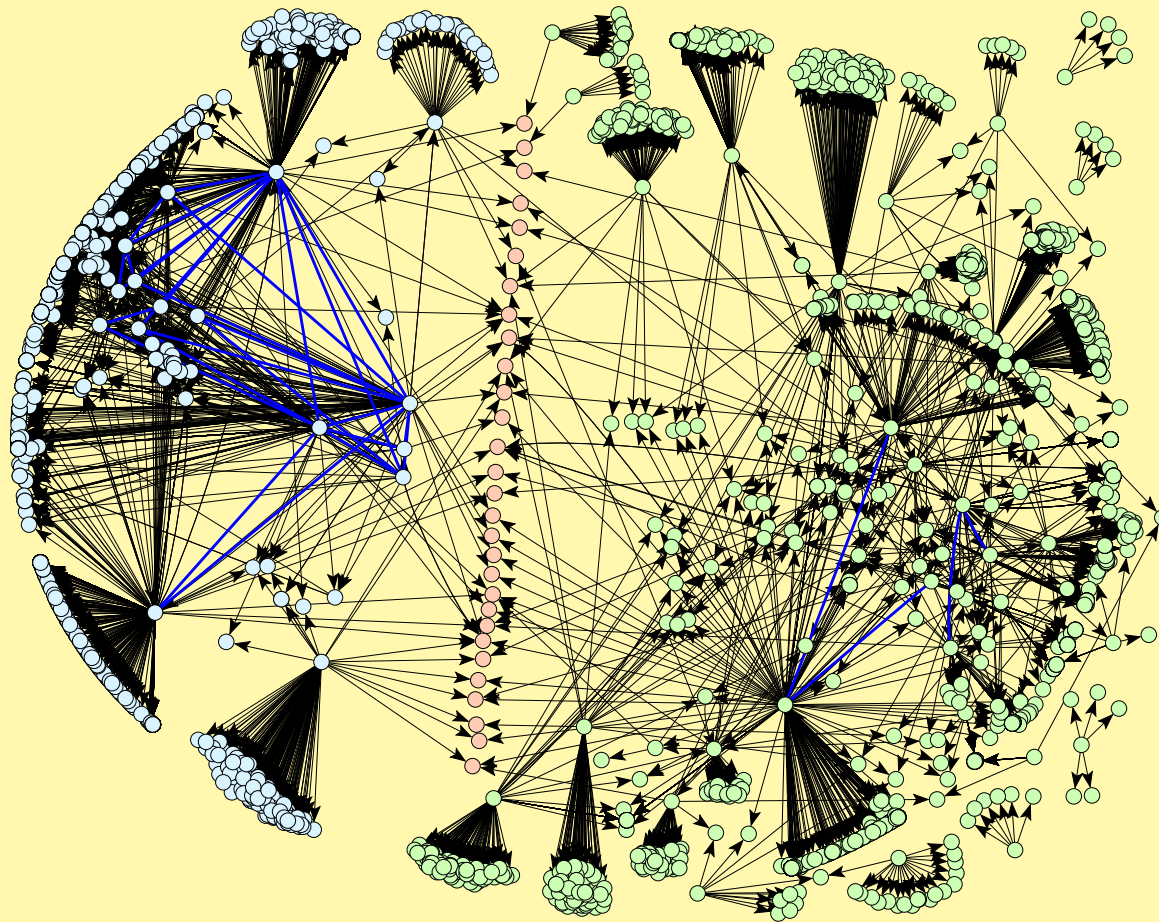
The Wise Use Network



The Wise Use Edge Network



The Combined TPP and WU Networks



Common Organizations: 1. Anti-Environmentalist

Name	Organizational Type
Accuracy in Media	Media Watchdog
International Snowmobile Industry Association	Industry
Personal Watercraft Industry Association	Industry

Common Organizations: 2. Environmentalist

Name	Organizational Type
American Forests	Forest Conservation
Ark Trust Inc	Environmental
E Magazine	Environmental News
<i>Ecologist Magazine</i>	Environmental News
Ecoworld	Information&Networking
Envirolink	Networking
Environmental News Network	Environmental News
Environmental Working Group	Environmental
<i>Greenpeace</i>	Environmental
People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals	Environmental
<i>Public Citizen</i>	Consumer Advocacy
Society of Environmental Journalists	Professional
Wildlands' Project	Environmental

Common Organizations: 3. Neutral

Name	Organizational Type
American Cancer Society	Health Advocacy
American Medical Association	Professional
Center for Media and Public Affairs	News Evaluation
The Nation	News
US Department of Agriculture	Government
US News and World Report	News
Wall Street Journal	News

Common Organizations: 4. Boundary Spanning

Name	Organizational Type
American Corn Growers Association	Farming Advocacy
American Whitewater	Recreational Users
Forest Products Society	Industry Organization
Forest World	Manufacturer
International Inst. for Sustainable Development	Trade and Development
National Recycling Coalition	Recycling
Society of American Foresters	Professional
Appalachian Mountain Club	Recreational Users

Conclusions

- The TPP Network and the WU Network are largely disjoint.
- Very few organizations common to both and only a small fraction of them could possibly bridge this divide.
- There are really two divides
 - Environmentalist (Environment) verses Anti-environmentalist (Society)
 - Corporate-Conservative coalition verses Liberal-Labor coalition that will not go away.
- In the United States, this is an unequal battle with the odds favoring the anti-environmentalists.
- The chances of seeing a negotiated resolution are very bleak.
- Only major environmental crises will change this dynamic.