

**ACCESS TO POWER:
THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE
WILDERNESS CONSERVATION AND
ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENTS
IN AUSTRALIA.**

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This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other higher degree or graduate diploma in any tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of this thesis.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Geoff Holloway". The signature is fluid and stylized, with a large loop at the end of the last name.

Geoff Holloway

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the late Dr Richard (Dick) Jones, founder of the Centre for Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania, and the world's first environmental Green party, the United Tasmania Group. He was responsible for stimulating my interest in the intellectual and political resolution of the dilemma of society living in harmony with its environment.

ABSTRACT

Social movements open new modes of political participation. The placement of social movements exclusively in the domain of 'unconventional' politics ignores their 'conventional' aspects and reinforces the ideological stereotypes that devalue social movements as 'abnormal'. On the other hand, treating social movements as a mere extension of 'conventional' politics tends to ignore the semi-institutional nature of some social movements bodies. A discussion of these theoretical and ideological issues in Chapters One and Two opens the way for an empirical examination of social movement bodies in Chapters Four to Six.

Empirical analysis of organisations and groups forming the wilderness conservation and the anti-nuclear movements in Australia reveals their multi-modal structure and operation. Both movements include formalised organisations, which operate in 'conventional' ways (Institutional Mode) similar to other interest and lobby groups, as well as movement bodies that are 'unconventional' in their structure and operation. The latter include two types analysed, under the labels 'Social Movement Mode' and the 'New Mode'. The characteristics of these three modes are investigated using a survey of 330 movement bodies (formal and semi-formal). Cluster analysis of the organisational characteristics reveals both the three-modal structure of the movements and some interesting differences between the wilderness conservation and the anti-nuclear movements.

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CHAPTER ONE:

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS STUDIES AND NORMATIVE CONCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY

1. INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the organisational composition and structure of two social movements in Australia: the wilderness conservation movement and the anti-nuclear movement. The central issues tackled here, however, have to be located in the broader context of theoretical and ideological debates which still permeate this field of enquiry. There are some good reasons for this location.

First, the very agenda of movement studies, including the issue of organisational structure, have originated in ideological debates, mostly around the question of democracy. The point of contention has been to what extent, and in what respect, movements are or are not compatible with democratic principles and practices. Studies of their organisational structure, forms and repertoires of action are still coated in these concerns; directly or indirectly they assess the extent to which movement bodies and practices are compatible with, or depart from, the 'democratic principles'. This preoccupation, not always explicitly stated, often results in biases and blind spots, some of which are signaled in this chapter.

Secondly, the key concepts in the area of movement study, including the very concept of social movement, carry a strong imprint of the ideological debates. The questions of what constitutes

social movements, what are the essential features of movements, and what are their boundaries, have been usually answered in the context and under the influence of these grand debates. Much of the variation in the definitions and delineations of social movements, as pointed out later, reflects different ideological concerns and preferences.

Finally, the methodology of movement studies has been affected by the general ideological preoccupations. Some modes and techniques of inquiry, for example, are more geared towards organisational analysis which enhances the 'orderly' and 'conventional' aspects of movements' structure and activities; other strategies are more conducive to revealing an 'unconventional' face of social movements. Striking a balance between these two extremes - one of the important tasks of this study - requires a clear awareness of the ideologically generated imbalances.

Although the thesis begins with a review of the ideological debates, it must be stressed at the outset that these are not the main subject matter of this inquiry. The ideological issues are treated here as a framework for discussing the central topic of the organisational structure of the two social movements in Australia. Consequently, the issues of democracy and mediation are not discussed in any depth. Although, in themselves, they are a fascinating topic of study, here they are raised only as an introductory framework for the more central concerns.

2. SOCIAL MOVEMENT STUDIES AND IDEOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

Studies of social movements can be located in two quite distinct, and mutually opposing, ideological and theoretical traditions. The first one, labelled here the 'emancipatory' tradition, sees social movements as a form of political participation that supplements the mediating mechanisms of the modern state and facilitates political articulation. This form of political participation is seen as compatible with democratic-egalitarian values, and as indicative of a politically 'healthy' society. The origins of this tradition can be traced back to both Marx and classical democratic theorists.¹ Its contemporary proponents include the so-called 'New Social Movements' (NSM) theorists (e.g. Offe, 1985; Eder, 1982, 1985) and the advocates of the 'action/identity' school (e.g. Touraine, 1981, 1985; Castells, 1978, 1983). For the NSM theorists, the contemporary feminist, ecological, civil rights and anti-nuclear movements are the precursors of a new political idiom that extends the domain of civil society and provides new channels of political articulation. For the proponents of the action/identity stream, Touraine in particular, social movements reflect 'historicity' - the human capacity to create new social forms. They become the centre of a new form of 'action sociology', and are harbingers of the next stage of social development: the post-industrial society.

¹ Marx saw the potential in proletarian movements to emancipate the working class from bourgeois oppression, and humanity in general, from the alienative constraints of capital and class relations. In classical theory, democracy is defined in terms of maximising political participation - rule by the people, of the people, and for the people.

The other tradition, represented mainly by 'mass society' theorists, describes social movements (which are identified by these theorists as those forms of 'mass behaviour' that are associated with extra-institutional mass mobilisations) as basically anti-democratic, non-rational and symptomatic of social pathology. They are described in terms of 'massification' and 'atomisation' and treated as symptoms of a 'moral vacuum' and the dissolution of social bonds. The key assumption of these theorists is that democratic participation has to be mediated, orderly and institutionalised. Mass movements are seen as violating these principles because they are a form of mass conduct which is 'direct', non-institutionalised, and hence similar to other irrational forms of collective behaviour, such as crowds, panics and riots. Followers of this tradition draw inspiration from conservative critics of the French Revolution (de Maistre, de Bonald), 'crowd psychologists' (Le Bon, 1895), critics of mass democracy (Ortega y Gasset, 1932) and, above all, from students of fascist and totalitarian movements (Arendt, 1951, 1966; Lederer, 1940; Neumann, 1942). Recent studies of political extremism, such as terrorism, have also adopted this perspective. A more sophisticated strand of this tradition of movement research has tried to explain social movements in terms of 'collective behaviour' (e.g. Smelser, 1962) or reactions to mass deprivations (e.g. Gurr, 1970). Like their 'mass society' predecessors, these studies implicitly assume that only orderly, mediated and institutionalised forms of behaviour are rational and fully compatible with democratic principles.

The ideological preoccupations permeating both traditions have stimulated interest in social movements, but have also hampered serious empirical research by encouraging speculations, generating 'blind spots' and hindering the formulation of testable

propositions. The 'emancipatory' tradition tends to romanticise social movements by depicting them as the key participatory devices, the principal 'de-alienating' force and the reflection of 'human praxis'. This option often ignores the non-representative character of movements, underscores the organisational and conventional aspects of movement structure and activities and prevents its advocates from seriously engaging in the study of anti-democratic movements, such as European fascist or Islamic fundamentalist movements (Pakulski, 1991). The 'mass society' tradition, by contrast, places social movements either at the extreme, or on the fringe, of political behaviour and regards them as seriously defective, irrational and deviant. This tradition thus hinders research on civil rights movements which often enter the political mainstream (mainly in the USA) and strongly re-affirm democratic values.

Only relatively recently has movement research started to abandon these ideological preoccupations. Cross-cultural comparisons and analyses of small-scale civil rights mobilisations have developed into empirically informed movement studies, especially in the USA. A concern with the question of democracy remains a central feature of these studies, but they increasingly include well formulated, testable propositions as well as methodologically sophisticated empirical research.

3. MOVEMENTS AND NORMATIVE CONCEPTS OF DEMOCRACY

The central preoccupation in most movement studies is with democracy or, more precisely, the degree to which social movements enhance or hinder the democratic norms and practices. Difficulties

in translating this preoccupation into theoretically consistent and empirically informed projects reflect, among other things, wide disagreements as to what democracy, and the democratic methods, imply. The principal division is between the advocates of 'participatory democracy', who stress popular involvement as the key feature of democracy, and the proponents of 'representative democracy', who stress the importance of systematic and orderly representation of key social interests as the key feature of a democratic polity and process. These differences reverberate in movement studies, dividing sharply the representatives of the 'emancipatory' tradition, who usually embrace the participatory model, from the supporters of the mass tradition, who typically identify democracy with representation and orderly mediation.

(a) participatory democracy

The 'emancipatory' tradition is based on the assumption that the essential feature of democracy is broad and direct political participation. It suggests that there should be maximum facilitation and minimum constraint placed on public participation in politics. Only such broadly based and unrestricted participation helps to create governments that are truly 'for the people, by the people and of the people'. This requires both high levels of consciousness and opportunities for the relatively unconstrained articulation of public sentiments, interests and concerns. For Marxist thinkers the conditions of bourgeois democracy are only partly conducive to such full and conscious participation. Activities of the class-bound state apparatus and the general ideological-cultural hegemony, exercised by the ruling class through the central social institutions (family,

churches, political system, etc.), stifle consciousness and prevent free articulation of concerns (Althusser, 1969; Connell, 1983). Social movements, especially when directed against the politico-economic establishment, herald the awakening of class consciousness and the new form of socio-cultural praxis. For the neo-Marxists, like Touraine and Habermas, 'new social movements' are important, not because of their interest content, but because of their anti-establishment, socio-cultural orientation. They reveal and question patterns of class domination, restore human 'historicity' and oppose the administrative 'colonisation of the life-worlds' (Habermas, 1981:36). New social movements are involved in new conflicts around the formation of new social norms and bring about the development of 'counter-institutions', breaking the political monopolies of the established mass parties.

Such an option, as argued later, is conducive to seeing movements as basically spontaneous, non-organisational, grass-root and unconventional activities. The role of movement organisations and the conventional aspects of movement activities are frequently underscored; some authors, like Touraine (1985), would see formal organisations as threatening the very survival of social movements. This affects the methods of inquiry - geared towards charting identities and spontaneous actions - and selection of cases to be examined. Movements with strong anti-democratic orientations are excluded from serious consideration; their very status as 'movements' is questioned.

(b) representative democracy

Advocates of the 'mass' tradition transcribe the value of democracy into quite different normative prescriptions. Democratic political systems are said to require: (1) 'mediation' through class/community (Arendt,1966); (2) rationality, 'political restraint', 'consensus on the legitimacy of political institutions', 'temperance, moderation and self-command' (Aristotle, Le Bon, de Tocqueville, in Almond & Verba,1980), 'animated moderation' (Bagehot, in Almond & Verba,1980); and (3) respect for minority rights in order to avoid 'the tyranny of the majority' (J.S. Mill in A.V. Dicey,1962; Ortega y Gasset,1930). In other words, active political participation should be encouraged but, at the same time, should be combined with 'moderation', care for balanced representation, stable institutional framework, and trust and deference to authority. Only such arrangements can ensure rationality and political stability (Almond & Verba,1980:8).

Within this tradition, social movements are regarded with suspicion and as indicative of 'mass' or 'plebiscitary' democracy, i.e. formless, normless, uninformed, unrepresentative and spasmodic political participation which is based on emotions and irrational beliefs. Even the social theorist who saw voluntary associations as the foundation of a model democracy (the U.S.A.), Alexis de Tocqueville, argued that the 'tyranny of the majority' and the dangers of mass democracy must be contained within stable representative institutions (Almond & Verba,1980:8).² Peter Berger

² Verba et al (1978) describe the history of democracy as "in large part the history of the development of regular and legal channels ..." for public participation; 'political

(1970), a good representative of this tradition, portrays contemporary mass social movements as potentially destructive and anti-democratic. In his view, they undermine the institutional channels of representative democracy and give disproportional influence to manipulative vocal minorities.

4. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Concerns with democracy became synonymous with concerns about mediation, and these concerns, in turn, affected the way in which the issues of movement structure entered the agenda of social research.³ The study of the nature of political mediation has a long tradition, spanning three continents and going back to Aristotle, and more recently in the writings of the classical thinkers: Karl Marx, Alexis de Tocqueville, Domingo Sarmiento and Emile Durkheim. The early writings of Marx emphasize the notion of universal citizenship and de-alienation as the conditions of authentic democracy. This line of argument, stressing the participatory aspects of mediation, has been continued by contemporary neo-Marxists, like Touraine and Castells. In the later writings, Marx emphasized a representation of class interests (which, in the case of the proletariat, were seen as identical with 'universal interests' of the humankind). Class political action, according to him, would mature together with the transformation of class from 'class-in-itself' to fully mature

rights' include the formation of political parties and interest groups but exclude, by default, social movements.

³ Mediation can be viewed, from the citizen's perspective as a means of articulating and elaborating public concerns, as well as a process of monitoring, controlling and moderating demands by the state and political elites (Halebsky, 1976:68).

'class-for-itself'. This line of argument has been developed by more orthodox Marxists, such as Miliband (1990).

Tocqueville and Durkheim offer a different option. In his observations of early American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville (1835) suggested that social integration within modern society depended on the creation of informal associations and mass adherence to democratic norms. He added that such developments were neither universal nor even frequent within modern societies. Half a century later, in a different context, the problem of mediation was analysed by Emile Durkheim (1893) in the broader context of modernisation and social change. Durkheim argued that intermediate bodies were essential elements of organically solidary society and a pre-condition of smooth and democratically conducted change. He raised the question of what conditions facilitate the optimum functioning of these intermediary-representative bodies and concluded that they must be sufficiently close to the state in order to influence decisions but, on the other hand, not too far away from the citizens, so they can facilitate the understanding and interpretation of citizens' demands. With increasing formalisation, these intermediary bodies are more likely to lose their proximity with citizens and become fully co-opted by the state. Informality helps them to identify with citizen demands, but makes them less capable of translating these demands into acceptable recommendations for the state. De Tocqueville (1856) and Durkheim (1893,1925) concurred that modernisation brought about changes in the social structure that could act to weaken social bonds; they also perceived that this problem could only be resolved by education, the expansion of social bonds through civic groups and the creation of new political institutions (i.e. new intermediary groups).

The theme of intermediation as a structural foundation of democracy was later developed by mass society theorists. They further elaborated Durkheim's contention that 'intermediary groups' were essential for giving individuals a sense of place and purpose within the community, that they helped to instill moral standards and provided a focus for individual participation and need fulfillment. They were seen as essential for the protection of citizens from the arbitrary use of power by ruling elites and, conversely, for the protection of elites from the ad hoc, egoistic and unrestrained demands of the general public (Kornhauser, 1959). They also provided the structures for political expression, political pressure, a sense of participation and control over one's political and social environment. Intermediate bodies helped bring together a diversity of concerns and competing commitments and provided expression of these within the norm of political moderation (Halebsky, 1976:70; Parkin, 1968:12-14).

Nedelmann (1984) has continued the Durkheimian line of inquiry, arguing that 'new' social movements form new intermediary structures operating between the citizen and the state. These structures have emerged because of the constraints imposed by mass political parties and interest groups on political participation by the individual citizen. For the optimum functioning of the political system, according to Nedelmann, these groups need to be truly intermediary in that they "should be close enough to the individuals in order to understand and interpret their spontaneous needs and demands; on the other hand, they should not be too far away from the government in order to be able to sustain close relations to the decision-making agents and provide them with such policy alternatives which could be decided upon by the

representatives of the government" (Nedelmann 1984:1030). On the other hand, the 'social distance' such groups maintain protects political elites and the state from the disorderly and diffuse demands that might arise from unrestrained involvement of the public. In the case of conventional political participation, intermediate groups limit the concentration and application of power. They are restricted by the standardised presentation of political demands through established political parties and interest groups.

The question is what other forms of intermediary structures, besides the conventional parties and interest groups, may be available in the democratic process of mediation. Can the concept of mediation be extended to include less conventional forms, such as public rallies, 'direct actions' and demonstrations? As Halebsky (1976:68) points out, at both a theoretical and empirical level, the actual forms and structures of intermediary bodies have been inadequately analysed to answer this question.

Social movements can be seen as a form of participatory mediation - as an extension of 'conventional' processes of political articulation, aggregation and, more generally, political participation. Such conceptualisation has given rise to a variety of streams of thought (detailed in chapter two). The identity/action theorists tend to see social movements as informal and significant in terms of the development of political culture, while the resource mobilisation theorists tend to see social movements as formalised and significant in terms of political strategies. They can also be seen as an in-between or liminal⁴ form of intermediation because they are neither

⁴ A full explanation of the term 'liminal' is provided in the footnote on page 73 of this thesis.

fully formalised, like a political party, nor fully informal, like crowds.

Participation, however, does not necessary imply representation. Some critics of movement 'direct actions' make this point forcefully: when measured according to representative-democratic standards, movement actions, even in the pro-democratic Western movements, appear deficient. Their leaders are self-selected; their constituent bodies have no clear links with any articulated interest categories, and they often ignore democratic practices of consultation and election. The 'voice of the people' they claim to represent is often highly distorted by the very process of articulation, involving the mass media and self-selected 'spokespersons'. The resource mobilisation theorists introduce some corrections into this picture. The core movement organisations, according to them, do represent specific interests, although not always in a well articulated way. The process of movement formation prompts such an articulation; the mature movement organisations often adopt the interest group (representative) format, even if they experiment with the broader range of political repertoires. They tend to become formalised and conventionalised.

Thus, although all social theorists agree that social movements actually extend between these two extremes, of formalisation/ conventionality and informalism/ unconventionality, they treat this fact differently, and seldom study the full range of organisational forms and actions. The meta-theoretical preferences lead to frequent exaggeration of one end or the other. The focus on the identity building and expressive aspects of social movements (typical of the action/identity theorists) leads to an exaggeration of informal, unconventional and temporal aspects.

The focus on strategic/instrumental rationality (typical for the resource mobilisation theorists) is usually associated with a greater stress on the fully institutionalised organisational form and conventionalised actions. The action/identity theorists tend to see the movements as participatory devices that help to create 'new' normative frameworks and new modes of political articulation from the 'grassroots' upwards. Movements, according to Myszal (1987:333), "attempt to reconstitute civil society and create alternative democratic forms". The resource mobilisation studies, by contrast, analyse movements as representative vehicles and the extension of conventional and formalised politics, as articulation of new collective interests and new ways of mobilising public sentiments and commitments. This leads movements' evolution towards the centralised, formalised structures associated with political parties and interest groups.

5. CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

The gap between the two traditions thus extends the ideological and meta-theoretical assumptions into the arena of empirical studies and definitions of social movements. Like any division of this type, it cannot be easily bridged; the two options partly shape their distinct focuses and universes of discourse. One way of overcoming, at least partly, the limitations of the two options is by extending the agendas of studies. This can be done by examining a broader range of groups and participatory actions than that suggested by any of the approaches, and by extending the range of issues and aspects examined to cover both the issues raised by the

resource mobilisation theorists (mostly to do with the core movement organisations and institutionalised forms of pressure) and those central for the action/identity perspective (stressing the importance of less formalised actions). With such a broadened focus it is possible to analyse empirically the full range of different modes of organisation to be found within social movements.

Such a broadened focus, which looks at all movement bodies - organised and unorganised, formal and less formalised - as forms of political participation and representation, has already been foreshadowed by students of 'unconventional' politics (e.g. Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Milbrath & Goel, 1982). However, they have not gone far enough in their analysis because of a too rigid demarcation of 'conventional' and 'unconventional' forms of political participation. An empirical study of the organisational structure of social movements must cut across this division.

The division into conventional and unconventional participation has not only been arbitrary but has also lead researchers to study one area or the other, rather than studying both together. The two 'types' of political participation can be more usefully portrayed as the poles in continua of political activity.

Social movements have much in common with 'conventional' politics:

- 1) they contain orderly, institutionalised and formalised core organisations and they often evolve into political parties and/or interest groups (as emphasized by the resource mobilisation theorists);
- 2) they generate new forms and interpretations of conventional political norms and culture (as stressed by the action/identity theorists);

- 3) their activities mirror those activities associated with conventional politics. Although some are classified as 'legitimate' and others as 'illegitimate', this labelling is relative in time, to society and between different groups. In recent times there has been an increasing liberalisation of attitudes towards what would be considered unconventional political behaviour (Barnes & Kaase, 1979);
- 4) their activities occur concurrently - i.e. 'conventional' and 'unconventional' participation occur together - public protests are usually linked with conventional activities and strategies and there is a strong positive correlation between conventional political participation and unconventional participation (Goel & Smith, 1980; Offe, 1985: 840; Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Marsh, 1977: 16; Olsen, 1983: Ch.1)⁵;
- 5) the social composition of participants in conventional politics does not differ greatly from the participants in unconventional politics, i.e. both belong to the 'political class': are better educated, have higher status occupations, have higher incomes and consider themselves competent in influencing government (Scaminaci & Dunlap, 1986; Klandermans, 1984).
- 6) the dynamics of unconventional forms of political participation often resembles that of mass parties;⁶

⁵ However, participation in conventional, as distinct from unconventional politics, has not been satisfactorily differentiated in social structural terms (and perhaps cannot be - e.g. mass society theory, totalitarian theory). No-one, to my knowledge, has addressed the question as to why some members of this political sector participate in conventional rather than unconventional forms of political activity.

⁶ Some sociological appreciation of their complex organisational forms within mass movements have been made, especially with respect to the West German Greens (e.g. Papadakis, 1984).

In sum, social movements can be interpreted as a form of political intermediation and as an extension of 'conventional' forms of political participation, as well as an 'unconventional' form of politics that attempts to redefine political culture. Both options can be brought together by considering the actual organisational structure of social movements. This includes the pattern of relationships between formalised and often bureaucratised 'core' movement organisations (emergent parties, lobbies and pressure groups) and less formalised bodies involved in unsystematic and unconventional political action. Such an approach helps in accounting for the diverse means of mobilisation, strategies and foci found in movement actions. The conventional political bodies facilitate representation and participation, but tend to restrict them to established social groups, issues, values and goals. New demands, new social constituencies and new values, which are not given sufficient expression through these conventional structures, are frequently articulated through unconventional activities and less formalised bodies. These less formalised bodies and unconventional actions, however, have limited political capacities. They seldom engage political power holders, and their actions, although highly visible, tend to have a limited direct impact on political decisions.

By extending the empirical scope and the agenda of movement studies only part of the problem signaled at the beginning of this chapter is addressed. Much of the ideological biases operate in a more subtle way, by affecting the very concepts and theoretical assumptions that guide movement studies. These central concepts and theoretical assumptions will now be examined.

CHAPTER TWO: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

1. INTRODUCTION

A striking feature of social movement studies is the lack of focus; the subject matter studied ranges from informal initiatives through to formalised action, from local vigils through to global revolutions. One reason for this apparent lack of focus is the disagreements as to what is a social movement. The definitions encompass a broad variety of forms of collective action, often overlapping with some kindred forms, such as 'revolutions', 'social protests', 'social activism', 'unconventional participation', and social change in general. As a Dictionary of Sociology (1988:226) warns, "Despite attempts to make the term precise and rigorous, 'social movements' embraces a bewildering variety of very different groups." "Anything that moves" - observed Melucci (1980) sarcastically - "is a social movement".

Theoretical diversity partly reflects this definitional polyphony. Explanations of social movements span the entire spectrum of social theory: from action to structural; from individualistic to collectivistic.

Theories of social movements have been classified in a variety of ways - according to the main meta-theoretical inspirations (e.g. 'historical materialism', 'modernisation theory', 'collective behaviour theories' and 'action theories') or according to the main explanatory factor (e.g. 'relative deprivation theories', 'atomisation or mass society theory', 'class expressive' accounts, 'resource

'mobilisation', and 'new social movements') (Pakulski,1991). Most studies of social movements, however, are aspectual and the general social theories underlying their approaches are only implied. Few studies are explicit in declaring their theoretical and meta-theoretical foundations, the exceptions being Boggs (1986 -Marxism), Smelser (1962 - structural functionalism) and Touraine (1969,1981,1985 - neo-Marxist action theory) . The studies of new social movements, represented by such theorists as Offe, Eder and Melucci, encompass a variety of perspectives and tend to be quite eclectic in their meta-theoretical foundations.

The conceptual and theoretical issues are reviewed here in a rather restricted and practically-oriented way. Neither a detailed conceptual analysis nor an exhaustive theoretical review are the aims of the chapter. It focuses on the conceptual and theoretical issues that are relevant to the discussion of the organisational structure of the social movements in the context of ideological debates signalled above. More specifically, the first task of the chapter is to select a workable concept of social movement which can serve in directing the focus of our study. The second task is to select the foci of investigation by reviewing the contributions of various theoretical streams to the study of the organisational structure of social movements. Both tasks direct critical attention to the problem of ideological biases and the constraints which result in onesidedness and theoretical peripheralisation of movement studies.

2. WHAT IS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT?

Definitions are not mere semantic conventions; they form concepts by specifying their content (connotation) and applicability (denotation); they are sensitized to certain aspects of the phenomena investigated and, perhaps most importantly, they delineate the subject matter of research.

Contemporary definitions of social movements vary widely. This reflects inherent ideological differences, 'conceptual stretch' (Sartori, 1970), and methodological idiosyncrasies (such as focussing on particular dimensions of social movements). Above all, they tend to be general, inclusive and vague. For example, Heberle (1968:438) defines a social movement as a "wide variety of collective attempts to bring about a change in certain social institutions or to create an entirely new order". Smelser (1962:313) sees it as "a collective attempt to restore, protect or create values [or norms] in the name of a generalised belief". Wilson (1973:8) focuses on the adaptive exigencies facing any collective endeavour and defines a social movement as "a conscious, collective, *organised* attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order by non-institutionalised means" [emphasis mine - G.H.]. Wilson's definition, and subsequent analysis, includes organisational structure as a critical element, but falls short of relating social movements to mainstream political processes.

More recent action/identity approaches define social movements as a form of action that is both culturally and politically oriented. Their definitions are also typically more complex and rather fuzzy. For example, Melucci (1980:202) locates social movements within other forms of collective action, which are

defined as "the ensemble of the various types of conflict-based behaviour in a social system (that struggles for) the appropriation and orientation of social values and resources, (with) each of the actors being characterised by a specific solidarity". Social movements are distinguished by their fulfillment of a second condition that includes "all types of behaviour which transgresses the norms that have been institutionalised in social roles, which go beyond the rules of the political system and/or attack the structure of a society's class relations" (Melucci, 1980: 202). This definition serves as a basis for distinguishing three types of movements: organisational, political and class movements (Melucci, 1980).

Melucci's description of the characteristics of new social movements is similar to that of other NSM theorists, such as Feher and Heller (1986), and Offe (1985). For these theorists, new social movements represent an attempt to counter the separation of the public and private spheres; they are not focussed on the political system as their main objective is social solidarity; and they involve direct participation in both cultural and political processes. While the organisational aspects of movements are not mentioned within these definitions, Melucci (1984: 821) acknowledges that organisation is a critical point of focus in movement studies because "movements are *action systems* operating in a *systemic field* of possibilities and limits" (i.e. within the political opportunity structure)⁷. Although some movements are more 'political' in their focus and effects than other, nevertheless even these 'political' movements "are not

⁷ The political opportunity structure is defined as the "specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilisation, which facilitate the development of protest movements in some instances and constrain them in others" (Kitschelt, 1986: 58).

focused on the political system". Offe (1985) also argues that new social movements are culturally rather than politically oriented but he also discusses the potential political alliances movements may enter into with the established political party structure.

Touraine (1985), similarly, defines movements rather vaguely; he distinguishes them from other forms of collective action by clear collective identity, awareness of opposition, and the well articulated stakes (the I+O+T scheme). He also juxtaposes the study of movements in terms of a 'sociology of action' with the sociology of structure (Marxist class accounts), systemic sociology (structural functionalism) and strategic studies (resource mobilisation).

These examples illustrate a number of problems. First, most definitions are so vague that almost all social behaviour could be termed a social movement. Consequently, movement studies become synonymous with the study of social change in general. Secondly, some of these definitions are too narrow in stipulating that social movements are restricted either to unconventional, unorthodox and/or marginal political behaviour, i.e. that they do not operate within the framework of the major institutions and authorities in society. Equally restrictive are the resource mobilization studies in which movements are portrayed as exclusively political, and the focus of the studies is on formal organizations.

One way of striking balance between these extremes is by following the lead of the 'moderate' resource mobilisation theorists, such as Curtis & Zurcher (1973) and Tarrow (1983). They try to overcome the limitations of their more 'extreme' colleagues by drawing attention to the continuities and similarities between 'conventional' and 'unconventional' political behaviour, and

between formalised and informal organisations. This prevents the neglect of a broader range of un- and semi- organised social movement groupings.⁸ Tarrow (1983:7), for example, focuses on politically-oriented movements "with at least the skeleton of an organisation and purposive goals". This makes it possible to talk about five critical aspects of social movements, i.e. their context or formation, social composition, orientations, mobilisation of resources through organisation, relation to other political institutions, and outcomes. Tarrow's definition (1983:7) clearly states that "Social protest movements are groups possessing a purposive organisation, whose leaders identify their goals with the preferences of an unmobilised constituency which they attempt to mobilise in direct action in relation to a target of influence in the political arena".⁹

Tarrow's definition has the advantage of being able to include a variety of protest groups without extending them into general forms of collective behaviour or, conversely, confining them to some form of extended interest group. Socio-political movements are seen as part of the political process in that "it is axiomatic that they (social movements) will seek institutionalised access to power,

⁸ McCarthy & Zald (1977:1218), for example, define a social movement in broad terms as "nothing more than preference structures directed towards social change" but the analyses focus on the formalised bodies with membership, clear objectives and programmes, or core social movement organisations.

⁹ This definition specifies that movement is externally oriented, i.e. the target of change for the movement is outside its membership constituency, thus excluding internally-oriented movements, which engage in the personal transformation of individuals, such as religious cults and sects.

if not power itself" (Tarrow,1983:7). The tactics of movements cover the full range of political activities, from direct action through to institutionalised actions, such as lobbying. In contrast with crowds and riots, socio-political movements are recurrent, include at least some elements of a shared world-view and attempt to present solutions to perceived social problems (see also Milgram & Toch, 1969:602). As Tilly (1978) and Melucci (1980,1984) point out, only where protest is regular and state agencies are confronted, can it be inferred that there is some amount of activism and organisation; the presence of conflict alone is not sufficient to infer the presence of a social movement.

An additional advantage of this conceptual choice is that it sensitizes a researcher to the importance of the organisational structure of social movements without restricting attention to formal organisations. It is the relationship between formalised movement organisations and less formalised bodies and actions which determines the range of 'resources' a movement taps. The structure of the movement and the functions are thus seen as diverse: they provide the channels for political participation, and the strategic and regular means of presenting these demands.

The organisational emphasis of resource mobilisation approaches (such as Tarrow's) to the study of social movements has the advantages of:

- 1) avoiding the assumption that grievances and discontent are sufficient conditions for the emergence of a social movement;
- 2) focussing on the *structure* rather than the vague and ideologically loaded question of 'values';

- 3) directing attention towards the relationships between more formalised organisational activity, less formalised actions and the broad public support base;
- 4) focussing on the 'groupness' (i.e. informal and formal rules within a social movement) and thus treating a movement as a truly 'social' form; and
- 5) focussing on the mobilisational strategies of the movement's leaders and activists, who use a wide variety of resources for the attainment of goals on behalf of a broader 'conscience constituency', thus placing the movement in a specific relationship with mainstream political processes.

For all these reasons, the definition derived from the resource mobilisation perspective is well-suited for the purposes of this study. The definition to be used in this thesis¹⁰, therefore, broadly follows Tarrow's ideas and states that:

° A social movement is a collective, continuous, organised (formally or informally) attempt to influence the allocation of power and responsibility in society °

In line with this definition movement 'organisations' (varying in the degree of formalisation) are a central point of focus. 'Organisation' is defined here very broadly. It includes the broad range of formal, semi-formal and informal bodies, ranging from

¹⁰ There is some difficulty in distinguishing between social movements and political parties with this definition but this difficulty is not only analytical but also reflects the difficulty some movements have in themselves in deciding whether they are more a movement or a party, or vice-versa, while the 'reality' is that they can be both, as concluded later in this thesis, and as exemplified by the various European Green party/movements and the Tasmanian Greens. It is argued in this thesis that the difference between the social movement and a political party is one of degree rather than form.

bureaucratic organisations through to informal groupings. The organisational characteristics of these bodies, found within the wilderness conservation and anti-nuclear movements within Australia, are examined in detail in chapters five and six.

3. MOVEMENT THEORIES AND THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Not all theoretical perspectives regard movements as structured, and not all of them regard organisational structure as an important aspect of social movements. Some mass society theorists, for example, treat movements as amorphous, as reflecting the processes of social atomisation and massification.¹¹ Even if they do study their structure, they see it as of secondary importance compared to identities, values or repertoires of action. Similarly, some action theorists, most notably Touraine, see the organisational structure as relatively unimportant. For Touraine, the effectiveness and historical importance of movements depends on the integration of identities, opposition and stakes (the I+O+T scheme); organisations often distort and tame spontaneous and radical movement actions.

In reviewing movement theories, the focus will be on those theoretical streams which acknowledge the importance of organisational structure, and which contribute to the analysis of movement structure by suggesting concepts and inspiring research in this area. The concepts developed in these studies will be assessed and utilised in the empirical chapters that follow this review.

¹¹ Yet they stress the ability of charismatic/demagogic leaders to structure movements from above and transform them into tools of political domination. See, for example Arendt, Neumann, Kornhauser.

Although two nineteenth century writers, Alexis de Tocqueville and Karl Marx, made major contributions to the understanding of political processes, they may be seen as belonging to the 'pre-history' of social movement theorising. The contemporary studies of social movements which are reviewed here can be classified into seven broad categories:

- 1) Socio-psychological theories, as represented by Le Bon (1895), Park & Burgess (1924), Davies (1962), Blumer (1946) and Gurr (1970), which explain movements mainly in terms of individual and group deprivation;
- 2) Mass society theories, as represented by Neumann (1942), Arendt (1951) and Kornhauser (1959);
- 3) Collective behaviour theories, as represented by Smelser (1962) and Turner & Killian (1957);
- 4) Resource mobilisation theories, as represented by Zald & Ash (1966), McCarthy & Zald (1973,1977), Curtis & Zurcher (1973) and Tarrow (1983);
- 5) Action/identity theories, as represented by Touraine (1969,1981,1985) and Castells (1977,1978,1983);
- 6) New Social Movements theories, as represented by Offe (1985), Habermas (1981), Eder (1982, 1985), Feher & Heller (1986), Melucci (1980,1984,1985,1988) and Galtung (1986).

1) Socio-psychological theories:

(a) crowd psychology (Le Bon)

The uprisings of Parisian mobs during the French revolutions in the 18th and 19th centuries (the 'age of the crowd') were explained by Le Bon (1895) in terms of the formation of 'organised crowds' where a 'collective mind' is formed. Crowds generate a 'single being'

wherein individuals are subject to the 'law of the mental unity of crowds'. The participants in a crowd feel invincible because of their collective numbers; their actions and sentiments are derived from collective contagion; and they are easily open to suggestion - in a way similar to a state of hypnosis. The formation of leaders, or agitators, constitutes the first element of organisation of the crowd and this may lead to the formation forms of organisation, such as sects. The leaders are usually recruited from the ranks of 'half-deranged' persons, in whom 'all reasoning is lost', and who 'wield a very despotic authority'. The non-critical individuals who make up these crowds are thought to be rootless, mentally-disturbed social isolates. The crowds (sometimes closely identified with 'movements') are marked by their disorganisation and transitory nature, as distinct from the relatively stable organisations found at the other end of the politico-organisational continuum.

Tarde (1901) extended Le Bon's analysis of the crowd. He stressed the amorphous character of these forms, and the irrational nature of its participants "intoxicated with new and fashionable doctrines", who "pillage established ideas or institutions" and work against "rational innovators". Tarde distinguished crowds from public opinion, which transpired in more structured social forms, and involved a "momentary more or less logical cluster of judgments which, responding to current problems, is reproduced many times over in people". Public opinion was seen as a higher social form indicating a more advanced stage of social development.

Park & Burgess (1924) extended these observations to social movements, arguing that "all great mass movements tend to display, to a greater or lesser extent, the characteristics that Le Bon attributes to crowds". They distinguished, in order of institutional

evolution, social contagion (such as 'fashion') from the crowd and types of mass movements (i.e. from isolated and spontaneous actions through to regular and organised collective behaviour). This order was marked by increased organisation.

Blumer (1946) continued the analysis of crowds by distinguishing four types of crowds, the mass, the public, and three types of social movements (the general, the specific and the expressive). Blumer's analysis of the formation of crowds is similar to the analysis of the formation of social movements by more contemporary theorists. Crowds were seen as the least structured of all forms. They formed out of the tension of 'some exciting event', followed by a 'milling process' (identity formation and social solidarity), the 'emergence of a common object of attention' (goal definition), and the stimulation and fostering of impulses (leadership). The development of social movements, defined as "a collective enterprise seeking to establish a new order of life", was analysed in similar terms; organisation was not perceived as part of the definitional component of social movements.

(b) deprivation theories

Modern socio-psychological theories, such as the theory of relative deprivation, account for protest and movement behaviour in terms of socio-psychological deficits within individuals with respect to their social location. They specifically seek to explain the *motivation* for movement participation. Organisational structure of movements is seen as a resultant of responses to deprivation and the characteristics of deprived categories.

The interpretations of what constitutes a 'relative deprivation' (and how to study it) vary a great deal. Gurr (1970:13),

for example, defines relative deprivation as "the perceived discrepancy between men's value expectations and their value capabilities". While some theorists see deprivation in terms of individual perception (Gurr,1970; Morrison,1971) others see it as relative to certain social categories (Geschwender,1968,1974).

Deprivation is, however, invariably related to *perceived* rather than objectively defined discrepancies in status or expectations; some authors even argue that an objective reference is unnecessary (e.g. Runciman, 1966; Wilson,1973).

Deprivation is linked with social movements via either the 'frustration-aggression' or the 'cognitive dissonance' theories.¹² Either way, the outcome is seen as semi-structured and semi-formalised. The cognitive dissonance model posits that the underlying state of psychological tension is relieved through social movement participation which usually violates the orderly organisational routines. Morrison (1971) sees deprivation as a type of cognitive dissonance between legitimate expectations and the belief they will not be fulfilled; it may result in crowd-type behaviour, as well as more organised forms.

There are some major problems with relative deprivation theory. Here the focus will be only on those which concern the account of the form and organisational structure of social movements. First, the relations between attitudes, behaviour and organisational forms is not satisfactorily explored (Liska,1974:270; Schuman & Johnson,1976; Andrews & Kandel,1979). Deprivation can be seen as a component of diverse forms of behaviour; it seems

¹² For example, Gurr (1968,1970) links the former with the occurrence of civil protests; Davies (1962,1969) links it with revolution; and Feierabend *et al* (1969) link it with political violence.

to be, at best, an intervening, rather than an independent, variable in explaining social movement participation and its forms.

Secondly, relative deprivation theorists assume that collective action is generated by the coming together of like-deprived or frustrated individuals, but this process of cumulative mobilisation and its specific forms are never satisfactorily explained. If movements are defined in terms of specific forms of action, the deprivation theorists have little to say about them. While they attempt to account for the motivational structure behind social movement participation they leave the form of this mobilisation largely unexamined. They are insensitive to the role of enterprising activists and their organisations as critical factors in the formation, maintenance and achievements of social movements.¹³

2) Mass society theories

In contrast to deprivation theorists, the advocates of the mass society approaches look at the specific forms and organisational structure as important aspects of social movements. Their universe of discourse, however, is limited; mass society accounts developed mainly as an attempt to explain the rise of the 'totalitarian' movement in the 1920s and 1930s (e.g. Neumann, 1942; Arendt, 1951). They also share many characteristics with socio-psychological 'crowd psychology' accounts. 'Mass society' can be seen as an expanded version of 'the crowd'. It forms when society is fragmented and individuals or groups are so isolated that they react like a crowd, and

¹³ Oberschall (1973), for example, analyses political and economic deprivation and argues that this is more than a motivating force in that, with multiple grievances, it is a case of broader, structural strain.

grow by attracting peripheralised individuals. Without the 'normal' intermediary structures that facilitate and regulate political participation these individuals are easily lead by demagogues and controlled by authoritarian regimes. The intermediary structures, or strong networks of secondary organisations, that link individuals and groups with the larger society are strong within 'normal', pluralist societies (Kornhauser,1959). Massification occurs when the intermediary structures weaken or disappear.

A state of 'mass society' is said to exist when "elites are readily accessible to influence by non-elites, and non-elites are readily available for mobilisation by elites" (Kornhauser,1959:39). The availability of elites depends upon a structure of independent, community groups and associations (intermediary bodies) which facilitate the control of the leaders and the communication of demands between the elites and the non-elites.

As already implied, there is no agreement on the nature of atomisation. Neumann (1942) argues that atomisation largely affected individuals but adds that the undermining of the German middle classes by inflation lead to an irrational reaction, a reaction compounded by an outdated, anti-democratic political culture carried through from the Imperial period. Arendt (1966) claims that atomisation is the result of the erosion of class identities and that it mainly involves attracting peripheralised individuals to mass movements. With the collapse of protective class roles, as a result of nationalism, the citizenry changed their point of reference from that of class association to racial or ethnic group association. This, when combined with unemployment and population growth, created 'uprootedness' and 'superfluosness', "which have been the curse

of modern masses since the beginning of the industrial revolution" (Arendt, 1966:475).

Kornhauser (1959) extends the mass society theory outside the German and 'totalitarian' context. He differs from the previous writers in classifying atomisation as a group phenomenon, emphasizing the stabilizing effects of intermediary groups, which both insulate and facilitate communication between elites and non-elites, and stating that the old rather than the new middle class was mainly susceptible to mobilisation into mass movements.

Kornhauser (1959) defines atomisation as the outcome of the erosion of intermediate bodies, and argues that it is only when these intermediary bodies are isolated from the rest of society that a state of massification occurs. Individual isolation gave rise to loneliness and personal deviance but did not threaten political stability. It is the lack of participative structures with respect to the larger society that facilitates the rise of mass movements.

There are some problems with the mass society accounts of movement mobilisation and organisational form. As many contemporary historians point out, rather than having been made up of socially isolated individuals, the Nazi movement encompassed groups, associations and organised sections of society. Rather than being socially isolated, participants in the Nazi movement had shown a high level of participation in secondary associations (Hamilton, 1982). In fact, "It was the high level of participation in secondary associations under conditions of superimposed segmentation which made for the rapid mobilisation of people into the Nazi movement" (Hagtvet, 1980:104). These secondary associations and organisations were important as agents and legitimizers of the subsequent mass actions.

Although one can describe the Nazi orientation as romantic, irrational and 'collective escapism' (Neumann, 1942), their actions were highly structured and organised. In fact, the more recent studies point to the key role of organisation in facilitating the rise of Nazi movement. Here, at least in recent times, the role of organisations in social movements has been found to be critically important (although not, as yet, examined in detail). Yet this role has been consistently underscored in the mass society accounts.

3) Collective behaviour:

Smelser's (1962) account of social movements is more sophisticated than his explanation of elementary forms of collective behaviour, such as crowds. He places the emergence of collective behaviour within the Parsons & Shils (1953) account of the 'components of social action'. This includes generalised ends, regulatory rules, motivation for action and situational facilities. The analysis of collective behaviour is an aspect of this general theory of social change. Social change is generated by attempts to alleviate social strain and by the competition for scarce resources. When the appropriate level of generality is reached, in terms of Smelser's value-added scheme (which includes structural conduciveness, structural strain, the growth and spread of a generalised belief, precipitating factors, the mobilisation of participants for action, and the operation of social control mechanisms), individuals engage in collective behaviour and develop a belief in a generalised solution - the two main aspects of social movements.

Collective behaviour is defined as uninstitutionalised collective action, which is taken to modify a condition of strain and is based on 'short-circuited' thinking. It aims at changing the norms

(rules) or values (ends) in society. A social movement is seen by Smelser (1962:71) as "an uninstitutionalised mobilisation for action in order to modify one or more kinds of strain on the basis of a generalised reconstitutionalisation of a component of action...Adherents to such movements (norm-oriented) exaggerate 'reality' because their action is based on beliefs which are both generalised and short-circuited". Social movements differ from other forms of collective behaviour in that they set out to establish 'a new order of life'. The transition from more elementary forms of collective behaviour is achieved through the acquisition of organisation, traditions, leadership, division of labour, social rules and values.

The organisational structure of movements reflects their type. Smelser identifies two such types: the norm-oriented and value-oriented movements. The former are reformist, and their forms are usually conventionalised; the latter are 'revolutionary' in their aims and tend to be unconventional in their form. Which type of movement actually develops depends to some extent on the responses of the political system. Ignoring normatively-based claims can lead to value-based claims and challenges to legitimation. Reform-oriented movements advocate normative changes, such as changes in working conditions (e.g. the labour movement), changes in lifestyle (e.g. the counter-cultural movement), or equality of opportunities (e.g. the womens' rights movement). Value-oriented movements promote large scale changes to the social system. Smelser argues that, in a highly differentiated society, a norm-oriented movement is more likely to arise.

Smelser has often been criticised for arguing that participants in social movements are basically semi-rational (see Currie &

Skolnick,1970: Oberschall,1973:22-23; Brown & Goldin,1973:21-24).

One can also question his accounts of organisational structure.

Although Smelser admits that organisation is one of necessary conditions for the development of a social movement, his primary concern is with 'generative' structural conditions. Yet, many of his critics argue that the articulation of grievances and their resolution can only occur through some form of movement organisation, and this has not been appreciated by Smelser (e.g. McCarthy & Zald,1973).

While the development of a social movement does depend on 'strain' and 'precipitating factors', the widespread and persistent mobilisation requires a minimal level of organisation. Only within such an organised framework can 'precipitating factors' become mobilising foci, and only through organisation can a generalised discontent turn into an actual movement, i.e. collective action with specific goals and strategies (Wood & Jackson,1982:44).

Another criticism concerns Smelser's failure to clearly distinguish movements from simple and marginal forms of collective behaviour, such as crowds and panics. Smelser seems to ignore the apparent integration of major modern social movements with 'normal' behaviour and the mainstream political processes. He sees them as basically semi-rational, transient and, at best, semi-organised.

This limits considerably the applicability of the collective behaviour theory to the 'new' movements of the 1970's and 1980's. These new movements contain highly organised cores which are partly integrated within mainstream political processes. This is where the resource mobilisation stream takes the collective behaviour approach to task and elucidates the rational, sustainable forms found within modern social movements.

4) Resource Mobilisation

The rise of social movements in the United States in the 1960s challenged the perception of the collective behaviour stream that social movements were transitory and relatively rare phenomena, that participants acted in less than a fully rational way, and, perhaps most importantly, that social movement actions were unstructured and quite distinct from conventional political actions. In contrast with these claims, the resource mobilisation stream emphasizes that:

- 1) there is a continuity and similarity between the activities in social movements and those in conventional politics;
- 2) movement participants are guided by instrumental or strategic rationality rather than semi-rational and emotive impulses;
- 3) the basic goals of social movements are closely linked with group interests that are part of the institutionalised social structure and power relations;
- 4) the development of social movements involves the mobilisation of a wide range of resources, the formation of a variety of groups and organisations, and the strategic utilisation of political opportunities for collective action (rather than unplanned, 'spontaneous' expressions of deprivations); and, most importantly, that
- 5) centralised, formalised social movement organisations are the key elements of modern social movements; they are instrumental in mobilising resources for sustaining campaigns and assuring movement continuity.

In accordance with this, the definition of social movements used by resource mobilisationists stresses those collective attempts endeavouring to alter "elements of social structure and/or the reward distribution of society" (e.g. McCarthy & Zald, 1977:1218);

organise previously unorganised groups against established elites (e.g. Gamson, 1975:16-18); and represent the interests of groups formerly excluded from the polity (e.g. Jenkins & Perrow, 1977; Tilly, 1978).

Most importantly, the focus of the resource mobilisation theorists has been on the organised core of the social movement and the complex organisational structure that emerge within social movements. Here lies the most important contribution of the resource mobilisation approach. The structures analysed in terms of 'federations', 'chapters', SPIN (segmented, polycephalous, integrated networks) model, and webs of Professional Social Movement Organisations (PSMOs). At one extreme of formalisation continuum, according to McCarthy & Zald (1973) there are the most formalised PSMOs. A typical PSMO has a professional full-time group of leaders/activists, who claim to speak for a general constituency, and who operate with the resources gained from outside the aggrieved group. However, pure PSMOs are rare and are very reliant on the media and social networks for communication (McCarthy, 1987). A less formalised type of organisation is the typical social movement organisation (SMO), the form of which is determined by the level of *prior* organisation, the extent of membership requirements and commitment, and the orientation to the movement's objectives (see Zald & Ash, 1966; Freeman, 1973; Oberschall, 1973; Morris, 1981; McAdam, 1982). At the least formalised end there are social movement networks. They consist of web-like (reticulate) patterns of informal and semi-formal contacts between supporters and sympathisers.

All forms of organisation, covering the entire continuum, are found within social movements. But their importance and

durability vary. Zald (1987) has argued that movements in the United States are becoming increasingly formalised and professionalised. This trend has been facilitated by increasing reliance upon funding from outside sources, such as the state. Funding facilitates organisational security, and this leads to the emergence of a professional leadership (social movement entrepreneurs) and extends the support base of the movement from the 'grass-roots', self-interested membership.

The alternative strategy for the movement organisation is to rely upon 'grass-roots' support rather than 'beneficiary constituencies' (McCarthy & Zald, 1975). This limits the movement's resource base which, in turn, reduces the movement's effectiveness. Reliance on outside support, however, is equally problematic because external supporters do not share the same commitment to the movement's goals as movement members. Also, where government funding is involved, there is the ever-present risk of the movement being co-opted and/or its goals being mollified.

In response to the collective behaviour claim that movements are transient, Zald & Ash (1966) delineated the conditions underlying a range of possible social movement trajectories: decline, expansion, stagnation, and change in the movement's orientation and structure. The decline of the movement is more likely following success, especially where the movement's goals are relatively specific and membership is inclusive, but less likely where the movement is oriented towards general societal change. The movement's orientation can shift towards different goals (more conservative or more radical), towards organisational maintenance, repairing factional splits, and developing alliances with other social movements. Organisational maintenance and goal transformation

are more likely where the movement is insulated by exclusive membership requirements. Factions are more likely to develop where membership requirements are inclusive (Zald & Ash, 1966).

Zald and Ash are ambivalent about the argument that movements are subject to inevitable routinisation and bureaucratisation. According to them, other paths of development are possible: the social movement organisations may dissolve, the movement may become more radical, factions may develop, or the movement may simply maintain a state of flux (becoming a becalmed movement).

Changes in the organisational patterns of social movements do not reflect any 'iron laws' (viz. Michels' 'iron law of oligarchy'), but specific conditions of movement development. Movements face the same problems of survival within their 'macro-environments' as any other organisations. Competition with other social movements, the state and its instrumentalities, counter movements, the media, and the general public, pose the major adaptive problem. Within the 'micro-environment', movement organisations face problems, such as the effective mobilisation of resources: people, money, etc. All these factors affect the organisational form (see Wilson, 1973; Holloway, 1986a).

In conclusion, as McCarthy & Zald (1977:1214) and Tarrow (1983) point out, the resource mobilisation theorists direct their attention towards the relationship between the organisation, its support base, and the political opportunity structure. Movements are seen as mobilising a wide variety of resources, including value-commitments and dedication of supporters, and the forms these mobilisation takes is largely determined by the existing sociopolitical configurations.

5) Action/identity stream

The action/identity theorists (Touraine, 1981, 1985; Castells, 1983; Melucci, 1980, 1984, 1985, 1988; and Donati, 1984) criticise the collective behaviour theorists for viewing spontaneity in negative terms, attributing irrationality to movement action, and denying that a social movement "has a reality of its own" (Castells, 1983:295). They also reject the organisational focus of the resource mobilisation theorists and what they see as excessive preoccupation with instrumental considerations (achievement of declared political objectives). Social movements are seen as key sources of innovation precisely because they operate outside established rules and institutions and they are not controlled by any single organisation. They can be located analytically and empirically outside the established forms of political participation and are identifiable by their anti-institutional orientation. According to Touraine, they constitute special forms of collective action seeking social change and featuring the clear identification of the 'stakes' over which conflict is being generated (i.e. a new form of society), the 'opponent' (i.e. a social class or institution, rather than just a society), and movement identity. Social movements are a special, higher form of social action because they focus on the creation of new cultural norms and values, and this is taken as indicative of the emerging 'post-industrial' society (Touraine, 1969).

Touraine (1985:754-5) argues that the 'highest' level of social conflict revolves around "the social control of the main cultural patterns, that is, of the patterns through which our relationships with the environment are normatively organised". These cultural patterns concern cognitive, ethical and investment norms and

values. This effectively reverses the conventional perception of political parties and interest groups as representing the higher levels of social conflict. The more 'organised' or institutionalised the conflict, the lower its intensity and transforming power. The most transforming conflict involves general values. Organisation is not important; in fact, the high level of organisation indicates movements' transformative impotence.

In the action/identity stream of theorising the role of organisation is also de-emphasized on methodological grounds; the movement as a *whole* is the most important point of focus. For Castells (1978,1983) movement organisation is the wrong point of observation. Similarly, for Touraine (1985) the movement is greater than the sum of its component parts, including the formalised organisations. The depreciation of organisations is justified by claims that they are instrumentally oriented and therefore willing to modify their values for minor gains, thus leaving the dominant culture unhindered.

Touraine and Castells' place spontaneous movement initiatives at centre stage, but they limit their view to that, as it were, of the radical activist. While this approach has the advantage of developing considerable knowledge of social movement dynamics, it reduces the chances of a completely impartial assessment of the limitations and opportunities involved in the development of a social movement in terms of gaining influence and power.¹⁴

¹⁴ As Hannigan (1985:447) points out, there are also problems with Touraine's vague concepts and 'interventionist' methodology; "If the intervention group is seen as a kind of microcosm of the movement as a whole, then far more detail is needed as to the background of the participants, how they were recruited, their internal structure, etc."

Whereas Touraine (1985:780) states that the "new social movements are less sociopolitical and more sociocultural" the opposite can be argued.¹⁵ In fact, the 'new' movements are both, and they face the tension of different modes of operating. Similarly, whereas Touraine (1985:780) states that "social movements can easily become segmented...[and] that is what is happening today, especially in Germany and the United States" the opposite trends can also be discerned.¹⁶

6) New Social Movements

Through the 1970s and 1980s a new wave of theorising emerged with some interesting implications for the analysis of the organisational structure. It started with a critique of the collective behaviour theorists (as too rigidly separating social movements from mainstream politics), the resource mobilisation stream (as too eagerly incorporating social movements within institutionalised politics) and the action/ identity theorists (as focussing on the periphery of social movements). According to the theorists, the 'new social movements' differ from the 'old' movements and include the Western environmental, peace and feminist movements.¹⁷ Taken

¹⁵ The difference between views here may be due to the different political opportunity structures in France and Australia.

¹⁶ As argued below, this seems to happen in the Australian green movement. Recent electoral gains by the Greens in European countries, including France, suggest the increasing politicisation and institutionalisation rather than 'acculturalisation' of social movements. See Dalton & Kuechler, 1990, for discussion of this issue.

¹⁷ They have been variously labelled as 'new protest movements' (Brand, 1982), 'new politics' (Hildebrandt & Dalton, 1977), 'anti-politics' (Berger, 1979) and 'disorderly politics' (Marsh, 1977).

together, the various theorists of the new social movements seem to agree on the following:

- recent social movements are 'new' in that they raise new issues, articulate new values, represent new attitudes, have new social forms and new repertoires of actions. In these respects they differ from the 'old' working class movements, and they present interests and values that cut across the traditional class lines;
- the traditional approaches fail to recognise the 'legitimate', strategically rational and innovative forms of political expression engendered by the new social movements;
- new social movements signal the emergence of a new political constituency (the 'new middle class'), and the 'failure' of conventional politics in dealing with global problems;
- the political allegiances of new social movement participants cannot be classified as either for the left or the right; they cut across the old divisions;
- new social movements participate in the symbolic/ expressive sphere of politics, rather than instrumental activities, and this expression tends to become an end in itself.¹⁸

Despite these shared assumptions, the 'new social movements' stream of theorising is quite eclectic. One can, in fact, distinguish at least five sub-streams: a) descriptive (Feher & Heller, 1981, 1986; Nedelmann, 1984); b) new values (Inglehart, 1977; Cotgrove & Duff, 1980, 1981); c) alternative paradigm (Milbrath, 1984; Offe, 1985; Galtung, 1986); d) action/structure (Melucci, 1980, 1984, 1988; Donati, 1984) and e) civil society (Misztal, 1985, 1987, 1988; Arato, 1982; Arato & Cohen, 1982). The central theme in all these analyses is

¹⁸ See Offe, 1985; Habermas, 1981; Cotgrove, 1982; Feher & Heller, 1984, 1986.

identifying the characteristics that distinguish the 'new' from 'old' forms and structures of politics. The review of these streams will be limited to the points relevant for the analysis of the organisational structure.

a) Descriptive

Feher and Heller (1986:122-133) argue that modern social movements can be distinguished by the following seven characteristics: their transfunctionality (i.e. "the specificity of modern social movements consists of their public disregard of social functions in the spheres of recruitment and dynamics"); their public character (i.e. they publicly state their objectives, strategies and tactics); participation in the movements is partial (i.e. they do not have card-carrying members and there is no binding discipline linked with membership); they are organised on one or a few issues (i.e. generally there is an absence of comprehensive programs for social reformation); they are primarily social, rather than directly political in character (i.e. the primary aim of the movement is changing general societal values rather than attaining political power); they are discontinuous (i.e. the two elements required for continuity, ideology and high levels of bureaucratic organisation, are both absent from these movements; and, finally, they are "a crucial factor in the self-determination of civil society". This last point is explored further later in this section.

b) New values

The new values sub-stream is based on Inglehart's (1977) analysis of value change from 'materialism' to 'postmaterialism', a process he calls 'the silent revolution'. Inglehart (1981:880) claims that "well over 100 representative national surveys" reveal this basic shift in value priorities in Western society. The value-change is

explained in terms of Maslow's (1954) theory of a need hierarchy underlying human motivation, and the socialisation experience of the post-World War II generation growing in times of economic prosperity and security. These postmaterialist values are socially located in a 'new class' and include self-realisation, freedom of expression, quality of life, participative democracy in the workplace, and more personalised relations in society in general (Inglehart, 1977).

The new value priorities are reflected by the organisational structure of the new movements. The emphasis on self-realisation, participation, dialogue, and consensus are coded into the forms and procedures of movement bodies. Movement actions engender the repertoires that vindicate the new value priorities, including tolerance and freedom of choice. Thus what may be considered (e.g. from the point of view of the resource mobilisation theory) as a low level of organisation, constitutes, in fact, a specific form of organisation that is programmatically open, flexible and anti-bureaucratic.

Among many criticisms of the Inglehart's thesis only one needs to be mentioned here.¹⁹ His analysis largely ignores the question of the way in which the allegedly new value priorities are transformed into political action.

¹⁹ Inglehart has been criticised for using self-reporting as a survey methodology. Maslow's theory of needs, which Inglehart adopts, has dubious validity, as has been pointed out by many critics. Similarly, the connection between values and actions in Inglehart's studies is very unclear. Analysing 'values' through self-reporting surveys says little about how participants actually act.

c) Alternative paradigm

As Offe (1985:847) suggests, movements mobilise in response to "the structural incapacity of existing economic and political structures to perceive and to deal effectively with the global threats, risks, and deprivations they cause". The structure of the movements reflect this incapacity by adopting an 'alternative paradigm' (see Fig. 2.1).²⁰

Galtung (1986) represents a similar attempt to identify what he sees as an 'alternative paradigm', and which includes twenty characteristics that distinguish 'mainstream' political participation from 'green policies/movements'. His new paradigm covers not only organisational forms, but also the ideology, history and social structure, and it locates the 'Green movement' at the centre of modern political processes.²¹

²⁰ Offe also argues that the new social movements present the "selective radicalisation of 'modern' values", rather than 'new' values. He combines value-analysis with political analysis of new paradigmatic configurations. Other researchers have accepted that there has been a shift in societal values. Cotgrove & Duff (1980,1981), for example, support Inglehart's basic findings.

²¹ See also Capra & Spretnak,1984; Kelly,1984; Milbrath, 1984; Porritt,1984, 1988; Gundelach,1982,1984; Tokar,1987.

FIGURE 2.1. THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 'OLD' & 'NEW' PARADIGMS OF POLITICS.

	'OLD PARADIGM'	'NEW PARADIGM'
ACTORS	Socio-economic groups acting as groups (in the groups' interest) and involved in distributive conflict.	Socio-economic groups acting not as such, but on behalf of ascriptive collectivities.
ISSUES	Economic growth and distribution; military and social security social control.	Preservation of peace, environment, human rights, and unalienated forms of work.
VALUES	Freedom and security of private consumption and material progress.	Personal autonomy and identity, opposed to centralised control, etc.
MODES OF ACTION	(a) internal: formal organisation large-scale representative associations; (b) external: pluralist or corporatist interest intermediation; political party competition, majority rule.	(a) internal: informality, spontaneity, low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation; (b) external: protest politics based on demands formulated in predominantly negative terms.

Source: Offe (1985:832).

d) Action/structure

Another sub-stream is concerned with bringing together action and structural analyses. Its representatives point to the need for organisation within social movements and acknowledge the necessary interaction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of politics. Melucci (1984:821-2), for example, tries to synthesize an action/structural analysis of social movements:

Movements are action systems operating in a systemic field of possibilities and limits. That is why the organisation becomes a critical point of observation...the way the movement actors set up their action is the concrete link between orientations 'built' by an organisational investment.

Donati (1984) goes even further towards acknowledging the importance of organisational action in new movements. While agreeing that these movements are culturally rather than politically orientated, Donati (1984:852) argues that:

A social movement area, therefore, is a collective actor which can be analyzed in organisational terms (and he proposes) to treat the whole social movement area as an organized system; as *a concrete system of action* .

He recognises that a social movement must interact or 'speak' to the established political system; it cannot operate, as a movement, completely independently of the established political institutions. This necessary interaction generates a tension between two modes of operating: the movement mode or "one of pure demands", and the institutional mode or "one of the concrete organized actor" which tends to operate according to the logic of competing and established political processes. Shifting to the movement mode leads to expressive action and marginalises the movement. Shifting to the institutional mode transforms the movement into a political party. Both are possible outcomes, and can be seen as the result of a strategic choice by movement actors. A shift in one direction or the other is designed to reduce the conflicting demands. It is this variation in organisational modes and the "inner contradiction" between them that is the main focus of Donati's studies (1984).

e) Civil society

The civil society sub-stream of theorists argue that a key characteristic of 'new' politics is greater public participation through institutionalised and non-institutionalised means. The central theme of the 'civil society' argument is that political participation is extending into areas of society not controlled by, and in opposition to, the state.²² However, there is no common agreement as to the precise nature of the relationship between those operating within the sphere of 'civil society' and those operating within institutionalised and etatised politics. Misztal (1987) and Eder (1982,1985) see new politics as still less peripheral in relation to the conventional politics, but important because because of the wide scope of public participation it engenders. It is suggested that the new social movements are operating within a third, intermediate category, between the 'civil society' and 'state', but the nature of this third category is unclear.

While ambiguous or disagreeing about many aspects of new social movements, the NSM theorists agree that there are a great variety of organisational forms within the new movements, but the nature of NSM organisation has been left open to further examination. As Papadakis (1984,1988) has shown, the German 'green' movement contains a wide range of bodies, ranging from conventional to unconventional in their form and action. Students of new politics describe them in different terms: as 'directly democratic' (Rochon,1982), 'grass-roots' (Gundelach,1982) or 'de-

²² Definition of the state: The modern state consists of four major elements: the executive, legislative, administrative and judicial institutions. The key principles include a delimited territorial boundary, exclusive sovereignty within those boundaries and a central monopoly on the use of coercion (Poggi,1978).

differentiated' with a variety of 'modes of action' (Offe,1985). Offe distinguishes two aspects of such dominant 'modes of action' - the internal and the external. The internal mode of action is characterised by informality, discontinuity, context-sensitivity, egalitarianism and *ad hoc* decision-making. The external mode of action is characterised by 'unconventional' protest tactics, where single issues are articulated in largely symbolic, negative terms, and the movement's demands are presented as 'non-negotiable', or value-rational. The new social movement organisations seek to 'de-differentiate', i.e. by "the fusion of public and private roles, instrumental and expressive behaviour, community and organisation, and in particular a poor and at best transient demarcation between the roles of 'members' and formal 'leaders'" (Offe,1985:829).

New social movement theorists also differ in their views of the possible movement trajectories. 'Success' is interpreted by Offe (1985) in terms of modifying the established political system and the creation of new political institutions. He expects, however, only minor changes to the established political institutions because of the 'self-limiting radicalism' of these movements, and the fact that they operate both within and outside the established political structures. Others predict that the new movements will either decline (see Brand,1990, on the cyclical aspects of new social movements) or radically transform the nature of Western politics (e.g. Bahro,1986; Milbrath,1984). Still others (e.g. Klandermans,1990) argue that the new movements are becoming increasingly institutionalised within the established structures of political participation.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The ideological preoccupations of the early movement studies, and some new streams, restrict the options in social analysis and generate dangerous blind spots. One way of overcoming these restrictions is by de-emphasizing the (largely philosophical) questions of democracy and focussing on empirical questions of the types of organisational forms found within contemporary social movements. This is done by incorporating the wide range of views into a single empirical project, by adopting an inclusive definition of social movement, and by applying a relatively unobtrusive methodology that minimises interventions and maximises the capacity of the data 'to speak for itself'.

The definition adopted here allows for the study of the full range of organisational forms and the patterns of relations found between them. This is what is meant here by the organisational composition and structure of social movements. Such an inclusive study is also necessary for the integration of the diverse streams of movement theories. Such critical integration must involve following their diverse leads: studying the formalised core organisations as well as less formalised and more ephemeral movement bodies located at the 'soft fringes' of movements.

The theories reviewed above suggest some valuable concepts for studying movement organisations and their structure. McCarthy & Zald (1973) distinguish between movements, movement industries and movement sectors. They also distinguish between highly organised 'professional social movement organisations' (PSMO), which are similar to conventional pressure groups, and the more common 'social movement organisation' (SMO). The more

informal elements of social movement organisation are emphasized by Gerlach and Hine (1970) who argue that the Pentecostal and Black Power movements are made up of SPIN structures, i.e. segmented, polycephalous, interactive networks. The new social movement theorists, such as Offe (1985), maintain that modern movements are multi-dimensional and transfunctional; that their structure is polymorphous and fluid. The 'new' movements are characterised by informality, spontaneity and a low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation. Rothschild-Whitt (1976, 1979) and Mansbridge (1973, 1977, 1980), analyse new forms of organisation which are based on non-hierarchical, directly democratic structures. They label them 'directly-democratic' and 'participatory' and point to their specific non-bureaucratic form. Gundelach (1982), in a similar vein, analyses 'grass-roots' movement bodies in Denmark. Touraine (1985) and Castells (1983) look in some detail at informal networks and social circles which, in their view, constitute the essential part of social movements. In Australia, Doyle (1989) applies this approach in his analysis of the Queensland conservation movement which, as he argues, is made up of 'goal-webs' or 'palimpsests'²³.

All this insights will be utilised in the analysis of the organisational composition and structure of two Australian movements. Although the methodology (which is outlined in the next chapter) is largely derived from the resource mobilisation perspective, it allows for a broad and relatively unrestricted analysis of organisational patterns and profiles found in social movements.

²³ See page 66 of this thesis for discussion of this concept.

CHAPTER THREE: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A TRI-MODAL MODEL

1. INTRODUCTION

The objects of this chapter are to outline the tri-modal organisational model and to describe the theoretical and empirical application of each organisational mode.

The inspiration for the approach adopted here comes mainly from the resource mobilisation approach. From the resource mobilisation perspective social movements can be seen as an extension of institutionalised, conventional politics involving less formalised groups and less conventional forms of action. Resource mobilisation theorists focus more on the central organised core of the movement than its less organised and fluid 'fringes', but there is nothing in their approach that prevents a more balanced treatment of the various elements of movement structure, that is, from incorporation into the analysis of the less formalised bodies and social initiatives.

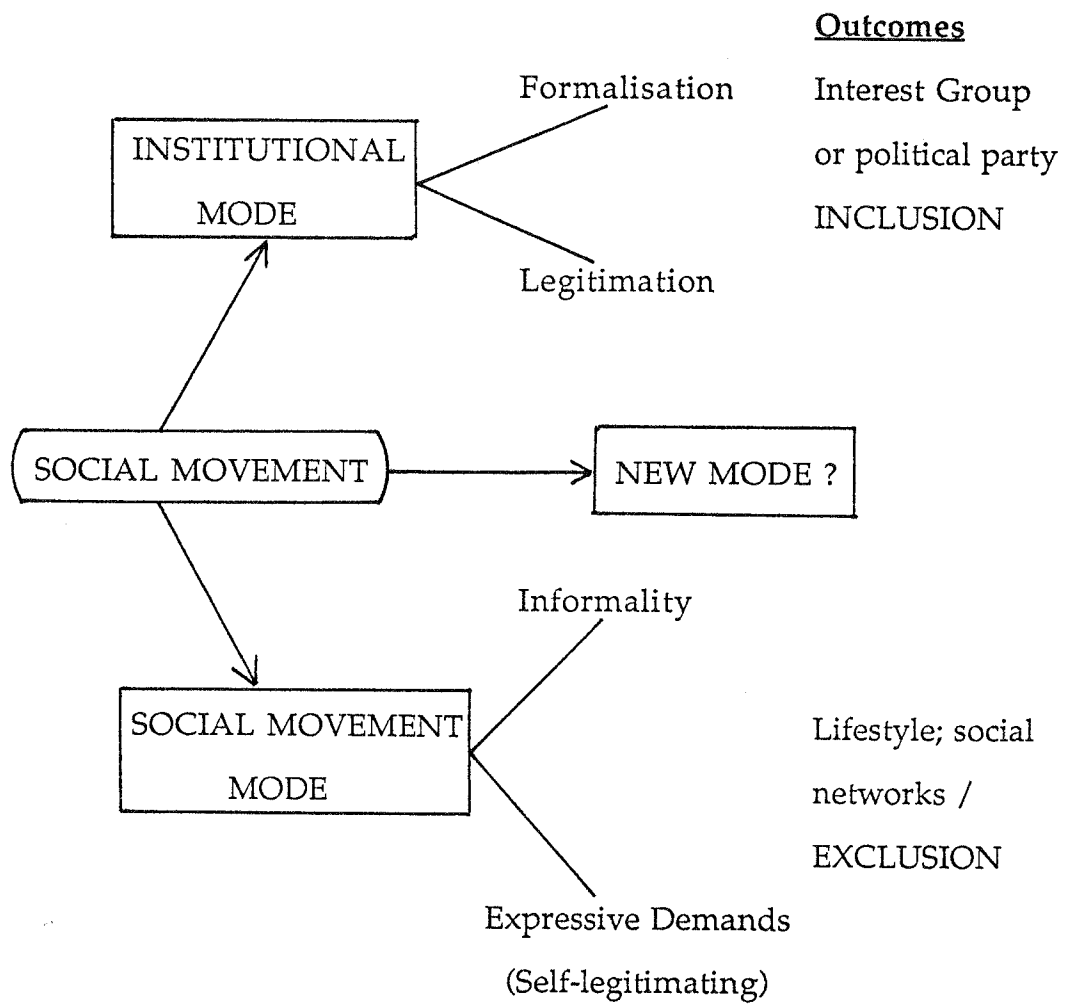
2. MODES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANISATION:

The organisational structure of a social movement may be defined, following Diani (1990:12), as "the complex of relations that connects specific groups or organisations which are active on the same issues and consider themselves to be part of the movement".

When analysed in more details using a 'structure-seeking' method, the organisational structure of the movements examined here appears to be tri-modal, that is, it is best described as involving three quite distinct modes of organisation. A mode of organisation is defined as a relatively coherent system of social relationships and forms of social action. Each mode of organisation is broadly identifiable with a particular focus of one of the main streams of theorising: resource mobilisation (Institutional Mode), action/identity (Social Movement Mode), and new social movement (New Mode).

These three modes may also be seen as marking the possible paths of movement development. The predominance of one mode over the others may result in different movement trajectories (see Fig. 3.1). A movement that develops a predominantly institutionalised and formalised profile will tend to enjoy the advantages of access to state resources and government decision-making. This may further marginalise the informal, non-institutionalised section of the movement. Conversely, a social movement that operates predominantly in the social movement mode may have a stronger collective opposition to institutionalisation and may focus on socio-cultural, rather than directly political, activities. Such a focus may lead it further away from the conventional political domain.

Fig 3.1: Modes of Organisation within a Developing Social Movement.



(a) The Institutional Mode

The conventional interpretation of movement development, derived from classical studies of Weber and Michels, stipulates that social movement groups become more formalised and organised as membership increases and the organisation grows older. Formalised decision-making procedures are introduced to deal with increasing complexity; the charismatic leaders are replaced by administrators and professional activists; membership and intra-movement communication are formalised; and a bureaucratic structure emerges. This leads to a general adaptation to the demands of conventional political channels.

The Weber/Michels model of social movement development predicts that social movement organisation will become increasingly formalised and bureaucratised as instrumental rationality is applied in order to attain social goals more efficiently. The social movement organisation is distinguished from other formal organisations by its goals - i.e. either externally oriented goals (i.e. the transformation of society) or internally oriented goals (i.e. the individual conversion of the members of the movement). The model predicts that (1) the goals will be increasingly matched with reformist strategies; (2) the organisational structure will become more oligarchical and bureaucratised; and (3) instrumental rationality will gradually replace substantive (i.e. value) rationality.

Pressures towards formalisation, according to the Weber/Michels model, increase as the social movement groupings move towards more instrumental goals and as membership grows (Curtis & Zurcher, 1973). Even during the initial period of a

movement's emergence, minimal forms of organisation are needed to aggregate the resources (money, capital, labour and value-commitments) for the articulation of the movement's demands. This process can be illustrated by some developments in the Tasmanian wilderness movement. The Southwest Tasmania Action Committee, for example, was largely responsible for the articulation of wilderness issues in Tasmania, following the loss of Lake Pedder. The desire for a larger membership base and more campaign funds brought about the transformation of this organisation into the Tasmanian Wilderness Society (and, subsequently, the Wilderness Society). This allowed the organisation to broaden the issues, broaden its membership base, attract greater resources and improve its standing within the general community. The conscious upgrading of its image through organised publicity, and the formalisation of its membership, helped build the organisation to where it is today - the second largest, and possibly the most successful, wilderness conservation organisation in Australia.

The resource mobilisation theorists argue that such developments benefit the movement and are therefore, inevitable. The core of a movement becomes as formalised and bureaucratic as any other 'conventional' political organisation, and bureaucratisation is a necessary condition for the success of the movement. Gamson (1975) demonstrates this in his analysis of the rates of success among a sample of 467 movement organisations operating in the United States between 1800 and 1945. Success, according to his study, is correlated with organisation.

Some resource mobilisation studies, however, can be criticised for their limited scope. The best known empirical studies have been concerned with: (a) single organisations within particular

movements²⁴ ; (b) a selection of organisations within particular social movements²⁵ ; (c) particular processes or activities²⁶ and (d) the social composition of participants in particular types of activities.²⁷

However, the general trend towards greater institutionalisation and formalisation is a world-wide phenomenon. Lowe & Goyder (1983), studying British groups, and Zald (1987), analysing American movements, both noted the increasing institutionalisation, formalisation and professionalisation of social movements in terms of increased paid staff and an increased emphasis on expertise - particularly in the fields of legal, public relations, journalistic and scientific skills. They also found a strong correlation between staff numbers and the extent of contacts with government organisations. However, while most movement groups studied were formalised to greater or lesser extents, this formalisation was never thorough. Formal elections, for example, were used to ratify, rather than select, their leadership.

The Weber/Michels model of social movement development, envisaging the movement's inevitable formalisation, is not entirely adequate. Not all sections of a movement follow the path of increasing formalisation and bureaucratisation. While some movement bodies become more formalised, other constituent groups retain their informality and transience. For example, the low level of formalism is found in local 'action groups' such as the

²⁴ Devall (1970) and Faich & Gale (1971), for example, focus on the Sierra Club in the U.S.A.

²⁵ Parkin (1968) and Cotgrove (1982) look at the anti-nuclear movement and the environment movement in the United Kingdom respectively.

²⁶ For example, Tilly (1978) focuses on protests; Molotch (1979) and Lowe & Morrison (1984) focus on the use of the mass media.

²⁷ For example, Scaminaci & Dunlap (1986) focus on participants in selected protests.

Southwest Tasmania Action Committee (Australian wilderness movement). It held irregular meetings with the membership, had 'self-appointed' staff, and was 'action' oriented, i.e. constantly oriented towards gaining media exposure. Its operation was often on an *ad hoc* basis and its public statements were non-programmatic in character (see Easthope & Holloway, 1989). Other examples of such semi- and informal structures include the Peace Fleet (anti-nuclear movement in Australia), the citizens' groups in the Netherlands, and the "citizens' initiatives" in West Germany (see Rochon, 1982; Papadakis, 1984).²⁸ It can also be argued that, while the core of the movement may become more institutionalised, the periphery may be SPINning, i.e. retaining its informality and loose integration. The core of the movement may also become more institutionalised in the process of maintaining and developing its access to conventional decision-making processes. From the other side, the state may seek to formalise relations with the movement in order to subvert or control the movement's agenda and activities. This process is sometimes termed 'incorporation' and may be stimulated from both within and outside the movement. This can range from informal networking between the members of a political party and the movement, to more formal integration through government committees, peak councils, etc.

The process of formalisation, even if it occurs, is not straightforward, as shown by the study of the Wilderness Society. The transformation of the Wilderness Society in Australia, following its success in preventing the flooding of the Franklin River in

²⁸ See the trajectories of anti-nuclear movements - Saunders & Summy, 1986; Meier, 1988; Young, 1986; Price, 1982; Nelkin & Pollack, 1981.

Tasmania, illustrates the complexity of such change. It involves pressures and counter-pressures that prevent complete formalisation and bureaucratisation (see Holloway, 1986a). ²⁹ Devall (1970) also suggests that, while the Sierra Club became quite formalised, it still retained what he calls a "consultative oligarchy", i.e. a decision-making core that is dominated by informal elite networks rather than formalised officialdom.

Zald & Ash (1966) and Curtis & Zurcher (1973) argue that the extent of formalisation depends on the environment of the social movement organisation, and that different types of goals require different organisational forms. Personal change movements, for example, in contrast with institutional change movements, tend to be decentralised and exclusive. Also, certain types of organisations are more likely to adopt the characteristics associated with the Institutional Mode because of their age, size or goals. Older, larger and more instrumentally oriented organisations are more formalised than new, small and expressive bodies. Political parties, for instance, tend to adopt, from the outset, formalised structures, which include paid positions, a formal hierarchy, branch divisions, both elected and appointed officials, a formal constitution and regularised communication channels with the general membership.

²⁹ While the Weber/Michels hypotheses suggest that social organisation shifts towards increasing bureaucratisation my previous thesis shows that a dynamic tension operates between competing forms of organisation. This leads to shifts from one form to another according to circumstances and strategies. Maintaining the three-way tension between charismatic, directly-democratic and bureaucratic modes of organisation allows the social movement organisation to enjoy the advantages of each mode, such as the leadership of the charismatic mode, the individual participation of the directly-democratic mode, and the systematic goal achievement of the bureaucratic mode of organisation. (Holloway, 1986a; see also Kitschelt, 1986; Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988).

This enhances their effectiveness in competing with institutionalised politics (see Walker, 1986). By contrast, recreational groups, such as the Sierra Club (U.S.) or the various bushwalking clubs in Australia, tend to limit the formalisation of their structure by maintaining honorary positions and decentralised branches. This helps to maximise the involvement of the membership in recreational activities. Older and larger movement organisations have a greater tendency to maintain 'closed' oligarchies. The Nature Conservancy in the U.K. and the Audobon Society in the U.S. are good examples of this (Lowe & Goyder, 1983).³⁰

Politically oriented groups also tend to be highly formalised and use institutionalised processes. The United Tasmania Group, for example, used the electoral processes to challenge the established political elites in Tasmania. They presented their demands in the form of policy programs and used 'conventional' electioneering techniques. Other 'moderate' conservation organisations, such as the Tasmanian Conservation Trust, also participate in the state's bureaucratic processes, such as environmental impact enquiries, to present their demands. When it is possible to present this information in a legally-constituted inquiry the movement groups will often apply for, and receive, financial assistance from the state, which helps offset legal and other costs. This was the case with organisations participating in the inquiry into the future of

³⁰ Also, the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society of New Zealand, which was established in 1923, is typical of such an older and larger organisation. It has a membership of 52,704, but combines both expressive (recreational) and instrumental (political) bodies and activities. The organisational structure of its head office is highly formalised but its branches are decentralised and vary in size and degree of formalisation (R.F.B.P.S.N.Z. 1988 Annual Report).

Tasmania's forests, held in 1988. Organisations, such as the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Wilderness Society and the Tasmanian Conservation Trust, regularly submit material to government inquiries and often become formally incorporated into the decision-making structure. They receive annual grants for their work and have regular 'peak council' meetings with federal government representatives. This process can stimulate the centralisation of the movement bodies and give them access to institutional resources, thus reducing the need for 'grass-roots' participation.³¹

Institutionalisation tends to be 'legitimated' by reference to wider community interests (economic, social or cultural). By adopting a more formalised structure and a more moderate stance with respect to goal-implementation, movement organisations may tap into state resources, such as annual grants, while maintaining the movement's radical and reformist goals. For example, the Wilderness Society adopted a 'conservative' and 'respectable' facade in order to attract wider public support and to negotiate with the established political elites in their own normative terms (see Brown and Figgis in Mosley & Messer, 1984). At the same time, the Wilderness Society's activists maintained their radical stand on the issues of logging and hydro-electric developments in wilderness and National Estate areas.

³¹ see also Zald (1987) who argues this with respect to American movements.

(b) The Social Movement Mode

The Social Movement Mode represents the other pole of the organisational dichotomy.³² It refers to informal, ad hoc, transient structures that stimulate individual initiative and spontaneity. The general orientation is towards immediate, expressive actions that say more about sentiments than interests and strategies. The Social Movement Mode eschews formalisation, role differentiation (except for short periods of time) and long-term strategies.

'Exemplary' organisations such as some types of alternative-lifestyle communes often follow this model, but soon collapse because of their introversion, social isolation and decentralisation. They are made up of poorly 'crystalised' or transient structures. Integration is achieved informally through friendship networks, and cohesion is maintained through normative appeals to common values and ideologies. The dominant orientation is towards expressive activities. Role differentiation is low; and 'grass-roots' or 'directly democratic' methods are consistently used in decision-making.

Such characteristics attract attention of the leading action/identity theorists. They tend to focus on the periphery of the movement, emphasizing the non-organisational forms and expressive, identity-oriented actions. They study identity formation and the development of social networks, maintaining that movement actions reflecting the intentions of the actors are more important than organisational dynamics. The organisational core of the movement is often ignored and regarded as being too easily

³² Starr (1979-in Jenkins, 1983:542) uses this term in accounting for the different fates of the social movements of the 1960s.

aligned with institutionalised politics. Touraine (1981,1985), for example, looks in that way at the student revolts, urban protests, the anti-war mobilisations of the 1960s and 1970s, and the anti-nuclear movement of the 1980s. He sees these mobilisations as cultural-political expressions, articulating the symbols and alternative lifestyles of the 1960's generation, rather than directly political challenges. The development of formal organisations within a movement is seen as threatening its spontaneity, its forthright critique of existing institutions, and its existence as a specific form of political participation.

Gerlach & Hine's (1970) SPIN model (segmented, polycephalous, integrated networks) is a typical description of the Social Movement Mode. The key aspects of the SPIN structure include: (1) decentralisation, i.e. the movement has a polycephalous leadership structure, which creates certain problems with respect to movement unity and coordination of strategies; (2) segmentation, i.e. the movement is composed of a great variety of relatively small groupings, which leads to problems of strategic and ideological unity which can only be achieved through social networks (rather than through formalised decision-making structures); and (3) reticulate character, i.e. the movement is made up of inter-connecting social networks and cells. Recruitment is initiated by committed individuals who use their existing social networks. Commitment is acquired through a conversion experience, similar to religious conversion, and the convert is given a new conceptual framework in order to re-interpret the world. Opposition from society at large helps solidify this commitment.

Dwyer (in Freeman,1983:148-161) suggests that this model of movement structure can be applied to the anti-nuclear movement

in the U.S.A. He argues that this movement exhibits a segmented structure in that it is "composed of a great variety of localised groups or cells which are essentially independent, but which can combine to form larger configurations or divide to form smaller units" (Gerlach & Hine, 1970:41). The anti-nuclear movement also contains parts of other movements, such as the wilderness conservation movement, which includes such major organisations as the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth and the Audobon Society. The movement is also 'polycephalous'. Its national leaders are described as roving ambassadors or travelling 'evangelists' who help unite disparate social networks, and who formulate the movement's ideology, through public speaking, publishing, and giving testimonies in public enquiries (Dwyer, 1983:151-152; see also Price, 1982).

Doyle (1989) argues that the Queensland conservation movement operates in the Social Movement Mode. It can be better understood in terms of social networks, 'goal-webs' or 'palimpsests' than in terms of the organisational analysis posited by the resource mobilisation theorists. The palimpsest is made up of individuals, who are linked in social networks that share common goals. They also include voluntary groups, which exhibit greater durability than the social networks. The highest level is the organisation, which differs from the voluntary group in that it is more professionalised. The final level is the entire social movement. Doyle (1987) also argues that 'consensus decision-making' is common on all levels; that the mode of presentation, 'the medium', is more important than the context of the movement's goals; and that there is no common goal uniting the movement as a whole (although the movement may coalesce around particular campaigns from time to time).

The advantages of the Social Movement Mode include a high level of voluntary participation and a high level of commitment to consensus decision-making. However, such consensus decision-making severely constrain the responsiveness of the movement. This was demonstrated during the Three Mile Island anti-nuclear protests in the United States where division, uncertainty and friction were created by the slowness of collective decision-making processes (see Barkan,1979).

Similar problems also emerged during the Franklin Blockade in Tasmania (see Runciman,1985; Runciman *et al*,1986). Overall co-ordination was maintained during the Blockade by the centralised organisation of the Wilderness Society in Hobart. The Wilderness Society used a strategy that proved effective by the providential announcement of federal elections. This allowed the protests to be terminated for political rather than organisational reasons.

The protests along the Franklin and Gordon Rivers were facilitated by small-scale 'affinity groups' whose role was to socialise and motivate participants in integrated, small-scale actions. The use of the media was coordinated both from the action sites and the Hobart head-office. The tensions that were created between the three centres of decision-making - the Wilderness Society headquarters in Hobart, the Strahan base-camp and the upriver camp - largely evolved out of the different organisational structures and different orientations within these centres.³³ Some upriver participants were members of the Movement for a New Society whose primary

³³ While the upriver groups were essentially expressively oriented, the Wilderness Society headquarters in Hobart was concerned foremost with political goals and strategies. The Strahan base-camp was, in some sense, an intermediary between the other two.

interest was in direct action as an expression of their general critique of society. The Wilderness Society's core activists, by contrast, were more interested in the immediate political goal of the Blockade, i.e. in preventing the flooding of the Franklin River.

There was also a marked difference in the organisational structure of the upriver camps and the Wilderness Society headquarters. The upriver camps were based on 'affinity groups' that emphasized grass-roots, non-hierarchical decision-making. The Hobart organisation, by contrast, based its activities on informal and formal hierarchical structures.

The Franklin River Blockade has been presented here as a good example of the characteristics, and the advantages and limitations, of the Social Movement Mode. This Mode is particularly effective in mobilising public participation through informal, individual or group action. 'Affinity groups' generate high levels of commitment and motivation among participants. These mobilisations, however, can only be maintained for a short period of time. The Institutional Mode provides the more durable, differentiated role structure for mobilising resources and directing long-term campaigns.

The Social Movement Mode tends to be either self-legitimated by reference to the inherent logic of expressive activities, or legitimised in terms of a generalised opposition to the status quo. It is seldom normatively justified through the collective affirmation of any consistent positive goal, as has been argued by Pakulski (1991) and Doyle (1987). The ease with which collective identity can be generated in terms of 'anti-' sentiments is clearly displayed in large gatherings of representatives of different parts of the green movement. For example, the Getting Together conference, which

was held in Sydney in 1986, stimulated much collective sentiment about the state of the world, but splintered immediately on strategic questions. Subsequent gatherings of representatives of the environment movement have met with similar results.

The Social Movement Mode is also highly adaptive, allows experimentation with tactics, generates subgroup competitiveness, and reduces the vulnerability of the movement to suppression or co-optation by authorities. Conversely, the small size of the constituent groupings tends to reduce their longevity because of their ad hoc, informal characteristics. To what extent, and in what aspects, the movement adopts the social movement mode has to be examined empirically.

(c) The New Mode:

The New Mode retains some of the characteristics of the other two modes while, at the same time, being distinctive in its style of operating and structural configuration. As previously stated, one of the main advantages of the Social Movement Mode is its mobilising potential, whereas the main advantage of the Institutional Mode is in the efficient co-ordination of strategies and resource-use.

In all these respects the New Mode differs from the previously discussed modal structures. The New Mode groups appear to be more permanent than the typical Social Movement Mode groups and networks. At the same time, however, they are more flexible than the typical social movement organisations. This means that they can adjust their form and strategies according to particular situations and can mediate between the other two modes - the Social Movement and Institutional Modes. Good examples of such bodies

are the Wilderness Society branches and the People for Nuclear Disarmament groups. Typical actions of New Mode groups include aspects of the Franklin River Blockade (the upriver camps) and protests against American military bases in Australia. A more detailed portrayal of the New Mode bodies and actions can be found in chapter seven.

The New Mode refers to the organisational characteristics and types of activities aptly described by Offe (1985) - see Fig. 2.1. The key features of this Mode include informality, spontaneity and low degrees of horizontal and vertical differentiation. The movement groups adopting this Mode base their protests on demands, which have a strategic (rather than expressive) character, and are expressed in predominantly negative and symbolic terms.

There have been several attempts to link this new mode of organisation with Weber's 'value-rational' orientation, 'alternative institutions' and 'contra-bureaucratic organisations' that "self-consciously reject the norms of rational-bureaucracy" (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979:509; see also Satow, 1975; Waters, 1989). Such organisations have sometimes been called 'collectivist-democratic organisations' (CDOs). They can be contrasted with bureaucratic organisations along eight dimensions: authority, rules, social control, social relations, recruitment and advancement, incentive structure, social stratification and differentiation. With a minimal division of labour and minimisation of status differentiation, authority and decision-making resides with the collectivity as a whole. As rules are also minimised social control has to rely upon personalistic or moralistic appeals. Remuneration is also limited, so incentives are normative or solidary (see Rothschild-Whitt, 1976, 1979).

The New Mode groups are, in many ways, similar to the cadre-style of organisation advocated by Lenin. Such organisation was used by Trotskyist groups in the U.S. during the 1930s and, later, by sections of the civil rights movement, especially the SNCC, in the 1960s (Piven & Cloward, 1977). This type of organisation was also used by the International Workers of the World campaign in the western U.S. prior to World War II. The effectiveness of the cadre-style organisation is very much dependent on inter-organisational alliances, as will be shown in this thesis.³⁴

The New Mode can also be linked with the notion of the 'new social movements' which are distinguished from the 'old' movements by their location in historical processes (the emerging post-industrial society) and their concern with new issues (ecology, democracy, social justice and the distribution of produce in world terms). They are concerned with quality-of-life, environmental, peace and justice issues, use innovative repertoires of protest, and are an expression of post-World War II lifestyles. They are orientated towards cultural rather than directly political change, and attract a new social constituency that cuts across class boundaries.

The new social movement theorists are ambiguous about the organisational structure of these new movements. Some theorists (e.g. Gundelach, 1982, 1984) claim that they are made up of new organisational forms, such as the grass-roots or participatory bodies, as already described. Other theorists, such as Offe (1985), claim that the new social movements engender complex and variable organisational structures, which include both formal organisations and informal networks. Organisationally there are attempts to

³⁴ My thanks go to J.C. Jenkins for raising these points.

counter specialisation and status differentiation through de-differentiation, job-rotation and the dissemination of information. Integration is attained through appeals to general values and a sense of global crisis. Social bonds and motivation are boosted through directly-democratic decision-making processes.

Maintaining the New Mode, however, is severely constrained by the exigencies of time, equality and emotional intensity.

When groups try to make their decisions in a face-to-face, non-hierarchical, leaderless way, with the ideal that each person should have an equal voice in the decision: (1) The decision takes longer to make. (2) The issues become personalized. (3) Ingrained inequalities often cannot be evened out. (Mansbridge, 1973:355; see also Mansbridge, 1977,1980). ³⁵

Other new social movement theorists prefer to focus on 'movement networks' (Melucci, 1984) or 'social movement areas' (Donati,1984), rather than the organised core of the movements; i.e. they focus on the webs of informal inter-personal and inter-group relationships found on the periphery of the movements.

³⁵ Decision-making in formal organisations follows strict rules and procedures, with each decision being based on previous decisions and with a view to achieving the goals of the organisation with the greatest efficiency; decision-making in informal groups tends to be ad hoc, unpredictable and based on effectual or status considerations. Mansbridge and Rothschild-Whitt have explored the decision-making processes within groups midway between these two extremes, groups that attempt to reach decisions with a minimum of status differentiation (or 'de-differentiation' as Offe calls it). This third type of group or organisation attempts to create new norms, challenging the way decisions are made in the broader institutions of society (see Offe,1985; Touraine,1985) and seek to create egalitarian, 'directly democratic' organisations (Rothschild-Whitt,1976,1979; Holloway & Easthope,1985).

'Movement networks' differ from traditional political organisations in that they resist formalisation and inclusion into the conventional political system, and are identifiable in that they share a movement culture and identity which is expressed through the everyday life of the participants (Melucci,1984:828-829).

The New Mode is either legitimated by reference to the new values of the emerging post-industrial society or by reference to a 'new' political opening between the public and private spheres (i.e. between the state institutions and the market-regulated, privately controlled or voluntarily organised realm of society - Keane,1988). The participants prefer to adopt direct, participatory forms of action rather than the indirect or representative forms of conventional participation. Use of the New Mode also depends on the public's orientation towards the protest form of political articulation. Public acceptance of this form has been seen as important in explaining the relative success of the direct action groups within the Netherlands and has brought some theorists to question the functional adequacy of the established political institutions (Rochon,1982; Berger, 1979).

This raises a more general question of the relationship between the movements and conventional forms of socio-political organisation. Offe (1985) suggests that one of the major advantages of the new movements, and the new mode of organisation, is their liminality,³⁶ that is, the intermediate position somewhere between

³⁶ Liminality represents "the midpoint of transition in a status-sequence between two positions" (Turner,1974:237); it is a time and place between all rules of law, politics and religion; where "the cognitive schemata that give order to everyday life no longer apply, but are, as it were, suspended - in ritual symbolism perhaps even shown as destroyed or dissolved" (Turner, 1982:84). Liminality can also be described as 'anti-structural', i.e. it represents the latent system of potential alternatives and is the precursor of innovative normative forms (Turner,1982:28)

the institutions of civil society and the state. However, he also suggests that they are likely to be absorbed back into the conventional dichotomised politics, thus eliminating the present triangular arrangement and re-establishing conventional political structures and cleavages.

3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANISATIONAL MODES

The three organisational modes coexist in any large movement; they transpire in different organisational forms and patterns of action, and their 'mix' determines movement development along either of three major paths charted above. Such development is never exclusively in one direction. It always includes, but with varying intensity, the other modes of organisation and other paths of development (see Fig. 3.1). The extent of this differentiation, the relationships between the various modes, and the developmental path of the movement needs to be examined in each particular case.

The question arises as to distribution of these modes within a social movement. The social movement literature is ambiguous on this question. The first step towards answering it involves the empirical examination of *a possibly wide range* of social movement organisations, i.e. the core organisations as well as the less formalised peripheral bodies, within the wilderness conservation and the anti-nuclear movements in Australia. The definition of organisation adopted here is very inclusive: any movement body with a name/label is treated as an element of the organisational structure, regardless of the level of institutionalisation and formalisation. In that way the bias towards formal organisations,

frequently found in studies inspired by the resource mobilisation perspective, is minimised.

Right at the outset, one has to signal three complicating factors. First, as movements change over time, any one-off survey risks capturing a 'snapshot' of the dynamic process. Studies of this type have to take into account the propensity for movements to change their form and structure. In fact, movements may oscillate between different modes, according to campaign phases and political opportunity structures. This oscillation has already been suggested in the analysis of the organisational transformation of the Wilderness Society (Holloway, 1986a). There is therefore a need for a systematic examination of movement trajectories through longitudinal studies. Without such longitudinal studies the dominant trends can hardly be discerned.

The second complicating factor is that the organisational modes may vary situationally. Contacts with the state authorities may stimulate more institutionalisation and formalisation of the movement's activities and structures. Expanding contacts with other movement bodies may lead to more formalisation. Increasing institutionalisation may also arise from a strategy of regularising contact with the state in order to improve access to political decision-making.

The third complicating factor is that different parts of a movement may be developing in differing directions. It has been suggested, for instance, that the core of a movement may become more formalised while the peripheral groups are SPINning, or maintaining their informal structures. This, also, may be more typical of some movements than others. For example, an examination of the anti-nuclear movement's history suggests that it

is more resistant to institutionalisation than the wilderness conservation movement. The latter appears to be more inclined to institutionalisation and even bureaucratisation.

In order to highlight these problems and outline the framework for the study of the two movements, a brief historical outline is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR:

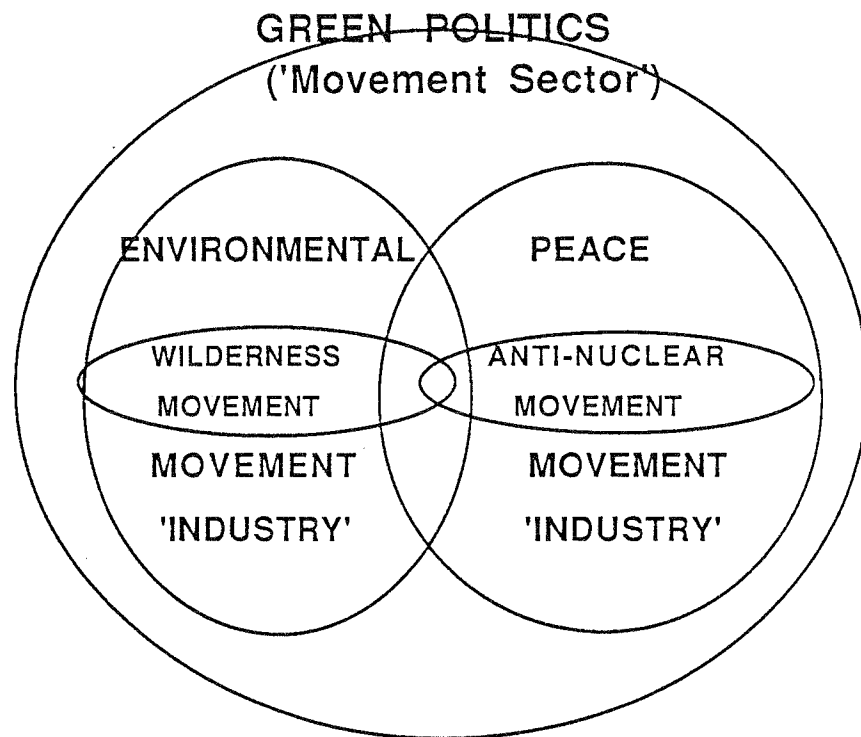
THE WILDERNESS AND ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENTS IN AUSTRALIA: SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT.

1. THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT SECTOR

The wilderness and anti-nuclear movements operate within a broad 'movement sector', which includes the entire, diverse area called 'green politics'. Within this sector, they form central parts of two 'social movement industries', respectively labelled here the peace and environmental movement 'industries' (see Fig. 4.1). The wilderness movement is part of the much broader environmental movement 'industry', which has dominated environmental politics in Australia for the past two decades. It has developed largely as a result of the general publicity and consciousness-raising brought about by the wilderness movement groups and actions in opposing logging in forests, mining in national parks and (in the case of Tasmania) hydro-electric developments.

The anti-nuclear movement is also part of the broader peace movement 'industry'. Peace activism has a history at least as long as the wilderness activism (about 100 years) but its mass character was largely triggered by the spread of nuclear weapons and the rising threat of nuclear confrontation throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Its mobilisation occurred mainly on the wave of anti-Viet Nam protests in the early 1970s.

Fig. 4.1. Diagrammatic Representation of the Movement Sector.



(a) The wilderness and environment movements

The environment movement in Australia largely owes its development to the raising of public support and the increasing attention being paid to wilderness conservation issues. Its mass character was generated by the first national conservation campaign in Australia - the save Lake Pedder campaign in the early 1970s. This campaign laid the organisational and political foundations of the wider movement. Branches of the Lake Pedder Action Committee were formed in all states, forming the basis for the subsequent

Wilderness Society. Its activists occupied leading positions in several environmental organisations. Consequently national multiple-issue organisations, such as the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF), focussed their attention on wilderness issues. The tactics used in earlier campaigns were refined and the repertoire was extended. Due to this vigorous growth both state and federal governments have found wilderness issues to be the dominant environmental issues on their political agendas.

The membership of the wilderness movement is broadly similar to the anti-nuclear movement. It has derived most of its members from the same social background as the peace movement, but its supporters and activists have come mainly from outdoor recreation clubs. The interests of these clubs have been directly translated into demands for wilderness protection through the extension of the national parks system in Australia (and Antarctica).

While other environmental issues, such as pollution and public transport, are also important parts of the environmental agenda, the national parks and wilderness issues have been central in the Australian movement. They have had a greater public appeal than other environmental issues, and have been directly translated into the political programs of governments. National parks and World Heritage areas have a positive, romantic, even escapist appeal that is lacking in other environmental issues, such as pollution (see McKenry, 1978). Wilderness issues are, consequently, more easily 'sold' to the general public, particularly in the form of attractive wilderness publications and television programs.

(b) the anti-nuclear and peace movements

While, in Australia, the growth of the anti-nuclear movement has provided the political base for the expanding Green movement in some parts of Europe, such as West Germany, in other parts, such as France, the politically-oriented Green movement has been based on the environment groups (see Nelkin & Pollak, 1981:124). In Australia the political stimulation and organisational foundation of Green politics has, more specifically, been through the wilderness movement, which has dominated the wider environment movement in Australia (see next section).

The Australian anti-nuclear movement forms a part of the wider peace movement. While the peace movement began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the opposition to uranium mining and the 'nuclear cycle' in Australia triggered the formation of a distinct anti-nuclear movement in the mid-1970s. This opposition was initially articulated by multi-issue environment groups such as the Australian Conservation Foundation and Friends of the Earth, and it centred around submissions to the Fox Enquiry into uranium mining in Australia in 1975. The adoption of a policy of opposition to the extension of mining by the Australian Labor Party, following this inquiry, muted opposition. However, this party policy was subsequently modified at the A.L.P. National Conference in 1984, thus provoking the mobilisation of mass protests, especially by disenchanted party supporters.

This change in government policy, and the publicity generated in the lead-up to the International Year of Peace (1986), fuelled the movement and led to the growth of a plethora of anti-

nuclear groups. Some 70% of anti-nuclear groups within the survey conducted in 1986 were formed after 1980 (whereas 70% of wilderness groups and organisations were formed prior to 1980) [see Tables 4.1 and 4.2].

Following the anti-Viet Nam or anti-conscription mobilisations of the early 70s the movement temporarily lost its momentum, but it re-emerged in the mid-80s on the wave of anti-nuclear protests, invigorated by opposition to French nuclear tests in the Pacific and visits by nuclear warships. This has been marked by large, mass demonstrations involving a wide range of groups, including the religious (such as the Baha'i Faith), the political (such as the Nuclear Disarmament Party), environmental (such as Greenpeace), and feminist groups.

A significant portion (28% in membership terms) of the anti-nuclear movement continues to be made up of member bodies and supporters of the environment movement. This overlap leads some observers to conclude that both movements merge into a single eco-pax movement stream (e.g. Pakulski, 1990). However, this does not appear to be the case in Australia. First, the historical development of the two movements is quite distinct. Secondly, the overlap is rather small - only 5% of environment groups make up the anti-nuclear movement. Thirdly, wilderness movement issues and anti-nuclear movement issues rarely substantively overlap³⁷.

³⁷ Uranium mining in Kakadu National Park is a significant anti-nuclear issue but has been dealt with, almost exclusively, as a wilderness issue by the wilderness movement.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WILDERNESS CONSERVATION MOVEMENT:

Although various conservation and recreational groups were involved in a variety of wilderness conservation issues prior to the 1970's, these issues were initiated by individuals or small groups and resulted in relatively brief, isolated campaigns. They did not develop into the continuing campaigns that mark the formation of a social movement. Nevertheless, it was these discrete actions that laid the legislative and cultural foundations for the emergence of the wilderness movement in the 1970s. These 'pre-movement factors' (Nelson,1974) also affected the development of the structure and strategies of the subsequent movement, as discussed later in this section.

Tasmanian developments in particular, have had a major influence on the formation of the distinct issue-agenda, the strategies and the organisational structures of the Australian wilderness movement. The first national wilderness conservation campaign began in Tasmania in the early 1970s to counter the proposal by the Hydro-Electric Commission to flood Lake Pedder. The national organisational structure which emerged in this campaign has contributed to the dominance of the movement by Tasmanian-based initiatives.

Much of the inspiration for the conservation campaigns also came from overseas, in particular, the United States. The world's first national park was founded at Yellowstone in 1872 and its proclamation inspired many conservation initiatives around the world. The first 'national parks' (actually state parks) in Australia were formed in N.S.W. in 1879 (Royal National Park), in South

Australia in 1891, in Victoria in 1892, in Queensland in 1906 and Tasmania in 1915 (Bowman,1979).

The earliest conservation campaigns in Australia were fragmented. They were initiated within each state by a few enthusiastic individuals located on the periphery of mainstream politics and committed to the conservation of particular sections of the Australian bush for recreational, scientific or economic (tourism) purposes. For example, in Tasmania, the three key activists who campaigned, almost single-handedly, for the formation of national parks in Tasmania were Gustav Weindorfer, Fred Smithies and E.T. Emmett. These individuals created their own support-base by founding the key outdoor recreation groups: the Hobart Walking Club (1929), the Northern Tasmania Alpine Club (1929) and the Launceston Walking Club (1946) (Shakel,1968).

Although, initially, these early campaigns drew upon previously established organisations, such as the Royal Society of Tasmania (founded in 1843), the Northern Tasmania Camera Club (1889) and the Tasmania Tourist Association (1893), they triggered the formation of new organisations, such as the outdoor recreation clubs already mentioned. Most of these groups initially formed state-based alliances in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The Western Australian Naturalists' Club was formed in 1924; the Federation of Bushwalking Clubs was formed in N.S.W. in 1932; the Federation of Victorian Walking Clubs was formed in 1934. This initiated the process of national coalescence and marked a shift of a different cultural orientation towards the Australian bush - from one of valuing the Australian bush in terms of exploitation to one based on appreciation of its non-economic, recreational and spiritual values.

The Tasmanian Tourist Association, based in Hobart, was the first voluntary association in Tasmania to be directly concerned with promoting the recreational and scenic values of wilderness. This Association was soon supported by other associations with conservation interests, such as the Royal Society of Tasmania, the Field Naturalists' Clubs and, later, the National Parks Association. By 1901, twelve flora and fauna reserves had been proclaimed, the most significant being a 300 acre area at Russell Falls, which was proclaimed in 1895 (Shakel,1968).

The idea of creating Tasmania's first national park, which was promoted by the local newspaper, was inspired by the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in the U.S.A. The Freycinet National Park and the National Park at Russell Falls were established in 1915. Organisations supporting their creation included the Royal Society of Tasmania, the Field Naturalists' clubs, the University of Tasmania, the Hobart City Council, the Fisheries Commissioners, the New Norfolk Council and the Australian Natives Association. Representatives of these bodies formed the National Park Association (Shakel,1968).

The nature of these bodies shows that conservation concerns originated within established institutions. Their political tactics also reflected their location within the socio-political establishment; they acted largely through direct lobbying of state government ministers rather than publicity campaigns. However, the second significant conservation campaign in Tasmania, which promoted the idea of forming a national park around Cradle Mt., was conducted by public meetings, lantern slide shows and use of the mass media. This campaign was also successful, with legislative protection of the Cradle Mt. area being passed in 1922.

Although very little has been written about the early development of the wilderness conservation movement around Australia, especially prior to the 1970s, most commentators agree that the present-day conservation movement developed organisationally from the late 1960s, with the outdoor recreational clubs providing its main membership base (see Davis,1981:109). The emergence of a nationally identifiable wilderness conservation movement did not occur until the early 1970's when the Hydro-Electric Commission proposed to flood Lake Pedder. Opposition to this proposal first arose when a Legislative Council enquiry was set up in 1967, but only two conservation and five recreational organisations submitted evidence. Following this, particularly from 1967 to 1973, there was a "very strong driving force for the creation of concern for conservation in Tasmania", especially among the bushwalking clubs. Consequently the number of conservation groups involved in the campaign expanded from two to eight by 1973 (Lake,1973:117).

An attempt to broaden the base of the movement was made with the formation of the United Tasmania Group - the world's first conservation-based political party. This party went on to field candidates in ten elections over a period of six years (1972-1977), but failed to gain parliamentary representation because "a significant proportion of Tasmanian conservationists are loathe to indulge in political means to achieve environmental ends". The young movement had a limited constituency - it was basically "confined to drawing its followers from the better educated and wealthier segments of society" (Lake,1973:119,126; see also Walker,1986).

As with the earlier conservation campaigns of the 1920s and 1930s the key group, the Lake Pedder Action Committee, mobilised

many established local, national and international organisations, including the Tasmanian Conservation Trust, the Australian Union of Students, the National Parks Association of NSW and Queensland, Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland, the conservation councils of South Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory, the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, the National Trust, the Australian Conservation Foundation, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (I.U.C.N.) and various bushwalking clubs (*Lake Pedder Committee of Enquiry, Final Report, 1974*).

The key constituent groups of the movement varied in organisational form, from the United Tasmania Group and the highly formalised Tasmanian Conservation Trust (founded in 1968) to the informal Lake Pedder Action Committee (formed in 1971). The Lake Pedder Action Committee was marked by its "lack of an inflexible hierarchy" and the utilisation of the recreational networks within the bushwalking clubs. The Committee set out to mobilise Australia's first national conservation campaign and "certainly led to the greater commitment to 'activist' methods by more and more conservationists" (Lake, 1973:122,129).

Following the subsequent failure to save Lake Pedder, a cadre of activists formed, in 1974, a media-oriented pressure group called the South-West Tasmania Action Committee. This Committee laid the organisational foundation for the creation of the Tasmanian Wilderness Society. Today, the Wilderness Society and the Australian Conservation Foundation comprise, in membership terms, a third of the wilderness movement.

Although the movement failed to prevent the flooding of Lake Pedder, it did, after a seven-year campaign (1976-1983), prevent

the inundation of a major river system, the Franklin River. This was followed by more sophisticated campaigns for the establishment of wilderness areas in other parts of Australia, and resulted in semi-formal alliances between the major wilderness groups during nationally co-ordinated campaigns.

Between 1975 and 1985 the general public's support for wilderness protection grew considerably. This was reflected in (1) the growing membership of nature conservation bodies, which stood at 250,000 members in 1985 (*Australia's National Estate*, 1985:8); (2) the large proportion of the general public concerned about the nature conservation of flora and fauna (20% - Australian Bureau of Statistics Report, 1986); and (3) the rising number of visitors to national parks (34% of the general public - Australian Bureau of Statistics Report, 1986).

The similarity in the membership of conservation organisations and those visiting national is reflected in their common political interests. About half of the bushwalkers and members of the movement have tertiary qualifications and professional occupations, and the most numerous are those aged between 30 to 39 (see Australian Conservation Foundation Newsletter, March 1984; Meldgaard, 1986; Turner, 1979; Holloway, 1986b). This profile is also very similar to the membership of conservation and outdoor recreation organisations overseas³⁸.

Judging from the titles of groups and organisations listed in the Australian Conservation Foundation's *Greenbook* in 1978, which is a directory of all the environment groups in Australia, only a small number of organisations were primarily interested in

³⁸ for the United States see Faich & Gale, 1971; for New Zealand see Booth, 1987.

wilderness conservation. Apart from six major conservation organisations, including the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society, the only other groups in the wilderness conservation movement at that time were some bushwalking clubs and national parks associations. Other types of groups participated sporadically in particular campaigns, but only where their particular interests were involved (e.g. speleological groups have interests in limestone areas).

As Davis (1981) points out, although there are 1158 organisations listed in the Australian Conservation Foundation's 1978 *Greenbook*, estimating the membership of the entire movement is difficult, because it fluctuates with particular campaigns. The movement has the ability to mobilise both voluntary workers and resources very rapidly when the need arises. The 1988 survey, based on the Australian Conservation Foundation's 1986 *Green Pages Directory of Environment Groups in Australia*, shows a considerable growth in the movement in recent years with about 150 organisations declaring a primary interest in wilderness conservation. The membership of the Australian Conservation Foundation has grown from 8,400 in 1980 to 17,200 in 1989; and the Wilderness Society membership has grown from 1,000 to 10,700 over the same period. Staffing from 1980 to 1987 had also grown: from 18 to 35 in the Australian Conservation Foundation, and from 1 to 34 in the Wilderness Society. The expanding staff numbers and increased membership is reflected in the growing institutionalisation and formalisation of the major groups within the wilderness movement.

The dramatic organisational growth of the movement in Australia in the 1980s is similar to trends overseas. For example,

from 1966 to 1977 the Sierra Club in the U.S.A. grew from 44,584 to 178,402 members and the Audobon Society grew from 43,940 to 286,540 members. In the United Kingdom the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds grew from 31,738 to 244,841 over the same period. There has been a parallel growth in staffing in conservation organisations - the Sierra Club grew from 2 to 85 full-time staff between 1962 and 1977; Friends of the Earth staff increased from 17 in 1972 to 37 in 1977. Budgets have similarly expanded. Between 1970 and 1975 the Wilderness Society's (United States) budget expanded from \$250,000 to \$1,000,000, and the Environmental Defense Fund budget expanded from \$11,608 to \$1,300,000. (Sandbach,1980)

Paralleling this growth, legislative and administrative change in Australia was brought about by the establishment of national parks authorities - N.S.W. (1967), Tasmania (1970), South Australia (1972), Victoria (1975) and Queensland (1975). (Sandbach,1980; Bowman,1979).

Table 4.1. Formation Dates of Wilderness Movement Groups (Nos.)³⁹.

	TAS.	N.S.W.	VIC.	QU.	S.A.	W.A.	TOTAL
< 1945		1	2			1	4
1945 - 1959		4	2	2	1		9
1960 - 1969	2	4	3	9	2	4	24
1970 - 1979	5	9	3	6	2	2	27
1980 -	4	10	4	7	2	3	30
	11	28	14	24	7	10	94
						+ (no date)	8
							<u>102</u>

³⁹ The procedures used for selecting groups and organisations is discussed on page 114.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT:

The first public anti-war protests occurred during the Crimean War (1854-56) against the intervention of the British in Sudan (1885). The first peace group to be formed in Australia was the Peace and Humanity Society (1900). A significant part of the membership in these first peace groups were Quakers who had emigrated from Britain to Australia. Some groups were formed as extensions of their counterparts overseas. Branches of the London Peace Society were formed in Australia in the 1900s, with the initial branch being formed in Melbourne in 1905. This society was "predominantly middle class and Christian in character" and predominantly women; each group had less than a 100 members (Saunders & Summy, 1986:16).

Overall the development of the peace movement in Australia follows international patterns and can be divided in to seven stages:

- 1) protests prior to World War I;
- 2) opposition to conscription and overseas service during World War I;
- 3) the world disarmament campaign of the 1920s and 1930s;
- 4) the 'ban the bomb' campaign from the late 1940s to the 1960s;
- 5) the anti-Viet Nam War campaigns and opposition to conscription;
- 6) opposition to uranium mining in Australia;
- 7) opposition to the nuclear arms race; (following Young, 1986, and Saunders & Summy, 1986).

With the introduction of compulsory military service in 1911, protests arose from pacifists, socialists and trade unions. In 1912 the Quaker-based Australian Freedom League was formed to oppose

compulsory military service and, by 1914, it had attracted 55,000 members but the movement remained fairly fragmented with many different peace groups emerging at this time. An attempt to unify the movement was made with the formation of the Australian Peace Alliance. It was made up of churchmen, freethinkers, anti-conscription groups, women's groups, church groups, workers' groups and left-wing political groups.

In 1915, two major women's peace groups were formed: the Women's Peace Army and Sisterhood of International Peace. The latter was transformed into the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1920. It still exists today and is the longest surviving peace group in Australia. Women's groups, at this time, were notable for their use of dramatic protest tactics. Although few women's groups managed to survive more than a few years, they have always been a significant section of the peace movement.

There were some activities within the peace movement during the period of German militarisation in the 1930s but this soon collapsed with the advent of World War II. After the War, the Australian Peace Council was established under the control of the Communist Party of Australia. Both organisations were banned in 1950, but many of the major peace groups active today can still be traced back, organisationally, to this Council (Saunders & Summy, 1986).

Following the Melbourne Peace Congress in 1959, the nuclei of permanent state bodies were formed, incorporating 'international cooperation and disarmament' in their titles. A branch of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was formed in Melbourne In 1960, following its establishment in Britain. Branches in the other states were formed soon after. CND was made up of predominantly

middle class youth organisations that had a predilection for 'direct action' tactics. Some branches of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) also supported this campaign and, for the first time, the peace movement acquired a mass character.

Following mass demonstrations in the United States against the Viet Nam War in 1969, a major peace conference was held in Canberra to initiate the Australian contribution to the moratorium campaign. The main protest tactic used during this period was mass demonstrations, including one that attracted 70,000 people in Melbourne in 1970. Following the decision of the Australian Government to withdraw Australian troops from Viet Nam in 1971 and the election of the Australian Labor Party in 1972, the peace movement went rapidly into decline.

The anti-nuclear movement was formed in the mid 1970s, initially with the purpose of opposing uranium mining in Australia. It was composed of a wider range of groups than the 'old' anti-war stream. It included conservationists, socialists, anarchists, human rights supporters and pacifists, as well as minority political parties (including the United Tasmania Group). Some multi-issue environment organisations were particularly active at this time on anti-nuclear issues, including Friends of the Earth, an international organisation, and the Australian Conservation Foundation. Consequently this brought together environment and peace movement groups for the first time.

In 1982 the ALP drastically watered down its opposition to uranium mining and this change triggered concerted protests and accusations of a 'sell-out'. In 1984 the Nuclear Disarmament Party was formed around a 'charismatic' rock-and-roll singer, Peter Garrett, to gain half-a-million votes in the Federal elections some six

months later. The party subsequently split up with the attempted take-over by another political party, the Socialist Workers Party (Valentine in Jennett & Stewart,1989).

The present-day movement has been described as "more widely-dispersed and community-based" than earlier movements (Saunders & Summy,1986:49) and has a highly decentralised regional structure. Movement actions are loosely coordinated in each state by People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND) groups and activists. PND groups in N.S.W. evolved out of the International Cooperation and Disarmament group of the 1960s. In Victoria PND and Campaign for International Cooperation and Development (C.I.C.D.) developed separately and remain that way today. Nationally the only organisation common to all states is PND but each state network of PND has complete autonomy; the only regular and nationally coordinated operation is the annual Palm Sunday rallies.

The introduction of Palm Sunday Rallies in 1982 lead to some very large rallies, with 250,000 people participating throughout Australia in 1984 and 350,000 in 1985, but this declined to 250,000 in 1986 and has continued to decline since then. The movement received a major boost during International Year of Peace (1986) with the Federal Government distributing \$3,000,000 to locally-initiated, community-type projects, which reached 28% of the peace groups.

Table 4.2. Formation Dates of Anti-nuclear Movement Groups
(Nos.)

	TAS.	N.S.W.	VIC.	QU.	S.A.	W.A.	TOTAL	%
< 1945	1	2	2	1	1	4	11	5
1945 - 1959		1	3		3	1	8	3
1960 - 1969		5	3	1	1	1	11	5
1970 - 1979	2	9	9	6	5	7	38	17
1980 -	19	46	39	24	9	25	162	70
	22	63	56	32	19	38	230	100

4. THE TWO MOVEMENTS COMPARED:

The environment and peace movements have evolved from small, discontinuous and *ad hoc* protests occurring early this century. The peace movement, however, was quite distinct in its origin. It was raised from peripheralised political groups, religious groups, intellectuals ('free-thinkers') and left-wing union groups. Until the advent of the anti-nuclear protests of the mid-1970s the peace movement maintained a marginal role with respect to mainstream political processes. The anti-nuclear core of the movement is distinguished by a shift of concerns from militarisation to the use of nuclear technology and the nuclear fuel cycle. This concern extends from the mining of the raw material (uranium) through to its end-use as electrical energy or in nuclear armaments. In this sense the anti-nuclear movement has been more

specific in its concerns than its predecessor, the broad-ranging peace movement.

The development of the anti-nuclear movement brought together sections of the environment movement and sections of the peace movement for the first time. New hybrid groups and organisations were formed and their principal concerns are indicated in their names, such as the Movement Against Uranium Mining and People for Nuclear Disarmament. Movement Against Uranium Mining was largely established by Friends of the Earth - an international, broadly-based, environmental body. People for Nuclear Disarmament was largely established by members of the old peace movement who were trying to distinguish themselves from the left-wing, anti-American sentiments of the earlier movement.

The environment movement, on the other hand, developed largely out of the concerns for wilderness preservation. It was originally based both on individuals working through conventional political channels, and individuals working through public forums. Its development as a separate movement began in the early 1970s with the advent of the Lake Pedder campaign, involving mainly the Lake Pedder Action Committee, the United Tasmania Group and the Australian Conservation Foundation. Its real growth as a mass movement began with the nationalisation of the Franklin River campaign in the early 1980s.

The anti-nuclear movement started in the 1970s but its real growth into a mass movement occurred in the early 1980s with, in particular, the development of People for Nuclear Disarmament bodies throughout Australia. It is also distinguished from the earlier peace campaigns by its specific social composition. It cuts across class lines, and is made up of a broad range of grass-roots bodies,

including associations, social groupings and individuals from a variety of divergent political, cultural and social backgrounds (Meier,1988:82-3).

There is some debate over the extent of overlap of the wilderness and anti-nuclear movements. The social composition of participants in public rallies is broadly similar, although there does appear to be significant differences in age-groups, with the wilderness conservation movement attracting younger participants.⁴⁰ Although, generally, the social composition of the two movements is similar cross-membership between the two movements appears to be limited.⁴¹

⁴⁰ In a survey of wilderness movement protests in Tasmania, 40% of participants came from the 21-30 age-group, and 35% from the 31-40 age-group, as compared with 34% and 28% respectively for the anti-nuclear movement (see Holloway,1986b).

⁴¹ At the level of activists there is some overlap, but there is less coordination between the two movements at the organisational level. For example, the A.C.F. undertook to salvage and continue the only national peace newsletter, "Peace Issues", in 1987 but this lasted less than one year.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE ORGANISATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE TWO MOVEMENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

Before the organisational structure of the two Australian movements is examined in detail in the next chapter, two aspects of the movements need to be scrutinised: the types of groups involved and their geographical distribution within Australia. The classification of movement groups illustrates the enormous diversity of organised bodies involved in movement activities. The geographical distribution is important because it highlights the centralisation of the two movements within the major urban centres within Australia.

Movements seem to attract groups and organisations which appear to be peripheral in conventional politics, whose specific interests and concerns lie outside the mainstream programs of the major parties and interest groups. However, as pointed out by Doyle (1989), what constitutes the main interests and concerns of movement groups is not always clear. Some groups and organisations (e.g. People for Nuclear Disarmament) do have specific goals. They represent what is perceived as the central goal of the movement - the elimination of nuclear weapons. However, they may also be involved in protests about other issues, such as uranium mining or educational reforms. Other groups (e.g. feminist groups) are mobilised in anti-nuclear protests because their

particular interests can be indirectly related to the central goals of the movement. For example, some feminist groups relate the issues of wars and weapons to domestic violence through concepts of masculine aggression and a male-dominated society. Thus, constructed 'affinity', as shown below, may be of a broad ideological nature or it may have an instrumental or tactical character. This highlights the difficulties in both drawing the boundaries of a movement and classifying the constituent groups according to their principal or dominant concerns (see also Doyle, 1987,1989).

Both the wilderness and anti-nuclear movements are dominated by a few institutionalised and highly organised core bodies. This relatively high degree of institutionalisation and formalisation of core bodies may reflect their size, age and concentration in the major urban centres in Australia, such as Melbourne and Sydney. Domination of a movement by such core groups is, in turn, conducive to the overall accommodation of the movement's demands by established political bodies - political parties and pressure groups. Diffuse movements tend to lack such integration and this makes the accommodation of their demands by conventional bodies very difficult.

2. CLASSIFICATION OF MOVEMENT GROUPS

The groups and organisations that make up the anti-nuclear and wilderness movements can be classified according to their principal interest-base. Discerning this interest base may help explain the 'off-centre' position of these groups in conventional politics and, consequently, their links with other movement groups.

(a) The anti-nuclear movement

The anti-nuclear movement has been made up of many small groups holding a variety of concerns and this has presented a problem of unification for the movement as a whole. However, at times the movement has become unified around particular issues and campaigns, such as opposition to the Viet Nam War. After each campaign this unity tends to weaken; the movement becomes fragmented again, and its activities become sporadic.

The goals and strategies of the movement vary from very general 'consciousness-raising' through 'education' programs or religiously-based appeals to very specific, such as the removal of American military bases from Australia through picketing and sit-ins.

The ideological bases of the participants range from the religious to the atheistic and from the liberal to the radical socialist. This broad ideological spectrum of participants is reflected in the wide variety of goals, and the diversity of strategies and demands. Anti-nuclear groups tend to be small and use short-term strategies. They concentrate on current and local issues in order to mobilise local participants. The movement has few long established groups, few professional activists, and its activities tend to be expressive in character.

Another feature is its relatively high (compared with the wilderness movement) organisational dispersion. Half the anti-nuclear movement is made up of groups specifically formed to promote anti-nuclear issues but only 40% of these groups are directly affiliated with each other. The other half of the movement is made up of groups that are only indirectly linked with the mainstream of

the movement (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2). These groups include trade unions, youth groups, religious groups, women's and professional groups. The character of each of these groups will be examined individually.

(1) People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND) is the largest integrated organisation which is primarily interested in anti-nuclear issues; PND represents 20% of the anti-nuclear movement in group terms and 11% in membership terms. The first PND group was formed in Melbourne in 1981.

(2) Another 27% of the movement consists of a variety of groups directly interested in anti-nuclear issues, but not formally affiliated with other anti-nuclear organisations (e.g. People for Peace groups). As these groups only make up 7% of the movement in membership terms, it is clear that they are small and numerous.

Apart from these movement-specific groups, there are a number of organisations that have some general ideological and political (usually left-of-centre) commitments.

(3) The trade unions associated with the movement (e.g. the Construction, Mining and Energy Workers Union) are the most highly incorporated and institutionalised section of the movement. On the other hand, they are only loosely affiliated with the movement and are seldom involved in more than one or two campaigns. As trade unions rarely mobilise people for the attainment of ideals and offer little in the way of a critique of mainstream political institutions, they have ceased to constitute a movement as such (Foss & Larkin, 1986, refer to them as the 'residue' of a movement). Concerns such as anti-nuclear issues may help to renew commitment and collective effervescence.

(4) Youth groups (e.g. Youth Affairs Council of Australia) are another important element of the movement. Their strength of affiliation with the movement varies. Some, like the Students for Peace (Queensland), actively participate in anti-nuclear campaigns; others, like the Youth Affairs Council (Victoria), offer only occasional support. For some student groups, anti-nuclear activity is a continuation of the anti-war protests and campaigns of the 1970s.

One may argue that young people are restricted to some extent in conventional political participation by age, low status within the community and limited economic resources. Youth groups bring new values into political debates - values based on their different generational and socialisation experiences reflecting, in recent times, their relative security and material well-being. The most active, politically, among youth groups come from the highly educated middle class. With larger youth populations spending more time as students they have more time to engage in political and quasi-political activities. Many modern, radical social movements have been based on high participation by youth populations, especially tertiary students (Rootes, 1980; Blaikie, 1989).

(5) Religious groups (e.g. Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace), like the trade unions, can also be described as affiliates. The movement attracts only the more socially conscious (and politically radical) church organisations. One may argue that they face a weakening in their social support. While there is periodic strengthening in participation in some religious activities in some Western churches, there has also been a general decline in the scope of religious beliefs with the progressive development of industrialised and urbanised society. Many of the tasks performed in the past by the church are now handled by secular professional

welfare agencies. The more politically oriented sections of the churches have found, in the anti-nuclear movement, a suitable vehicle for re-vitalising their social support by engaging in social critique. Anti-nuclear issues become a popular this-worldly reflection of their other-worldly commitments. Some anti-nuclear movement activities, such as Palm Sunday rallies, are tied to religiously important dates and are organisationally dominated by the wider and better organised church groups (who represent 12% of the anti-nuclear movement in group terms). Such activities, in turn, become communal assertions of faith as well as vehicles for political demands.

(6) The women's groups and organisations (e.g. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) coalesce with the anti-nuclear movement because of ideological and structural similarities. Women are severely under-represented in conventional politics. At the same time their participation in the workforce is increasing, particularly in part-time positions, giving them more social and economic independence (Pakulski, 1991: Ch. 7). The gap between the rewards and statuses of women and men may result in the readiness of educated and skilled women for political and ideological mobilisation. The anti-nuclear movement seems to offer a vehicle for the expression of feminist concerns and a radical critique of society. This is indicated by women's groups representing 15% of the anti-nuclear movement in terms of membership. By comparison there are no formal women's groups within the wilderness movement.

(7) Professional anti-nuclear groups (e.g. Scientists Against Nuclear Arms) form another important part of the anti-nuclear movement, representing about 7% in terms of groups. They attract the young,

more radical and socially conscious sections of the professions. It must be stressed though, that the most typical movement supporters are recruited from lower (or sub-) professional categories, such as teachers and nurses. Despite the fact that much has already been written about this newly emergent 'intelligentsia' - the alleged harbingers of new values and carriers of the ethic of commitment into the political arena (Gouldner, 1979; Brym, 1980) - the so-called 'upper' professionals, especially those who are older and more established in their careers, seldom join the movement (see Kriesi, 1989; Pakulski, 1991).

(8) A further 5% of the movement is made up of a mixture of groups concerned with alternative lifestyles, conflict resolution and third world development (respective examples being the Appropriate Community Technology Association, the Conflict Resolution Network, and Action for World Development). These groups are relatively large as they comprise 15% of the movement in membership terms, but only 2% in group terms.

(9) A large section of the anti-nuclear movement membership comes from the environment movement. Environmental/anti-nuclear groups provide 28% of the members of the anti-nuclear movement but only 5% of groups. The average membership of the environmental groups is very high; their primary concerns lie with environmental issues but they represent the dove-tailing of one movement with another. Dove-tailing occurs both formally at the organisational level, with better organised environmental groups taking on some anti-nuclear movement issues (e.g. the Australian Conservation Foundation took over the anti-nuclear movement's national periodical, *Peace Magazine*). It also happens informally, through cross-membership, especially at the activist level (see

Holloway,1986b). Protest marches and rallies attract participants from both movements and a mixture of environmental and anti-nuclear issues are raised.⁴²

(10) Another small section of the anti-nuclear movement consists of members and activists of affiliated political parties (e.g. the Australian Democrats). They only make up 4% of the movement in group terms and 1.5% in membership terms . However, they are important. The Australian Democrats, for example, use their position to raise anti-nuclear issues in the Federal parliament and use their offices to assist in the organisation and co-ordination of the movement's activities.

**TABLE 5.1: MEMBERSHIP OF ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT
ACCORDING TO TYPE OF GROUP**

TYPE	NSW	VIC	TAS	WA	SA	OU	%	TOTALS
PND	1,177	2,077	400	1,555	278	61	11	5,548
Other anti-nuclear	1,932	1,090	60	292	140	325	7	3,839
Conservation	323	13,600				50	28	13,973
Women's	6,181	440	68	70	594	0	15	7,353
Religious	900	395	95	120	0	125	3	1,625
Educational	0	65		0	25	25	1	115
Other profess.	832	920	182	280	340	180	5	2,734
Unions				6,620			13	6,620
Creative		150					1	150
Political parties	250			465	0		1	715
Other groups	22	600	0	290	4,100	2,400	15	7,412
	11,617	19,337	805	9,692	5,477	3,166		50,094

⁴² This appears to occur more in some regions than others, for example, cross participation in wilderness and anti-nuclear activities rarely occurs in New Zealand (Burton,1987).

**TABLE 5.2: ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT GROUPS BY STATE
AND TYPE OF GROUP.**

STATE	NSW	VIC	TAS	WA	SA	OU	%
PND	10	18	3	6	1	8	20
Other anti-nuclear	26	10	10	9	3	11	27
Conservation	5	4				2	5
Women's	5	7	2	2	1	1	8
Religious	5	8	3	3	5	4	12
Educational	1	2		1	1	2	3
Other profess.	2	3	4	3	2	1	7
Unions				4			2
Youth		1		2		1	2
Creative		1					1
Political parties	3			5	1		4
Other groups	1	4	1	3	3	2	9
	58	58	23	38	19	32	100

(b) The wilderness movement

About a quarter of the wilderness movement is made up of groups and organisations that are solely interested in wilderness conservation. Other groups (such as field naturalists groups) have a shared and continuing interest in wilderness conservation and seldom branch into other environmental issues and campaigns.

The wilderness movement organisations, like the anti-nuclear groups, differ in their origins, structure, goals and strategies. The movement, as mentioned earlier, is part of the much broader environmental movement, but is identifiable as a separate movement in Australia (and the United States) because:

(1) wilderness issues are much more specific than general environmental issues, (2) the movement's organisational base is quite distinct, (3) the movement's origins are clearly distinguishable and pre-date the wider environment movement, and (4) the movement's activities are quite distinctive in their style and issue content.

Wilderness protection issues have, perhaps more than any other environmental or peace issues, been major influences on Australian politics since the early 1970s. Their rapid growth and proliferation started with the Save Lake Pedder campaign and the formation of the world's first green party in Tasmania in 1972 (see Holloway, 1986a; Walker, 1986; Hay, 1987).

The wilderness movement focuses on the issues of nature protection and economic rationalism; it targets the primary extractive industries and hydro-electric power generation as antagonists to wilderness conservation.

An important difference between the primary wilderness groups and the affiliated groups is that the former dominate the movement not only in resources and membership but also in their sharp focus on wilderness protection issues. Some affiliated groups come very close to regarding wilderness protection as a primary issue (e.g. the wildlife groups in Queensland have become much more concerned with wilderness protection since the development of the Wilderness Society there, following the Franklin River campaign). The goals of groups, and the relationships between them, however, are not always easy to establish.

One can distinguish seven categories of bodies that make up the wilderness movement (see Tables 5.3 and 5.4):

- 1) Groups that adopt wilderness protection as their primary interest (e.g. the Wilderness Society and the Australian Conservation Foundation). They make up 24% of the groups but contain nearly half the membership of the movement. They are very diverse in their philosophical and programmatic appeals. Some appeal to the intrinsic values of the non-human world - an appeal that sometimes resembles pantheism (biocentrism). Other groups link wilderness protection with general quality of life issues. Such appeals tend to fall outside the sphere of conventional politics which is mainly concerned with sectional economic interests.
- 2) Wildlife protection groups make up another 12% of the wilderness movement in group terms but only 2% in membership terms. They are numerous but small; and their focus is very specific and localised. Most of these groups are found in Queensland and are affiliated with the Wildlife Protection Society of Queensland.
- 3) Flora/forest protection groups comprise 12% of the movement in group terms but only 2% in membership terms. They are similar in focus to wildlife groups and share their organisational characteristics (e.g. Save the Trees).
- 4) Flora/fauna groups comprise 23% of the movement's groups and 15% in terms of membership. Typical of these groups are the field naturalists' groups whose origins date back to the nineteenth century (e.g. Field Naturalists Club of Victoria).
- 5) Multi-issue, general interest groups (such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace) are part of the wider environment movement. They make up 18% of the movement in group terms and 8% in membership terms. They mobilise support through a broad appeal to a range of environmental issues.

(6) Outdoor recreation groups (e.g. University of Queensland Bushwalking Club) make up 12% of the movement in group terms and 22% in membership terms.⁴³ These groups play an important educational role. They socialise people into the 'correct attitudes' with respect to wilderness and this socialisation goes beyond the mere appreciation of the aesthetic values of landscapes. They also provide a vital link with the select public (the highly educated, professional middle class) who are increasingly participating in outdoor recreation both here and overseas (see Turner, 1979). The activities of these groups generate an expanding membership base for the movement.

(7) National park ranger groups are the main occupational group with direct interests in wilderness protection, but they comprise only 2% of the movement in membership terms (e.g. Victorian National Parks Association). The limited formal participation of park rangers in the wilderness movement is partly the result of the active discouragement of such participation by state governments. Many of them advise their employees not to get involved in the politics of wilderness.

⁴³ These figures only include those clubs and societies expressing a direct interest in wilderness protection.

TABLE 5.3: MEMBERSHIP OF WILDERNESS GROUPS BY TYPE

TYPE	TAS	VIC	SA	NSW	OU	WA	%	TOTALS
WILDERNESS	6,977	12,030	500	2,512	28		48	22,047
WILDLIFE				175	852	80	2	1,107
FLORA/FOREST	0	518		0	522	18	2	1,058
FLORA/FAUNA		1,360	1,200	2,771	1,015	710	15	7,056
RECREATIONAL	120	9,290	160	27	114	155	22	9,866
OCCUPATIONAL				750			2	750
MULTI-ISSUE			800	265	659	1,792	210	3,726
	7,097	23,998	2,125	6,894	4,323	1,173	99	45,610

TABLE 5.4: WILDERNESS GROUPS BY TYPE

TYPE	TAS	VIC	SA	NSW	OU	WA	TOTALS
WILDERNESS	9	4	1	8	2		24
WILDLIFE				2	9	1	12
FLORA/FOREST	1	2		3	3	3	12
FLORA/FAUNA		6	3	7	5	2	23
RECREATIONAL	1	4	1	2	2	2	12
OCCUPATIONAL				1			1
MULTI-ISSUE		1	3	7	5	2	18
	11	17	8	30	26	10	102

The anti-nuclear and wilderness movements differ not only in their composition but also in the general profile of their activities. The anti-nuclear movement is much more concerned with public

events, such as marches and rallies (74% of anti-nuclear groups in the survey were involved in rally organisation, as compared with only 18% of the wilderness groups). Public rallies are used in the anti-nuclear movement primarily as an expressive rather than as a publicity or media oriented activity.⁴⁴ The wilderness movement uses the mass media much more than the anti-nuclear movement (the respective figures being 32% and 18% of the groups found in each movement). While public protests and presentations involve a smaller proportion of the wilderness groups' activities, these groups clearly do use these events for publicity. There is a high correlation between organising rallies and use of the media in this movement. Also, wilderness protests are organised by professionalised groups, which have high membership numbers and employ paid full-time and/or voluntary full-time activists. The anti-nuclear protests, by contrast, are usually less organised and rely on the voluntary effort of activists.

3. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Both movements have their bases in the largest urban centres, i.e Melbourne and Sydney. While the wilderness movement, overall, shows higher metropolitan centralisation, it also has an important national office in Hobart. The presence of the national headquarters of the Wilderness Society in Hobart is an

⁴⁴ While only a minority (18%) of wilderness groups were involved in the organisation of rallies and direct actions, over half of the movement was involved in organising less dramatic events, such as public exhibitions and public meetings.

historical anomaly, and the pressure to shift this office to either Sydney or Melbourne is often on the agenda of discussions.

The anti-nuclear movement has a less formalised structure, and its membership is more evenly distributed throughout the states, although Melbourne and Sydney still dominate as organisational bases. It must be noted that this concentration not only reflects the urban nature of support for modern social movements, but also the extremely high urban concentration within Australia.(see Table 5.5)

The wilderness movement appears most informal in Queensland where 25% of its bodies are located (but this represents only 9% of the movement in membership terms). The size of groups is also small in NSW, whereas it is very large in Victoria, largely due to the registration of all Australian Conservation Foundation membership there (17,000 members in 1989).

In the anti-nuclear movement the average size of groups appears to be fairly consistent, with the exceptions of Queensland and Tasmania. The highest average size is found in NSW, and this is due to the domination of the movement there by People for Nuclear Disarmament.

The high concentration of members in the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society has enabled these two organisations to become much more formalised and professionalised than other movement organisations. They also exert significant controlling influence over the rest of the movement (representing one-third of the movement in membership terms). The low ratio of membership/group in Queensland makes the wilderness movement there similar to the

anti-nuclear movement (i.e. very informal, with small groups predominating).

The degree of centralisation also reflects the nature of goals and issues. Low centralisation of the anti-nuclear movement is often the result of the diversity of interests and concerns of constituent groups. Centralisation is also more vigorously resisted by some anti-nuclear groups (e.g. feminist groups) on ideological grounds. Whatever the principal reason may be, the result is that there are more than twice as many groups in the anti-nuclear movement as in the wilderness movement. The average size of an anti-nuclear group with formal membership is 60 members whereas the average size for the same type of group in the wilderness movement is 140. Also, there is a much higher rate of informal membership in the anti-nuclear movement with 35% of groups not recording membership as compared with only 16% for the wilderness movement.

TABLE 5.5: GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOVEMENTS (%)

<u>Movement</u>	<u>Wilderness Movement</u>		<u>Anti-nuclear</u>	
	-by membership	-by groups	-by membership	-by groups
N.S.W.	15%	29%	23%	25%
VIC.	53%	17%	39%	26%
TAS.	5%	11%	2%	10%
W.A.	3%	10%	19%	17%
S.A.	5%	8%	11%	8%
QU.	<u>9%</u>	<u>25%</u>	<u>6%</u>	<u>14%</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

In the overall picture, both movement's are geographically fragmented. State organisations, groups and networks are similar in their overall composition, but maintain a degree of independence from other state bodies and networks. This geographical fragmentation appears to be typical of social movements and, in the case of Australia, this is amplified by vast distances between the state capitals.

Is the territorial fragmentation associated with organisational and structural diversity? In order to answer this question, one has to look at the organisational modes the two movements engender.

CHAPTER SIX - THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE TWO MOVEMENTS

1. Introduction

Before proceeding with the analysis of movement structure, a brief theoretical resume is necessary. There are three main streams of thought concerning the structures of social movements, which are closely allied with the general theoretical orientations discussed in chapter two. The first stream of thought, represented mainly by the resource mobilisation theorists, depicts movements as driven by their organisational cores. Its proponents argue that, if the movements are to survive and compete in the broader political domain, then they have to become increasingly institutionalised and formalised. The evidence for this institutional trend is drawn mainly from the apparent formalisation and professionalisation of special interest, minority and civil rights movements in the United States (e.g. Zald, 1987). Formalisation and bureaucratisation, it is argued, leads inevitably towards the incorporation of movements within conventional politics and this increases their overall political efficacy. Movements, even when they emerge as anti-establishment protests, subsequently modify their radical stance and adopt more reformist strategies, not too distinct from the strategies of conventional interest groups and political parties.

Representatives of the second stream of thought argue that the dominant characteristic of social movements is their opposition to conventional politics. Movements develop the forms and

strategies that are incompatible with conventional political bodies. According to the advocates of this stream, mainly the action theorists, movements are anti-institutional and anti-formalist. They represent an articulation of civil society and form an alternative to conventional political organisations (e.g. Touraine,1981).

The third stream of thought, represented mainly by the 'new social movement' theorists argues that recently evolved Western movements operate somewhere between the structures of 'civil society' (i.e. autonomous and spontaneous civil initiatives) and conventional politics, developing new forms of political participation and organisation. This new form is often analysed in terms of a 'new political paradigm'. The new politics allegedly encompasses new attitudes, new values, a broader range of participants, new organisational forms and new forms of political participation (e.g. Inglehart,1977; Cotgrove,1982; Galtung,1986; Offe,1985).

In as much as it involves evaluations and references to the 'democratic' or 'non-democratic' nature of movements the debate between the three streams of thought is difficult to resolve. If the debate, however, is about the actual distribution of various organisational forms in contemporary movements, it can be resolved through empirical studies of movement structure. The results of such a study, reported in detail in the next chapter, indicate that all three versions of movement structure are (partly) accurate. They show that modern Western movements, such as the wilderness and anti-nuclear movements in Australia, develop a tri-modal organisational structure. The Institutional Mode is usually adopted by the core of the movements. Many of these core organisations are similar in form to conventional political bodies,

particularly as they grow in size and proficiency. The peripheries of movements usually adopt the Social Movement Mode and constitute semi-formal and informal groups, with loosely-connected social networks. The peripheral groups and networks usually operate outside the sphere of conventional politics and develop the SPIN form. The tension between these two polar forms of organisation leads to the development of the New Mode: groups that operate both within conventional politics and, at the same time, are frequently involved in direct action which transcends the boundaries of such politics. The New Mode is relatively independent of the other two modes and, as shown in this chapter, it is clearly discernible in the organisational structure of the two movements studied here.

The analysis of movement structure is divided into five sections. The first section outlines the survey procedures. The second section examines the organisational characteristics of constituent movement bodies in terms of their degree of institutionalisation, formalisation and bureaucratisation. Also examined is the extent of incorporation of these bodies into conventional politics, i.e. the relationship between movement bodies, on the one hand, and state bureaucracies, on the other. The selection of the various indices to be used for measuring these characteristics, and their operationalisation, is also discussed in this section. The third section examines the interrelationship between various organisational characteristics so as to reveal the overall pattern of characteristics, forming distinct 'clusters' (organisational modes) within each movement. The nature and the distribution of these 'clusters' is discussed in the fourth section in the context of the

general discussion of the overall structure of the movements (i.e. relations between movement bodies) and their incorporation in conventional politics.

Charting the organisational structure of the two movements is the principal aim of this study. There are, however, some other points that are raised in the concluding section. These include, first, a comparison of the two movements and, secondly, the theoretical implications of the diagnosed configurations. The results show, for example, that the wilderness movement is more institutionalised and formalised than the anti-nuclear movement, and that both movements have quite strong links with conventional politics. These findings are more fully discussed in the last chapter in the context of the debate about the nature of modern social movements and the issue of democracy.

First, however, a point of caution and clarification is necessary concerning the coverage of movement participants. Not all participants in movement events are members of movement bodies, and not all movement activities are stimulated by, or occur directly through, movement organisations. Some participation occurs outside, or independent of, some form of identifiable groups and organisations. Surveys of rallies in Tasmania (Holloway, 1986b) reveal, for example, that only 27% of participants claim to belong to wilderness or anti-nuclear organisations. Nearly three-quarters of participants in these rallies were not formal members of movement organisations. Consequently, by focussing on identifiable groups and organisations there will tend to an under-counting of very informally structured groupings, such as those often occurring in the

women's movement. The main effect for the analysis of the structure of the two movements examined here is the slight undercounting of the feminist section of the anti-nuclear movement.

This raises the question of the appropriateness of focussing exclusively on movement organisations. The institutional focus of this study, however, is less restricting than the figures on unaffiliated participation may suggest. First, movement organisation plays a central role in preparing and staging movement events. Secondly, most of the unaffiliated supporters, as the data shows, were informed and/or mobilised by the movement organisations, i.e. through direct personal approaches by members of movement organisations, by advertising, posters and leaflets, or indirectly through family and friendship networks. Thus, even these unaffiliated participants are, in a sense, 'recruits' of organised bodies and their presence attests to the importance of the movement's organised core.⁴⁵

The final point that needs to be mentioned is that not all movement activities attract equal attention. There is a tendency by both the public and social scientists to identify social movements

⁴⁵ The mobilisation of participants through the media varies - from very high for the wilderness rallies (32%) to very low for anti-nuclear rallies (10%), corresponding to the different use of the media by the two movements. Media coverage also depends on the 'currency' of the protest issues at the time. Here, again, the two movements differ; the wilderness movement tends to organise rallies with short lead times to coincide with high public attention whereas the anti-nuclear movement organises rallies months ahead of time. In the wilderness movement only 18% of wilderness groups are involved in rallies whereas 74% of anti-nuclear groups help organise rallies. However it must also be remembered that public protests are only a small part of the spectrum of social movement activities.

with highly visible and publicised mass protests. Less visible activities, such as organising media publicity, lobbying, preparing submissions and work on government committees and advisory councils often escape public attention. However, these activities are very important, albeit less spectacular than protests and rallies. It is worth stressing that these vital, but less visible, activities are the domain of **organised movement bodies**. Public protests are usually used by them either as a last resort or as a pre-emptive bid to demonstrate the legitimacy of certain claims in the context of a broader campaign strategy.

Protests and rallies are always backed up by some form of sustaining organisation and less visible movement activities. Both help to maintain the movement's continuity through periods of lower activity or demobilisation. The inclusion of these less visible movement bodies in the study of social movements helps to provide a more balanced picture of movement character and structure.

2. Survey procedures

(a) Selection of units of analysis:

Two criteria were used in selecting groups and organisations for inclusion in the surveys: all groups and organisations were identifiable by a name and listed as part of either the anti-nuclear or wilderness movements. The initial list of anti-nuclear groupings was taken from a listing of movement groups held by the Australian Democrats in Hobart. This was updated from references to new groupings in the movement's newsletters, in the mass media, from interviews with activists and, where they occurred, from the

minutes of state meetings of movement groups. As movement groups, particularly in the anti-nuclear ones, are often transient, establishing an accurate listing of all movement groups existing at any one time is difficult.

The accuracy of the listing varied from state to state. In Queensland, for example, an accurate listing of the movement groups was published by People for Nuclear Disarmament in a quarterly magazine, *Common Ground*, Issue No. 8, October 1986. In smaller states, like Tasmania, it was also possible to obtain accurate listings from movement resource centres. In a large state, like Victoria, where 175 groups and organisations were listed by the Australian Democrats, it was difficult to improve the accuracy, despite checking with key activists in that state. In New South Wales the listing was updated through reading the minutes of a state meeting of anti-nuclear groups. This led to a secondary survey in this state which resulted in a response rate of 85%.

The constituent groupings of the wilderness movement were selected from the Australian Conservation Foundation's 1986 *Directory of Environmental Groups in Australia, Green Pages*. From this Directory only those groups listing wilderness in their 'interests' were included in the survey. This was updated with listings of the branches and chapters within the two major organisations, the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society.

(b) Survey procedures

The anti-nuclear movement survey was conducted first. From the base listing of 473 names and addresses 93 were deleted as duplications or as individuals (rather than groupings). In September

1986 the remaining 380 were posted questionnaires with a covering letter explaining the purpose of the survey and assuring confidentiality of the information provided (see Appendix F). A reminder letter was sent out two months later. Only 5 groups deleted themselves as no longer existing or not as part of the movement. In all 235 groups responded, making a response rate of 61%, which is high by world standards for such a survey (see Scaminaci & Dunlap, 1986; Lowe & Morrison, 1983).

The wilderness movement questionnaire was slightly different: the section on 'rallies' was differentiated into 'rallies and marches, direct actions, public meetings, and public displays. In January 1987 questionnaires were posted to 174 groups and organisations. After deleting 29 as duplications, no longer existing or not part of the wilderness movement, 101 groups responded, making a response rate of 71%. The high response rates may have reflected the simplicity and clear design of the questionnaire, the availability of the data requested, and the explanation of the purposes of the survey. Only two groups (within the anti-nuclear movement) objected to the survey on grounds of privacy and suspicion of the potential hostile use of the data. Such concerns were alleviated during interviews with key activists in the major centres prior to the surveys.

Table 6.1. Request and Response Rates.

	<u>Anti-nuclear</u>		<u>Wilderness</u>	
	<u>Posted</u>	<u>Responded</u>	<u>Posted</u>	<u>Responded</u>
Victoria	175	61	19	18
A.C.T.	10	10	4	3
N.S.W.	70	50	39	29
Tasmania	38	23	11	11
Northern Terr.	10	2	2	1
South Aust.	34	16	11	8
Western Aust.	65	38	21	13
Queensland	71	34	43	27
	-93		+24	
	—	--	<u>-20</u>	—
	380	234	154	110

Response Rates: $234 \div 380 = 61\%$

$110 \div 154 = 71\%$

3. ORGANISATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The study of organisational structure involves the assessment of all the groups and organisations in terms of their degree of (1) institutionalisation, (2) formalisation, (3) bureaucratisation, and (4) incorporation. These terms are defined and their operationalisation is discussed in this section. The procedures discussed here involve: (a) selecting the key differentiating organisational characteristics, (b) selecting the units of analysis, and (c) detailing the survey procedures.

It should be borne in mind that the four general characteristics that have been chosen for examination are inter-related both analytically and empirically. This leads to some cross-referencing of the indices in the theoretical discussion and the subsequent analysis.

The general characteristics form, in a sense, a progressive scale that ranges from *ad hoc* initiatives to formalised and bureaucratic structures, which are incorporated in government bodies (see summary of these characteristics and their indices in Chart 6.1).

CHART 6.1. MOVEMENT STRUCTURE

General Characteristics:

<u>Internal:</u>	<u>Definition</u>	<u>Principal Indices</u>
Institutional-isation	regular, continuous, recurrent patterns of behaviour, normatively regulated	* members meetings * activists meetings * use of mass media
Formalisation	setting rules & regulations of procedures & standardisation	* selection of activists * formal membership * publishing of newsletters
Bureaucratisation (includes professionalisation of activists)	paid officials, role-specific codes of performance, formal authority structure, clear task specification, recruitment procedures	* payment of wages * full-time activism * professionalisation/activism rates
<u>External:</u>		
Incorporation	participation in conventional political activities	* government funding * representation on govt. bodies * submissions to governments

The first three characteristics - institutionalisation, formalisation and bureaucratisation - have been chosen for analysing the organisational structure within the social movements because of their theoretical salience. Fully formalised, social movement bodies would be almost indistinguishable from political

parties and formalised pressure groups. By taking the key characteristics used to distinguish conventional political bodies from unconventional ones, one can more precisely investigate the similarities and differences between conventional and unconventional politics. This, as already argued, is the principal issue of contention in the current debates on the nature of contemporary social movements.

The organisational modes of operating within the wilderness and anti-nuclear movements will be explicated, in sections four and five, by the following procedure:

- 1) analysing the distribution of these characteristics across the organisational spectrum within the two movements;
- 2) identifying the clusters of characteristics that 'fit together' and form distinct organisational modes;
- 3) examining the distribution of the clusters within the two movements.

First, however, I will discuss the theoretical relatedness of each characteristic, and then look at the empirical configurations.

(a) Institutionalisation

Institutionalisation is the process whereby social behaviour forms regular, continuous, recurrent patterns which are normatively regulated. Institutionalisation is defined by Sills (1968:367) as "the process by which patterns of behaviour and expectations of behaviour on the part of others become established ...As applied to (voluntary) organisations, institutionalisation means the unplanned process that turns a loosely organised group of

adherents to an idea or a goal into a formal organisation." The variables used by Tsouderos (1955) to measure 'institutionalisation' include membership, income, administrative expenditure, numbers of office workers and property. This list of variables is extended by Chapin & Tsouderos (1956) to include frequency of meetings of: membership, directors and the executive; the frequency of reports, communications, hours of work of the executive officers, their years in office and the numbers of voluntary staff.

In this thesis these basic variables are slightly modified to apply them specifically to social movements. For example, the frequency of meetings is elaborated according to the type of meeting: with the general public, with the membership, and with the activists; the formalisation and frequency of communication through newsletters/periodicals is measured; and volunteers are distinguished from activists according to payment of wages and time spent on the job (part-time/full-time). Income is not measured because it is not a good measure of 'resources' as social movements depend to a great extent on voluntary rather than paid services, and enquiries about such sensitive information might provoke suspicion and reticence about answering the questionnaire. Also, income from larger groups is often difficult to determine with much accuracy due to 'hidden' donations and profits from business enterprises, which are often treated separately in movement accounting. However, a fair indicator of financial strength can be gauged from the numbers of financial members in the movement body. The principal indicators also include the use of the media (i.e. newspapers, radio and television). It is argued that the emergence of regular, recurrent patterns of activities is closely related to regularised public communication. The regular use of the media

also indicates the emergence of roles of 'publicity activists', which is another symptom of institutionalisation

Added to this set of principal indicators are some other variables suggested by the resource mobilisation theorists, particularly McCarthy & Zald (1973,1977). The resources they nominated as important for movement mobilisation included: the numbers of members, the age of the movement body, access to institutional centres, and links with other social movement organisations.

In summary, the types of activities that become institutionalised include: meetings of activists, meetings of the general membership and newsletter publication. The recurrency of these activities were chosen as indicators of institutionalisation because they are also part of the process of the regularisation of activities and the differentiation of roles within the movement, i.e. the separation of the roles of activist and ordinary member. (This status/role differentiation is measured in terms of 'professionalisation and activism rates' in the bureaucratisation section.) While social movements are often characterised by their 'spontaneity' and irregularity in protest activities, in order to maintain long-term and sophisticated campaigns they regularise many of their activities.

(b) Formalisation

Formalisation refers to the codification and standardisation of norms and procedures. Ultimately the norms become codified in the form of operational and procedural rules. Formalisation is defined by Chapin and Tsouderos (1955:147) as "the process by which groups

follow prescribed patterns of procedure; an increasing complexity of social structure, a progressive prescription and standardisation of social relationships and finally, an increasing bureaucratisation of the organisation". Formalisation occurs to varying degrees in all social movements and usually also involves hierarchical ('vertical') differentiation of status and ('horizontal') differentiation of roles (rules, principles and expectations governing the tasks of activists).

Formalisation affects movement organisations in many ways. One of the first acts in the formalisation of a movement grouping is the formalisation of membership. The creation of 'card-carrying members' formalises the identity of the participant and distinguishes sympathisers or 'outsiders' from committed members. Formal members are expected to contribute financially to the group or organisation through membership fees and donations, and can expect to be called upon for support whenever the need arises.

With the formalisation of membership, communication with the general membership is also usually standardised (through regular newsletters or journals). The general membership rarely objects to this, as they benefit from lower and less specific demands on their participation. With progressive formalisation, the movement is held together by (1) formal communication, (2) occasional, formalised meetings (although some groups may rarely conduct such general meetings), (3) vicarious association with the movement's activities through the mass media, and (4) recurrent participation in public protests. This is another means of eliciting funds, keeping the membership informed about movement issues, and developing the movement's ideology.

As the organisation expands formalisation also affects activist selection procedures. The mode of activist selection may be

formalised in two ways: 1) by formal election of activists and 2) by formal appointment after screening the applicants for the job. In most movement organisations, however, the informal mode of activist selection predominates. This is called 'self-selection', i.e. most activists become such by volunteering their time and energy and dedicating these resources to the pursuit of the movement's goals. They follow strong convictions rather than instrumental motivations. They volunteer because they believe in what the movement is setting out to achieve, and they are strongly committed to these goals (see Hoffer, 1951; Roche & Sachs, 1955). For this reason payment of activists is an important index of the bureaucratisation of the social movement.

(c) Bureaucratisation

Bureaucratisation, following Weber (1968), refers to administrative arrangements marked by the systematic organisation of role-specific codes of performance, the regular remuneration of officials, hierarchical differentiation of roles, clear task specification, and systematic recruitment on the basis of skills and expertise. Bureaucracy is a complex ideal type, and only some of its characteristics are analysed here.

Bureaucratisation is indicated by a shift towards more formalised arrangements, regulated activities and instrumental motivations. It is possible to work voluntarily, full-time for a short period, and such temporal voluntary involvement may be seen as further evidence of role specialisation. Volunteers, however, tend to lose commitment, have less responsibilities and they participate less in social movement activities. Full-time paid activism, therefore,

often appears with the growing size of groups and quickly differentiates the social movement core participants from the occasional activists and 'free-rider' participants. It also leads to bifurcation into organisationally-based participation and sporadic, informal participation (see Holloway, 1986a). This division - an important part of the bureaucratic process - is also enhanced by the differentiation of statuses (recognised 'activist' versus occasional participants) and by the differentiation of access to the movement's resources. This part of the bureaucratic process is called professionalisation - a process whereby part-time voluntary workers are transformed into full-time, autonomous officials. This process, again, is never complete. Authority structures within social movements are usually informal and semi-formal, and even the full-time officials-activists tend to be subjected to regulation through informal ethics of conviction rather than formalised task specifications. Professionalisation is measured here in terms of the ratios of activists to ordinary members and activists per grouping, i.e. 'professionalisation and activism rates'. This is associated with the differentiation of status/role of activist vis a vis ordinary member.

Status differentiation within social movements often follows the collegial rather than the strictly 'bureaucratic' model of organisation, i.e. activists tend to be treated as equals, and this often applies to their remuneration (Waters, 1989). However, the process of bureaucratisation can occur even when such collegial bodies emerge within movements and result in a high degree of professional-collegial autonomy. As most movements are antipathetical to formalism and hierarchy (see Pakulski, 1990) and are largely made up of professionally qualified personnel, such a collegial-bureaucratic, rather than as hierarchical-bureaucratic, model of role specification

is more commonly found within social movements. Members of social movements abhor formal regulation not only for ideological reasons, but also because: 1) they prefer to retain the greater flexibility necessary to react to an uncertain operating environment, 2) the organisation does not normally have the remunerative capacity to sanction and enforce such role specification, and 3) such specification creates a greater demand on the organisation's resources in the administration of the rules. Activists are therefore subject to informal normative pressures as though they were in a company of equals. The tensions within this form of organisation have been well documented by Mansbridge (1973,1977,1979) and Rothschild-Whitt (1976,1979). The collegial-bureaucratic model is also appropriate because activists share many other characteristics attributed to such a model (see Hall,1968; Waters,1989).⁴⁶ The key indices of bureaucratisation to be used here are:

- 1) remuneration of activists;
- 2) full-time involvement of activists; and
- 3) professionalisation of activists' roles.

Professionalisation occurs where the role incumbents are:

- 1) chosen formally according to qualifications for the role and
- 2) fulfill their role according to formal rules, procedures and codes of ethics. The first of these, i.e. the mode of activist selection, is studied here. The second, i.e. the extent to which activists' roles are accompanied by formal rules and codes, is not investigated because,

⁴⁶ This is not to say that hierarchical-bureaucratic forms of organisation do not appear in social movements as they clearly do (e.g. in the Australian Conservation Foundation), but the extent to which this occurs has to be scrutinised.

as argued above, such high degrees of formalisation are rarely found within social movements.

(d) Incorporation

Integration or incorporation within mainstream political institutions is the other key issue in contemporary movement debates. Integration can occur, effectively, through either formal or informal channels. Informal channels are always present but hard to measure (in terms of networks, frequency of contacts, their significance and intentions). Gauging their importance involves 'mapping' the political networks, their use and the degree of co-ordinated impact. Although they only tell part of the story, the formal channels are more public and accessible to researchers.

In this thesis 'incorporation' refers to the pattern of relations between the social movement bodies and the conventional political bodies. Incorporation leads to movements becoming a part of the conventional political scene.

Wilson (1983) points out that professionalisation and co-optation of social movement organisations is treated by McCarthy & Zald (1973) as an organisational problem rather than a more general political problem because they focus almost exclusively on the social movement organisations. For McCarthy & Zald (1973) professionalisation of reform is a mark of the increasing power and prestige of social movement policy makers, who foster the notion that social problems are public and state responsibilities. Professionalisation is thus seen as the logical outcome of incorporation.

Offe (1981) suggests that incorporation involves: (1) resource status - the extent to which resources are supplied by the state; (2) representation status - the extent to which representation is defined through political decisions; (3) organisation status - the extent to which the internal relations between the ordinary members and the activists are regulated; and (4) procedural status - the extent of licensing, recognition and formal involvement of movement groups in legislation, the judiciary, policy planning and implementation.

Offe's 'dimensions' are precise indicators of the extent of incorporation of the movement groups and organisations. The resource status is measured in this thesis in terms of resources supplied by the state, i.e. government funding; representation status is measured in terms of representation on government and semi-government committees and advisory council; organisational status is measured in terms of the differentiation of status of activists vis a vis ordinary member; procedural status is measured in terms of submissions to the various tiers of government (local, state and federal).

The variables concerning 'incorporation' are important as indicators of channels of access to the state, implying recognition or acceptance of the input of movement groups in public decision-making. Incorporation offers the advantages associated with the regular access to decision-making bodies. However, it also poses the risk of compromising the movement's value-based claims by pursuing instrumental objectives. A social movement moving towards greater incorporation tends to shift from idealistic to pragmatic and from radical to reformist strategies. For the state and

its conventional bodies incorporation also offers advantages. It helps to reduce the disruptive effects of the social movement.

Incorporation also offers the possibility of using the movement to boost mass support for state instrumentalities.

While incorporation is related to the 'internal' characteristics of the movement organisations - more formalised organisations tend to be more incorporated - it can be separated both analytically and empirically from them. While incorporated movement bodies tend to be formalised, the converse does not necessarily hold true. The increasing incorporation of the channels of participation tends to increase the formalisation process as each party (the social movement and the state apparatus) try to maintain their relations through regular contacts. This, again, is indicative of the integration, analytically and empirically, of the general characteristics that make up the process of institutionalisation.

Having discussed the main characteristics (institutionalisation, formalisation, bureaucratisation and incorporation) and their indices, the operationalisation of these characteristics, it is now possible to examine the organisational structure of the two movements.

4. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE TWO MOVEMENTS

(a) Institutionalisation

Meetings of activists, meetings of the general membership and use of the mass media were chosen as indicators of institutionalisation. The distribution of values of the three indices was almost identical for the two movements. Both movements exhibit quite a high degree of consultation and formal communication with the members (see Table 6.2). As expected, a greater proportion of both movement bodies (about 30%) hold meetings in excess of once a month with the activists than with the membership (about 5%). This indicates the higher participation rates of activists within large sections of the movements, representing the most highly institutionalised groups within the movement. Groups with no meetings of membership are those groups without formal membership (see section b). They represent the least institutionalised groups within the movement.

TABLE 6.2: Consultation Profiles.

<u>MOVEMENTS:</u>	<u>ANTI-NUCLEAR</u>	<u>WILDERNESS</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Membership meetings:</u>		
0	28	29
< 13 p.a.	66	65
> 12 p.a.	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<u>Activist meetings:</u>		
0	21	18
< 13 p.a.	48	53
> 12 p.a.	<u>31</u>	<u>29</u>
	100	100

In general, this shows a pattern that confirms the proposition that movements are highly differentiated in their structure. Only 6% of groups held meetings of members more than once a month, and less than one third held meetings of activists more than once a month. At the other end of the spectrum between 18 and 28% did not hold meetings at all.

(b) Formalisation

Formalisation tends to increase as groups become larger and older, and there is a requirement for regular funds (membership dues) for campaigns and for the employment of activists on a continuing basis. Although formalisation, as Tables 6.3 shows, is generally low within the two movements, there is also a wide variation in the degree of formalisation. The two movements again show similarities in their patterns of formalisation. Some differences were found in activist selection procedures and the degree of formalisation of membership. The implications of these results will be discussed at the end of this section.

TABLE 6.3: Activist Selection Procedures.⁴⁷

ACTIVIST SELECTION: Wilderness Movement Anti-nuclear Movement

	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
self-selection	44	68
formal election	56	31
formal appointment	16	8

There is a much higher rate of formalised membership and formalisation of selection procedures in the wilderness movement than in the anti-nuclear movement. Nearly all wilderness groups (84%) have formal membership, as compared with only two-thirds of the anti-nuclear groups. Formalisation of membership tends to occur as membership numbers per group increase. Formalisation of membership is, therefore, likely to be lower in the anti-nuclear movement as the average size for each anti-nuclear group is less than half that of the wilderness movement groups (60 members per group as compared with 140 members per group for the wilderness movement).

The pattern of formalised communication with the general membership through newsletters and journals is very similar for both movements (although the quality of that communication may

⁴⁷ Percentages do not add up to 100 because some groups use more than one procedure for selecting activists.

vary). Small groups can survive with informal communication, but larger or expanding groups tend to regularise and formalise communication in order to attract new members and socialise the existing members (see Appendix B).

Two implications can be drawn from these findings. First, both movements show a broad variation with a formalised 'core' and informal 'fringes'. Secondly, by and large, the same groups that show low institutionalisation are also low in respect to formalisation. The wilderness movement is more formalised, reflecting its older age structure and larger groupings. This is particularly evident in the selection of activists. The wilderness movement is much less likely to use self-selection and much more likely to use formal selection procedures. As will be seen later, this indicates the greater bureaucratisation (and professionalisation) within this movement.

(c) Bureaucratisation

The role differentiation process and the development of professionalised activism involves payment of salaries, full-time work, and the development of greater autonomy of the activist through lower or irregular consultation with the members. This process is measured in terms of the ratio of paid activists to volunteers, the ratio of activists to members, their rates of involvement, and the ratio of activists to the group (Tables 6.4 - 6.6).

TABLE 6.4: Professionalisation Rates.

	<u>Wilderness</u> <u>Movement</u>	<u>Anti-nuclear</u> <u>Movement</u>
Paid activists/volunteers	10.3	6.8
Full-time/total activists	12.3	9.4
Total activists/membership	4.1	3.8
Paid activists/membership	3.8/'000	2.4/'000
Paid activists/group	1.71 (rate/group)	0.53 (rate/group)

Again, the overall picture emerging from the analysis is that of wide variation - both within the two movements, between them, and between the states. Overall, however, the wilderness movement is more bureaucratised (and professionalised) than the anti-nuclear movement.

It should be noted that there is a wide variation between states within the anti-nuclear movement (see Table 6.5).

Professionalisation, as measured by the ratio of paid activists/

membership, is lowest in the anti-nuclear movement in Western Australia (followed by Queensland) and highest in the anti-nuclear movement in New South Wales. Conversely the rates of voluntary activism are lowest in Western Australia and highest in Queensland. Tasmania's rate of voluntary activism is also very high; however, this is related to the very small groups in that state. Such groups tend to retain higher rates of voluntary activism (and this may be why there is a widely held perception within the anti-nuclear movement that 'small is beautiful').

TABLE 6.5(a): MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVISM RATES

- The Anti-Nuclear Movement

<u>State</u>	<u>Ratio of MEMBERSHIP to -</u>			
	<u>group</u>	<u>total activists</u>	<u>volunteers</u>	<u>paid activists</u>
VIC	327	37	40	439
SA	288	29	31	365
WA	255	44	48	646
NSW	200	23	26	247
QU	99	11	11	-
TAS	35	4	4	-

TABLE 6.5(b): MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVISM RATES

- The Wilderness Movement

<u>State</u>	<u>Ratio of MEMBERSHIP to -</u>			
	<u>group</u>	<u>total activists</u>	<u>volunteers</u>	<u>paid activists</u>
VIC	1412	56	64	470
TAS	645	53	64	308
SA	265	17	19	142
NSW	230	11	12	125
QU	166	11	11	166
W A	117	9	9	293

Ignoring for the moment the anomalous figures of Western Australia, (Table 6.5), it is clear that all activism is inversely proportional to size of the group, i.e. as the size of the group increases the rate of activism decreases. The numbers of members required to support the average activist increases with the size of the group, thus confirming the impression held within some movements that smaller groups facilitate more active participation.

However, larger movement organisations support more activists. It is therefore necessary to consider the rate of activism per group (see Table 6.6). Here the rate of activism, both voluntary and professional, is relatively stable within the anti-nuclear movement, but varies widely between states within the wilderness movement. There, the rate of activism per group is up to four times higher [compare Table 6.6(a) with Table 6.6(b)]. The reason for the higher rate of activism by group is related to the greater size of wilderness

movement groups, as indicated earlier in this chapter. The relative concentration of activists within the wilderness movement is another reason to expect greater formalisation and institutionalisation within this movement, relative to the anti-nuclear movement.

TABLE 6.6(a): ACTIVISM RATES PER GROUP.

- The Anti-nuclear Movement

<u>STATE</u>	<u>RATIO TO GROUPS:</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Activists/</u>	<u>Volunteers/</u>	<u>Paid</u>
VIC	8.9		8.1	.75
SA	9.9		9.2	.79
W A	5.7		5.3	.39
NSW	8.6		7.7	.81
QU	9.0		8.9	-
TAS	8.7		8.7	-

TABLE 6.6(b): ACTIVISM RATES PER GROUP.

- The Wilderness Movement

<u>STATE</u>	<u>RATIO TO GROUPS:</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Activists/</u>	<u>Volunteers/</u>	<u>Paid</u>
VIC	25		22	3.0
TAS	12		10	2.1
SA	16		14	1.9
NSW	21		19	1.8
QU	15		14	1.0
W A	13		13	0.4

The figures for Western Australia indicate that both movements in this state are 'under-activated' in both voluntary and professional activism in the sense that a much higher proportion of members are required per activist employed. This may reflect Western Australia's geographical isolation from the urban centres on the eastern seaboard of Australia - the centres which tend to dominate Australian movement politics.

The degree of bureaucratisation may also be related to the age of the groups. As pointed out earlier, 70% of the anti-nuclear groups were formed after 1979 whereas 70% of the wilderness groups were formed prior to 1980 (and 36% of wilderness groups were formed prior to 1970 compared with only 13% for the anti-nuclear movement). The lower bureaucratisation in the anti-nuclear movement may therefore reflect the generally high turnover of groups within the movement. Note also (Table 6.5) that in both movements more members are required per paid activist, as compared with voluntary activists, indicating that only larger groups can afford to professionalise their staff. The larger numbers of activists in wilderness organisations is to be expected because of the larger size of their groups.

(d) Incorporation

Again, the overall picture is that of wide variation - within movements, between movements, and between the states - thus confirming the proposition about the differentiation and multi-modality of movements. In terms of the first index (submissions to

governments) which indicates the extent of formal participation in government decision-making, the profiles of the two movements differ (Table 6.7).

TABLE 6.7: Submissions to Governments.

	<u>Anti-nuclear</u>	<u>Wilderness</u>
	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Movement</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Submissions to Federal Govt.	50	53
Submissions to State Govt.	28	80
Submissions to Local Govt.	28	47

About half of both movements make submissions to the federal government. The higher proportion of submissions presented by the wilderness movement to state and local governments indicates the greater degree of incorporation by this movement in lower levels of government. There are two possible reasons for this. First, it might be argued that wilderness issues are more specific and therefore more easily focussed upon than anti-nuclear issues, which tend to be broader and not easily dealt with in terms of submissions to state bureaucracies. Secondly, anti-nuclear issues might be thought of as a primarily federal government responsibility. Wilderness issues, which involve large-scale land-use decisions (such as 'national' parks), are primarily a state government responsibility, although the federal government's attention and responsibility in the area of wilderness protection has steadily increased over the past twenty years.

The picture also varies between states. Anti-nuclear groups in some states enjoy the active support and involvement of lower levels of government (such as local government 'nuclear-free zone' campaigns). Anti-nuclear groups that made submissions to state and local governments were found mainly in New South Wales and Victoria, where there were sympathetic Labor-controlled governments. At the local government level, 'anti-nuclear' issues arouse particularly strong support in Melbourne.

With the second index (representation on government and semi-government committees and advisory councils), the wilderness movement rated higher, with 37% of groups having representation (compared with 23% for the anti-nuclear movement). Given the young age of the anti-nuclear groups, this is not surprising. It was also noted that anti-nuclear groups that did have representatives on government bodies were more likely to receive government funding.

More formalised organisations, as indicated earlier, enjoy greater access to government decision-making processes. Social movement organisations come under increasing pressure to formalise when they receive government funding. This is because they are required to account formally for the expenditure of public funds. This, in turn, increases their contact with government bodies.

Government funding of the anti-nuclear and wilderness movements was found to be almost the same in terms of the proportion of groups receiving such funding. Older and more established groups tend to be more successful in attracting funds, probably because they prepare better submissions and hold greater legitimacy in claiming support. However, it was also found that while the anti-nuclear movement groups are much younger than

the wilderness movement groups, they were, in general, equally well funded. This may be because funding for the anti-nuclear groups was measured during the International Year of Peace (1986). There is reason to believe that, at other times, the level of financial support for the anti-nuclear movement is much lower, although some groups may still enjoy state and local government grants in particular states, such as New South Wales and Victoria.

Summary:

All the measures used here show a wide variation and differentiation within the movements. Both movements contain highly institutionalised, formalised and bureaucratic 'cores', which include organisations that are also highly incorporated in the State bureaucracies. These 'core' bodies are similar to conventional, formalised pressure groups. Both movements are also made up of a fluid and ephemeral 'fringe', which includes informal and semi-formal groupings. In between these extremes, there are groups with various degrees of formalisation. They constitute the majority of movement bodies.

The wilderness movement has been shown to be more formalised in terms of activist selection procedures; more bureaucratised in terms of employment of professional activists; and more incorporated in terms of submissions to governments and representation on government committees (Table 6.8). All this suggests that the wilderness movement is more institutionalised and formalised than the anti-nuclear movement, and this fact should be reflected in the cluster analysis of the movement, which now follows.

**TABLE 6.8: SUMMARY OF SELECTED MOVEMENT
CHARACTERISTICS**

Selected General Characteristics:

<u>Internal:</u>	<u>Principal Indices</u>	<u>Wilderness Movement</u>	<u>Antinuclear Movement</u>
Institutionalisation	* members meetings	(profile same)	
	* activists meetings	(profile similar)	
	* use of mass media	32%	18%
Formalisation	* selection of activists (formal)	72%	39%
	* formal membership	84%	65%
	* publishing of newsletters	67%	70%
Bureaucratisation	* paid activism (fulltime)	20%	11%
	* paid activism (parttime)	23%	12%
	* voluntary (fulltime)	15%	16%
	* voluntary (parttime)	76%	90%
<u>External:</u>			
Incorporation	* submissions to governments	(profile differs)	
	* representation on govt. bodies	37%	23%
	* government funding	33%	28%

5. ORGANISATIONAL MODES - CLUSTER ANALYSIS

(a) composition of the clusters

From the discussion of the structure of social movements presented in chapter two, and the initial analysis in section four of this chapter, the following propositions were derived:

- 1) Movements are multi-modal. They contain a highly formalised 'core', which operates mainly in the Institutional Mode, and less formalised 'fringes'. In between there are groups with varying degrees and patterns of formalisation.
- 2) A cluster of organisational characteristics will occur (Institutional Mode) such that a relatively old movement, in terms of the age of its constituent groups, with relatively fewer but larger groups, will have more regular and formalised contact with its general membership; will have more formalised selection procedures for activists (i.e. appointment after application for a position or by election); will make less reference to the general membership when making decisions; will seek greater integration with other movement groups through affiliations; and will be more integrated with government bodies (through representation, funding and formal submissions) than movement bodies operating in the other modes.
- 3) A cluster of organisational characteristics will occur (Social Movement Mode) such that a relatively young movement will have more but smaller groups; will consult the general membership more when making decisions; will select its activists informally; will have relatively low intra-movement affiliations; will be less integrated with government bodies; and will participate at a higher frequency

in the political process through 'non-institutional' activities, such as public rallies (see Fig 3.1).

4) A cluster of organisational characteristics will occur that distinguish this mode (New Mode) from the other two modes. Movement bodies exemplifying this mode are recently formed, cadre-style groups. The activists in these groups are 'self-selected', and their activities are focussed on direct action and symbolic protests.

(b) CLUSTER analysis:

CLUSTER analysis is a statistical technique that treats "subsets of objects or variables that are more homogeneous with reference to each other than they are to other objects or variables" (Chignell & Stacey, 1980:1). The common measure is the Pearson correlation coefficient. The major problem with cluster analysis is the difficulty in deciding how many clusters there are in a data set. One has to take into account that "the strategy of cluster analysis is structure-seeking although its operation is structure-imposing" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984:16). The clustering method tends to place objects into groups; the problem is to know how 'real' these groups are, or whether they have merely been imposed on the data through the initial selection of variables.

There are two ways of overcoming this problem. First, the analysis can be replicated using another set of data. This I will do by looking at the two movements separately. Secondly, there are different types of clustering techniques which can be applied to the same data. Using this approach I will expect to find broadly similar results, with some variation due to what I call 'volatile' variables,

i.e. variables that shift their attachment from one cluster to another due to their poor correlation with any set of variables.

While the clustering method may, to some extent, 'impose' structures on the data, it should be remembered that the subject matter, two social movements, is rather complex and fluid. The use of CLUSTER is merely a device to extract underlying, integrated organisational structures within each movement. Rather than hypothesizing, for example, that full-time, formally selected and paid activists are likely to be found in groups with larger numbers of members, the CLUSTER technique helps one to leave out such speculation and to allow the data to 'find its own structure'. Also, the CLUSTER technique creates a number of sub-structures within the data without pre-determining how many such clusters should be.

(c) Procedure:

After the data files had been created variables were dichotomised in order to facilitate the cross-tabulation of all the variables and to facilitate a Pearson correlation analysis. Two CLUSTER analyses followed. First, the correlation matrix of the dichotomised variables was entered into CLUSTER. Secondly, the cross-tabulations were ordered through CLUSTER. The results were compared, and it was found that prior cross-tabulation revealed little more than a direct CLUSTER of Pearson correlations. With the resultant clusters, a check was made on the dichotomisation procedure. Some variables were already dichotomised in the raw data. Other variables were dichotomised according to a high/low

division in the distribution of values for each variable. The checking procedure resulted in some minor changes in the dichotomisation of the variables 'membership numbers', 'meetings of members', 'meetings of all interested people', 'voluntary part-time' and 'affiliations', so that the dichotomies would be more in line with the median in the distribution of values in these variables.

(d) The results

One has to be careful in comparing the clusters of organisational characteristics within the anti-nuclear and wilderness movements because the organisational characteristics vary between clusters. While the wilderness movement clusters are resilient, i.e. their make-up is the same regardless of the clustering technique used, the make-up of the anti-nuclear movement clusters vary with different clustering techniques. Most characteristics are stable but some are 'volatile', i.e. they shift from one mode or cluster to another. Also, while the anti-nuclear movement clusters are broadly comparable with the wilderness movement clusters, they vary between states.⁴⁸ Given this variation, there are three possible ways of proceeding in order to compare the clusters of each movement:

- 1) analyse only those characteristics within clusters that are common to both movements;
- 2) compare clusters between movements regardless of differing organisational characteristics (variables) within each cluster;
- 3) some combination of the first two methods.

⁴⁸ A state by state analysis of the wilderness movement is not statistically possible because of insufficient numbers of wilderness groups.

As previously stated the clusters in the wilderness movement are fairly resilient. The organisational variables were relatively consistent through three different cluster analyses and formed three distinct clusters. These clusters, as argued here, are indicative of three organisational modes: the social movement mode (SMM), the institutional mode (IM) and another mode which has been called here the 'new mode' (NM) (Table 6.9).

TABLE 6.9: MODAL STRUCTURE OF THE WILDERNESS MOVEMENT

<u>CONCEPT</u>	<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>INSTIT.</u> <u>MODE</u>	<u>S.M.</u> <u>MODE</u>	<u>NEW</u> <u>MODE</u>
STRUCTURE				
AGE	AGE(YOUNG)			*
SIZE	MEMBERSHIP		*	
COMMUNIC.	N/LETTER FREQ		*	
	MEETMEM FREQ		*	
	MEETCORE FREQ		*	
ROLE DIFFER.	ACTIVIST SELEC.	Applic.	Election	Self-appt.
	NOS.VOLFULL			*
	NOS. VOLPART		*	
	NOS. PAID FULL	*		
	NOS. PAID PART	*		
INCORPORATION				
MOVE-ORIENT.	AFFILIATIONS			*
GOVT-ORIENT.	SUBMISSIONS	*(State)	*(Fed.)	
	REPRESENTATION		*	
	FUNDING	*		
MOBILISATION				
DIRECT	RALLIES			*
	DIRECT ACTION			*
	PUB.DISPLAYS	*		
INDIRECT	MEDIA	*		

[Volatile variable: Meetings of General Public]

Choosing the number of clusters in the entire anti-nuclear movement (i.e. deciding where to 'cut' the cluster analysis) was relatively easy. However, 'cutting' within each state was sometimes very difficult. [In the case of Victoria, for example, clear clustering had not occurred and the only clear demarcation resulted in two clusters. In the case of NSW there were three clear clusters. In Tasmania there were three clear clusters but the 'Institutional Mode' cluster excluded the important organisational characteristic of 'payment of activists' (because there no paid activists in the anti-nuclear movement in Tasmania). In South Australia there were two clear clusters; in Queensland there were two and in Western Australia there were two.] Finer 'cutting' would have resulted in 4-5 clusters for Victoria, 5 for NSW, 4 for Tasmania, 3 or 5 for South Australia, 3 or 5 for Queensland and 5 for Western Australia.

Taking the anti-nuclear movement in Australia as a whole there were three clear clusters. The constituent characteristics of each cluster were broadly comparable with the three modes discussed in chapter three, thus confirming the propositions (Table 6.10).

**TABLE 6.10: MODAL STRUCTURE OF THE ANTI-NUCLEAR
MOVEMENT**

<u>CONCEPT</u>	<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>INSTIT.</u> <u>MODE</u>	<u>S.M.</u> <u>MODE</u>	<u>NEW</u> <u>MODE</u>
STRUCTURE				
AGE	AGE(YOUNG)			*
SIZE	MEMBERSHIP		*	
COMMUNIC.	N/LETTER FREQ		*	
	MEETMEM FREQ			*
	MEETPUB FREQ			*
	MEETCORE FREQ		*	
ROLE DIFFER.	ACTIVIST SELEC.	Applic.		
	NOS.VOLFULL			*
	NOS. VOLPART			*
	NOS. PAID FULL	*		
	NOS. PAID PART	*		
INCORPORATION				
MOVE-ORIENT.	AFFILIATIONS		*	
GOVT-ORIENT.	SUBMISSIONS		*	
	REPRESENTATION		*	
	FUNDING			*
MOBILISATION				
DIRECT	RALLIES			
INDIRECT	MEDIA		*	

[Volatile Variable: Rallies]

TABLE 6.11: MODAL STRUCTURE OF BOTH MOVEMENTS

<u>CONCEPT</u>	<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>INSTIT.</u> <u>MODE</u>	<u>S.M.</u> <u>MODE</u>	<u>NEW</u> <u>MODE</u>
STRUCTURE				
AGE	AGE(YOUNG)			*
SIZE	MEMBERSHIP		*	
COMMUNIC.	N/LETTER FREQ		*	
	MEETMEM FREQ			
	MEETCORE FREQ		*	
ROLE DIFFER.	ACTIVIST SELEC.	Applic.		Self-appt.
	NOS.VOLFULL			*
	NOS. VOLPART		*	
	NOS. PAID FULL	*		
	NOS. PAID PART	*		
INCORPORATION				
MOVE-ORIENT.	AFFILIATIONS			*
GOVT-ORIENT.	SUBMISSIONS			*(local)
	REPRESENTATION		*	
	FUNDING	*		
MOBILISATION				
DIRECT	RALLIES			
INDIRECT	MEDIA	*		

[Volatile Variables: Meetings of General Public, Meetings of Membership and Rallies]

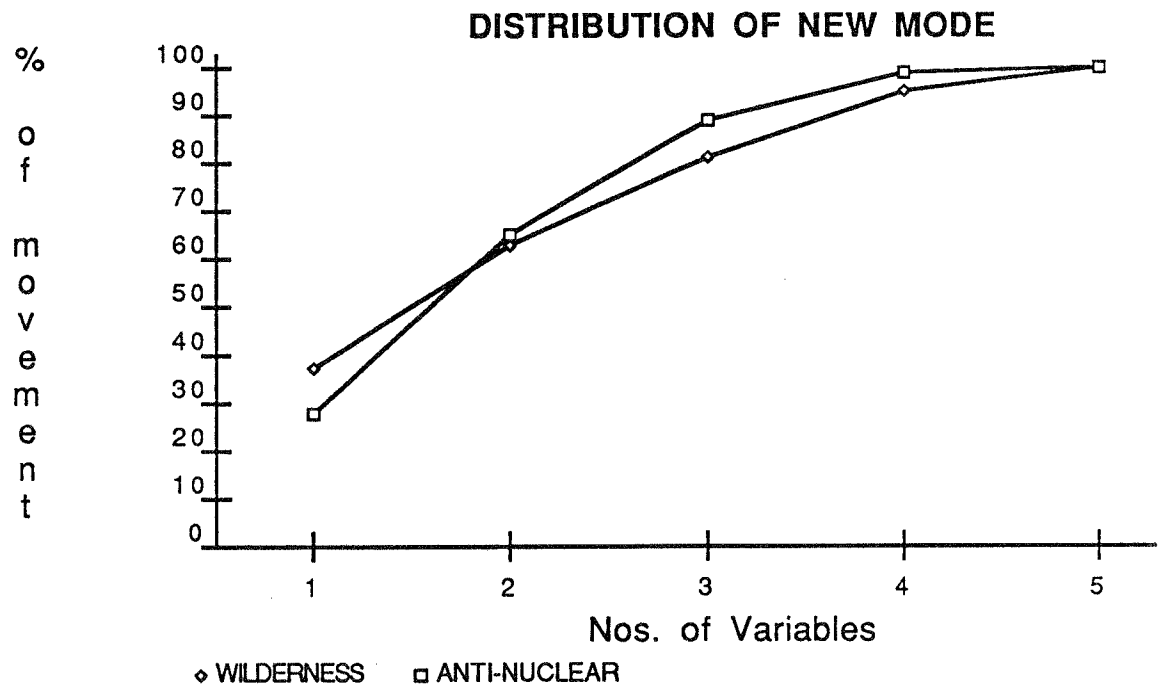
While it is clear that both movements have a similar tri-modal structure, the extent to which the clusters (or modes of operating) are distributed within each movement has not been examined yet. The common characteristics in their respective clusters are detailed in Table 6.11. This table was constructed using option 3 (see earlier) because the make-up of each movement's clusters were not identical. In this table the variables MEDIA and FUNDING have been added to the Institutional Mode, VOLUNTARY PART-TIME ACTIVISTS has been added to the Social Movement Mode and SELF-SELECTED ACTIVISTS has been added to the New Mode.

The Social Movement Mode (SMM) is made up of five inter-related variables - NEWSLETTER frequency, VOLUNTARY PART-TIME activism, MEETINGS OF CORE activists, MEMBERSHIP NUMBERS and REPRESENTATION. Taking any one variable (because it cannot be said that one variable is more important than another), about 17-22% of the groups in both movements share at least one variable that makes up this mode; i.e. 45% of the wilderness movement has two SMM variables or less whereas 54% of the anti-nuclear movement has two SMM variables or less, 72% of the wilderness movement has three variables or less, while 83% of the anti-nuclear movement has the same, 86% of the wilderness movement has four variables or less, while 95% of the anti-nuclear movement has the same (see Graph 2). While the distribution of variables in the Social Movement Mode (SMM) and the New Mode (NM) are almost identical for both movements (see Graphs 1 & 2)

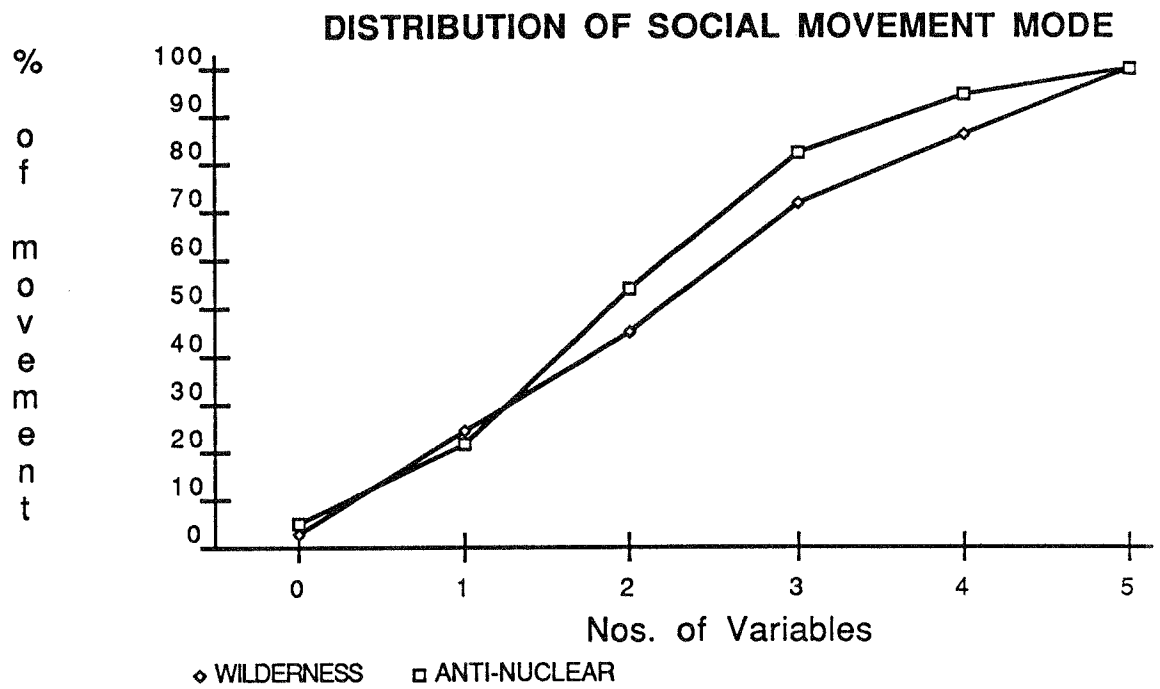
the two movements are very different in the distribution of the Institutional Mode (see Graph 3).

In sum, the anti-nuclear and wilderness movements are found to be very similar in the New and Social Movement Modes but very different in the Institutional Mode. An examination of the similarities and differences will be discussed in the next section.

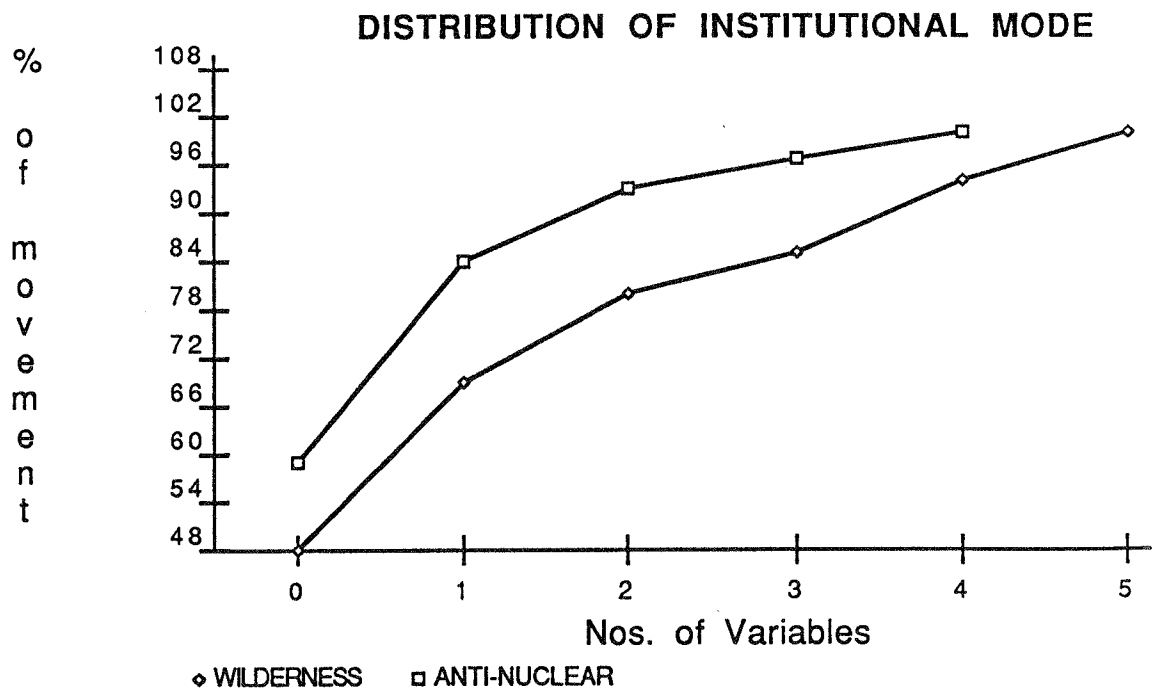
GRAPH 1:



GRAPH 2:



GRAPH 3:



6. CONCLUSIONS:

In brief there are seven conclusions drawn from this analysis:

- 1) The two movements have a tri-modal structure, although the strength and clarity with which each of the three modes are articulated differs between the states and the movements analysed.
- 2) As a general point, there is great variability within the organisational structures of anti-nuclear and wilderness movements in Australia. The bodies comprising the two movements vary from the very informal (Social Movement Mode) through to the very formal (Institutional Mode).
- 3) The two movements are similar in the distribution of organisational characteristics within the Social Movement Mode (SMM).
- 4) The two movements are dissimilar in their institutional pattern. The wilderness movement has a greater degree of institutionalisation than the anti-nuclear movement, i.e. Institutional Mode (IM).
- 5) The third cluster emerging in the analysis is called here the New Mode. It is equally distributed in both movements. The New Mode is a sub-structure of characteristics that does not fit the conventional polarisation of organisational characteristics into informal/formal, institutionalised/non-institutionalised, bureaucratic/non-bureaucratic and incorporated/non-incorporated.
- 6) There is less consistency or lower crystallisation of organisational substructures within the anti-nuclear movement when it is examined on a state-by-state basis.

7) The institutionalisation of social movements seems to be associated with the characteristics associated with conventional forms of political participation.

Social movements do operate in both the Social Movement Mode (SMM) and the Institutional Mode (IM), vindicating both the resource mobilisation and action/identity streams of thought. However, neither stream of thought is exclusively correct; both account for different parts and aspects of the movement. Social movements are both institutionalised and non-institutionalised to varying degrees. The resource mobilisation theorists are correct in asserting that social movements share the same organisational characteristics as more formalised political institutions. The action/identity theorists are also correct in asserting that social movements operate informally in an ad hoc way and through informal groupings that operate independently of conventional politics. For example, the Field Naturalists Club of Victoria operates predominantly in such a way, while the Nature Conservation Council of N.S.W. operates in the Institutional Mode. Together they illustrate the organisational variation within the wilderness movement. The movements also contain a third type of grouping, the structure and operation of which differs from the other two modes. The formation of these New Mode groups has been signalled by the new social movement theorists, and are exemplified by the Wilderness Society and People for Nuclear Disarmament groups.

(a) the Social Movement Mode (SMM):

The organisational variables making up the SMM cluster include high MEMBERSHIP, high frequency in the use of NEWSLETTERS for communicating with this membership, high rates of PART-TIME VOLUNTEERS, high frequency of MEETINGS of the core activists, and high rates of REPRESENTATION on government and semi-government committees and advisory councils. In other words there is a general emphasis in this mode on mass participation.

The SMM clusters differ slightly when the two movements are analysed separately. The wilderness movement has some additional variables in the SMM cluster: ELECTION as a mode of activist selection, high frequency of MEETINGS with the general membership, and SUBMISSIONS to the federal government. The election of activists (internal to the organisations) and the greater use of submissions (external to the organisations) indicate greater formalisation within the Wilderness Movement. The anti-nuclear movement, with its higher rate of self-appointment of activists, is less formally democratic than the wilderness movement. Note also that self-appointment and election of activists are relatively exclusive forms of activist selection, being strongly negatively correlated (-0.72). Groups and organisations using one form rarely use the other. While submissions to the federal government is a significant variable in this mode, the wilderness movement as a whole has a higher rate of submissions to all tiers of government (see table 5.11), indicating greater acceptance of institutionalised forms of political participation.

An individual analysis of the SMM in the anti-nuclear movement reveals the additional variables: high frequency of AFFILIATIONS with other movement groups, a high frequency of SUBMISSIONS to all tiers of government, and high use of the MEDIA. The higher rate of affiliations within the anti-nuclear movement may indicate that this is an important integrating mechanism for groups and organisations operating in the SMM.

The use of the mass MEDIA differs in the two movements.⁴⁹ While, in the wilderness movement, the variable RALLIES is strongly correlated with PAID FULL-TIME activism (0.60), PAID PART-TIME activism (0.80), and high MEMBERSHIP NUMBERS (0.68) (characteristics that make up the Institutional Mode), in the anti-nuclear movement RALLIES is not strongly correlated with any other variable. This is a reflection of the fact that most of the anti-nuclear movement (74%) is involved in rally organisation. In the wilderness movement, by contrast, public protests involve only 18% of the movement's bodies. This indicates that public protests are used as different tactics by the two movements. The media is used by the wilderness movement as a means of gaining publicity for achieving specific instrumental ends, whereas it is used by the anti-nuclear movement it is used expressively as a means of achieving publicity and mobilising of public participation.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Pearson correlation analysis, when applied to the anti-nuclear movement data, reveals a correlation of 0.40 between MEDIA and RALLIES. When applied to the wilderness movement data, the same variables also have a high correlation (0.45).

⁵⁰ Also, the use of one form of public protest is very likely to be used with other forms of public protest as rallies, direct actions and public meetings are very strongly inter-correlated (0.91).

(b) the Institutional Mode:

The institutionalisation of both movements seems to increase with age and size of its bodies. The wilderness movement, being made up of older and larger groups and organisations, is more institutionalised and formalised than the anti-nuclear movement, which is made up of smaller and short-lived groupings.

The Institutional Mode is made up of the following characteristics: appointment of activists after APPLICATION for the position, activists are PAID and work FULL-TIME or PART-TIME, the organisations receive government FUNDING, and there is a high incidence of use of the mass MEDIA. Formalisation of the movement is also evident in the frequent remuneration of activists. In the process of formalisation the emphasis shifts from grass-roots participation to professional activism, from enthusiasm to application, and from expressive to instrumental activities. Within the wilderness movement the Institutional Mode is also associated with high MEMBERSHIP numbers and frequent public presentations. High membership provides the necessary funds for employing activists and encourages the greater formalisation associated with organisational maintenance.

Another feature of the wilderness movement is its greater centralisation in a few key groups (the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Wilderness Society and, perhaps, the Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland). The anti-nuclear movement, by contrast, is much more fragmented and de-centralised. The dominant organisation within this movement would be the People

for Nuclear Disarmament groups, which represent 20% of the movement in organisational terms.⁵¹

The NSW section of the anti-nuclear movement exhibits greater institutionalisation than the Victorian section. This is largely attributable to the dominating presence of a relatively more active network of People for Nuclear Disarmament groups in NSW. Victoria is also less centralised by virtue of the ideological split between People for Nuclear Disarmament groups and Campaign for International Cooperation and Development. The practical consequence of this split is the relative ineffectiveness of the anti-nuclear movement in mobilising people in mass rallies in Victoria.

(c) the New Mode:

While not discerned in classical organisational theory, the New Mode emerges in the data, and its distribution is virtually identical within the two movements. It is made up of a cluster of characteristics: the New Mode groups are YOUNG, highly integrated through AFFILIATIONS with other groups, and have SELF-

⁵¹ When analysed separately the anti-nuclear movement loses some characteristics of the Institutional Mode. Government funding and high use of the media are not part of the Institutional Mode in such an analysis. This is explained by the lower institutional differentiation of this movement in general, and the low proportion of bodies having a high frequency of media use (18%). However, this statement must be qualified by pointing to the variation in the structure of the anti-nuclear movement in different states.

APPOINTED activists who work FULL-TIME as VOLUNTEERS.⁵²

The New Mode is predominantly made up of branches (10) of the Wilderness Society in the wilderness movement, and branches (20) of People for Nuclear Disarmament in the anti-nuclear movement.

The organisational characteristics making up the New Mode do not fit together logically in the same way as the characteristics of the other two modes. However, some components of the New Mode are suggested by the New Social Movement theorists. For example, (a) the self-appointment method of selecting activists and the voluntary nature of the work within the movement are both characteristics of the directly-democratic form of organisation, as emphasized by Rothschild-Whitt (1976) and Gundelach (1982).⁵³ The fluidity of self-appointed, voluntary activism is also seen by Offe (1985) and Feher & Heller (1986) as distinctive features of the 'new movements'.

⁵² In the Wilderness Movement the New Mode is also associated with public protests, such as rallies and direct actions. This appears to be in contradiction with the previous comments on the association of these activities with the professional, or Institutional Mode. This is because public protests are used by a small proportion of the movement, including the two multi-modal organisations - the Wilderness Society and the East Gippsland Coalition. Public protests are therefore organised by both new groupings of activists (New Mode) and professional organisations (Institutional Mode). The use of this tactic is mainly for strategic purposes, as pointed out earlier.

⁵³ The Anti-nuclear Movement is less formally democratic, as there is a greater use of self-appointment of activists; this phenomenon is also strongly negatively correlated (-0.45) with group or organisational size. In other words, self-appointment tends to be confined to small groups.

(d) conclusion - the two movements compared

On all the above criteria, i.e. types of member groups, centralisation, institutionalisation, formalisation, bureaucratisation (professionalisation) and incorporation, the wilderness movement is more institutionalised than the anti-nuclear movement. The wilderness movement is also older, more centralised, has larger groups, its roles are more differentiated (formalised), its organisations are more professionalised and are more likely to be incorporated in conventional politics.

A secondary feature that distinguishes the wilderness movement from the anti-nuclear movement is its greater crystallisation in organisational modes. This is indicated by the greater relative stability of the wilderness movement's modal structure when subjected to different types of cluster analysis. The characteristics making up the wilderness movement's modal structure are relatively stable, with few 'volatile' variables. When each state is analysed separately, the anti-nuclear movement, by contrast, exhibits variation in some of the characteristics making up its modal structures. This is because the organisational structures of the anti-nuclear movement are more fluid, less stable and less crystallised. One can therefore be more confident about the relative stability of the structure of the wilderness movement over time, whereas the anti-nuclear movement, with its high proportion of young groups, is more likely to fluctuate in public support, in campaigns and in organisational structure. This could only be verified by a longitudinal study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has examined the organisational structure of two movements typical of what are seen as new Western movements. Some of the conclusions drawn in the previous chapters, especially those concerning the tri-modality of movements, may now be discussed in a wider context. In this concluding chapter these more general issues, signalled in chapters one and two, are addressed again, in the context of the results of the study.

1. Tri-modal structure and institutionalised politics

Non-governmental institutions that operate between the citizen and the state, such as political parties and interest groups, are mechanisms for the articulation and aggregation of public interests and concerns. However, as Gitlin (1980:290-291) points out,

... an opposition movement is caught in a fundamental and inescapable dilemma. If it stands outside the dominant realm of discourse, it is liable to be consigned to marginality and political irrelevance; its issues are domesticated, its deeper challenge to the social order sealed off, trivialized, and contained. If, on the other hand, it plays by conventional political rules in order to acquire an image of credibility - if, that is, its leaders are well-mannered, its actions well-ordered, and its slogans specific and 'reasonable' - it is liable to be assimilated into the hegemonic political world view; it comes

to be identified with narrow (if important) reform issues, and its oppositional edge is blunted.

A similar problem is pointed out by Rochon (1982:6), in that as movements gain in power and influence "greater capacity brings with it greater institutionalisation, which reduces the role of the individual within the organisation".

Movements may partly resolve these dilemmas by strengthening the participatory dimension of politics, but they do not offer a panacea curing the bureaucratic deficiencies. In fact, the dilemma signalled by Rochon seems to persist within the movements; they become split internally, and their tri-modal structure reflects the very tension the supporters of movements hope to resolve. The core movement organisations often act as quasi-parties and interest groups; the 'peripheral' groups and networks promote participation and involvement; the direct action bodies oscillate between the two, developing a specific pattern labelled here a 'new mode'. The tension is thus internalised rather than resolved.

Movements do not escape the regularities diagnosed by students of organisation and politics. The issues they raise are also restricted and 'distorted' by the various modes of organisation. Their representativeness is questionable, and democratic procedures in leadership selection are often ignored. Their political fate, especially the electoral cycles of rising and declining support, reflects these problems. As Kitschelt (1990:200-201) noted, "rational voters demand some certainty about the future behaviour of parties or a vote cannot have the intended impact on power and policy in a democracy". The political wing of the Green movement represents a 'rainbow' collection of supporters who share broad values and

orientations; they have no well-articulated programme or ideology, and tend to leave the specifics to the activist core. Being made up of a variety of forms of organisation movements have great difficulty in maintaining consistency in policies and consistency in voter support.

The 'new' social movements, and the Left-libertarian parties they spawn, affect the political process by placing new and controversial issues on the political agenda and the agenda of popular debates. This alone is often seen as the main task and the criterion of success. Green activists often argue that these agenda extensions, rather than capturing votes and getting political power, constitutes the principal task. They seek a fundamental change of public perceptions of ecology, economic growth, liberty and quality of life. In doing that their tri-modal structure provides an advantage over the conventional political bodies.

In the Social Movement Mode, the emphasis is on grass-roots participation and communication with the members. It also generates publicity which is valuable from the point of view of the mass media attention and coverage. In the Institutional Mode, the emphasis is on established organisation, routine activities and stable leadership, selected on the basis of expertise. Organised movement bodies lobby the powers that be and prepare submissions in the way analogous to conventional interest groups. The New Mode offers vigour and flexibility. It is characterised by cadre-style groups made up of self-appointed activists, who use direct action and symbolic protests. As discussed later, these New Mode groups make up the core organisations within social movements. Taken together, the three modes offer a range of channels of political participation and strategies that are not always available through the conventional

political bodies and which increase movements impact on the popular consciousness.

2. Problems of institutionalisation

While a tri-modal structure is preserved, it is the more formalised and institutionalised organisations that increasingly play a dominant role in the movements. It is the full-time, professional activist who is more adept at organising and coordinating complex political strategies than the enthusiastic supporter (see Roche & Sachs, 1955). With the development of the Institutional Mode, there is a growing division of roles between the part-time, voluntary enthusiast and the full-time, professional activist/ entrepreneur. These institutionalised activists differ from the self-appointed, full-time activists of the New Mode who attempt to escape the constraints of bureaucratic structures, on the one hand, and the ad hococracy of informal networks, on the other. The New Mode activists enjoy a particular advantage in operating between the other two modes, avoiding both the uncertainty of informal decision-making (Social Movement Mode) and the inflexibility of formal decision-making (Institutional Mode).

Social movements can, and do, change their activities and strategies, and this makes the movements especially difficult for governments to deal with. Attempts to incorporate them are likely to meet with limited success. For example, the attempts to institutionalise and incorporate the wilderness and forestry issues in Tasmania through the Labor-Green Accord, at the political representation level, and through the Salamanca Agreement, at the social movement level, have failed. The agreements reached by the

competing interests generated such tensions that the Salamanca Agreement dissolved and the Labor-Green Accord was broken. This was caused partly by the wilderness movement threatening to shift strategies, from consultation (typical of the Institutional Mode) to direct action (typical of the New Mode) or 'mass mobilisation' (typical of the Social Movement Mode).

These strategies include the use of a variety of channels: the mass media, public rallies, governmental inquiries and direct actions. By combining these diverse channels the movements can stimulate public debates, raise public awareness of the issues left off the conventional political agenda, and force the state and its instrumentalities to draw up new policies, or modify existing policies.

Multi-modality increases the movement's capacity to tap such resources as commitment, spontaneity, and initiative; but, as implied by classical theorists, it also hinders the movement's capacity to directly shape policies. This is exacerbated, as many contemporary theorists claim, by the general orientation within social movements, which has been variously described as anti-systemic (Melucci, 1985), anti-institutional (Touraine, 1985) and anti-bureaucratic (Pakulski, 1991).

Such claims are only partly correct. Western movements, such as the two studied here, seem to combine the anti- and pro-systemic orientations, and expressive, value-based orientations with instrumental orientations. The latter orientations, stressing effective means of implementing the movement's demands, often develop in the later stage of movement consolidation. The shift in orientation occurs whenever the movement organisations enter into direct dialogue with the state, be it through representation on

government committees and advisory councils or, less formally, through lobbying efforts and making submissions to government inquiries. This study shows that this is not difficult because, in all three modes of organisation, the movements establish a broad variety of contacts with conventional political bodies and state instrumentalities. In the New Mode issues are often presented symbolically through 'direct action'; in the Social Movement Mode they are often presented through submissions to government inquiries; and in the Institutional Mode they tend to be presented through lobbying, direct consultation and the mass media appeals. Whichever the means chosen, no movement body operates in complete isolation from conventional politics.

Another advantage multi-modality offers is flexibility. Which particular mode of operating becomes salient is a question of both political opportunities and strategic choice. For example, a government inquiry will tend to bring institutionalised movement groups to the fore, while direct action groups will take over when the inquiry appears to be ineffective (from the movement's point of view) or when there is a division in the movement. During elections, the movements often shift to a bargaining strategy over voting preferences, attempt to have their own representatives elected to parliament, or pressure the major parties through campaigns directed to key marginal electorates. Adjusting strategies involves adjusting organisational structures but this is not difficult due to the flexibility retained by the movement.

One condition of effectiveness in changing government policies is the overall unity and capacity for coordinated action. Such unity is maintained through formal and informal affiliations and/or the strategic dominance of a few groups (such as the Wilderness

Society and the Australian Conservation Foundation in the wilderness movement and People for Nuclear Disarmament in the anti-nuclear movement). These core organisations themselves may develop a multi-modal structure (see Appendix E); they contain a depth and breadth of resources and a large number of skilled full-time activists. They are both 'political fronts' and general strategic headquarters for coordinating movement campaigns. This, however, creates tensions (see Holloway, 1986a, 1986b; Doyle, 1987). These tensions are derived from the competing modes of organisation both within the movement and within particular movement organisations.

The New Mode may offer a means of 'resolving' the tensions between the Institutional Mode and the Social Movement Mode. However, it has two limitations. First, it is limited to new groups with a few full-time, self-appointed activists (a fact often overlooked by the enthusiastic supporters of movements, who equate them with 'participatory democracy' and 'civil society'). The appointment of professional activists leads, in turn, to a reduction in grass-roots participation. Secondly, given the attractions of operating in either of the other two modes, the stability of the New Mode is always precarious. The Green movement in Tasmania, for example, faces increasing pressures both from within and outside the movement to move towards a more institutionalised and formalised structure, in the form of a mass-based political party. These pressures evolve, internally, from the difficulties involved in preparing policy options and selecting candidates for future elections. Related to this, there are also increasing demands from the 'members' to participate in these organisational and policy decisions. Externally, pressures evolve from the demands of parliamentary participation.

Movement bodies are urged to formalise their status as a political party rather than continuing to assert that they are a social movement with 'independent' political candidates. Resistance to such pressures, however, is equally strong. While formalisation provides channels for democratic participation it also forces compromises. It is also resisted by the movement's supporters because they are opposed on principle to bureaucratic party structures (see Pakulski, 1991). Therefore, the Green movement is likely to find it very difficult to transform into a mass party, and is likely to preserve its multi-modal character.

In all, social movements are only partially informal and 'public' in the presentation of their strategies. They **do** have formal membership, programs for reform, and are directly involved in conventional politics.⁵⁴ The wilderness movement, in particular, has grown steadily over the past twenty years, demonstrating its greater organisational capacity and robustness. Other movements, such as the anti-nuclear movement, are less institutionalised and formalised and suffer a great deal from the vicissitudes of public support, as demonstrated in changing public participation in its mass rallies.

3) Movements and democracy

This leads to another general point. Movements in themselves are neither threats to democracy nor vindications of democratic principles. Their pro- or anti- democratic character

⁵⁴ As exemplified by the Tasmanian wilderness movement and the Green Independents.

depends on the political context and the dominant orientation (Pakulski, 1991). Although the movements studied here undoubtedly display some informal and non-bureaucratic features, they do not seem to threaten the established bureaucratic structures. Fears of movements destroying the liberal-democratic polity triggered by fascism, Nazism and communist mass movements do not seem to apply to the new Western social movements studied here. These movements are, if anything, claiming to be strongly pro-democratic⁵⁵, and their multi-modal structure seems to be compatible with the bureaucratised institutions of the stable and effective liberal-democratic polity.

Rather than posing a threat to democratic institutions, the new Western social movements, such as the wilderness and anti-nuclear movements, seem to reinforce conventional forms of politics. Conventional political institutions are neither failing nor relinquishing their ability to handle systemic problems;⁵⁶ they adapt to the challenges posed by the movements by extending their political repertoires and agendas (Papadakis, 1989). Conversely, rather than showing "an end to social movements" (Melucci, 1984), the area of unconventional politics seems to be expanding. Both opposing perspectives on the future of modern politics - professing the incapacity of conventional politics and the waning of social movements - seem to be wrong. What is happening in advanced societies is a process of change in the scope and forms of political

⁵⁵ The decision-making processes within modern Western social movements are not as democratic as they claim to be - see Mansbridge (1973, 1977). Some organisations within the wilderness movement are quite non-democratic in their operation - on the Wilderness Society see Runciman et al (1986) and Holloway (1986a).

⁵⁶ As claimed by Crozier, Huntington & Watanuki, 1975; Berger, 1979; Offe, 1985.

participation. As Huntington (1968) has suggested modern political systems are becoming more differentiated with higher rates of education and the modernisation of society. The resurgence of social movements, combined with their multi-modality, can be seen as part of this process.

There is also another set of general claims that needs to be critically assessed in the light of the findings of the thesis. Some theorists suggest that social movements represent the politicisation of 'civil society'. 'New social movements' have been interpreted as symbolic challenges to the state and the dominant institutions in society. These movements are supposed to be made up of the "networks of everyday life" and to have a socio-cultural rather than political basis (Melucci, 1988: 248; Diani, 1990). Confrontations between collective actions, emanating from civil society, and the institutions of government, according to the new social movement theorists, keep the public spaces open so that the power relations they engender can be rendered visible and thereby negotiable. Without these symbolic dramatisations power relations may remain hidden. By maintaining this space between civil society and the state, movements can avoid becoming institutionalised and incorporated by the state (Melucci, 1988).

Such general diagnoses seem to be only partly accurate. The new social movements, like the ones studied here, do attempt to revitalise democratic participation (Miszta, 1987; Arato and Cohen, 1982) and overcome the dilemma of 'dependent participation' (Melucci, 1988). They are formed at the points where centralised planning creates technocratic decision-making centres which tend to restrict political participation. However, they also use

conventional channels enter the highly conventionalised dialogue with the state and its administrative instrumentalities.

This they achieve through a variety of modes of organisation; and it is this mixture of modes that gives them their power and enhances the democratic politics in modern societies. Movements revitalise public debates and form irritants which force mass parties and interest groups to extend their agendas and loosen their bureaucratic grip on politics.

The extent to which this can be interpreted as the 'revitalisation of civil society', however, is debatable. First, there is great deal of ambiguity in the distinction between the state and civil society (Keane,1988). Many movement bodies, as the Tasmanian example shows, become a part of the state machinery. Secondly, the alleged 'revitalisation' is limited to specific social constituencies, which are mobilised by 'activists/entrepreneurs' through organised groups. These constituencies are restricted to highly educated, young, professional categories (Holloway,1986b; Kriesi,1989; Pakulski,1991). Thirdly, movements re-vitalise both independent public initiatives and state instrumentalities. Their impact on mass parties is one of the topics worthy of further study.

This raises the question of whether the state/civil society distinction is useful in the analysis of modern social movements. The relationship between movement and state is more complex and more symbiotic than this distinction implies. It also raises the question as to whether the anti- or non- institutional orientation often attributed to social movements is accurately diagnosed. Movements analysed here show a mixture of anti-state and pro-state reformist strategies, as indicated by their constant dialogue with the

state instrumentalities and their participation in 'conventional' politics.

4) Implications for social movement theories:

The New Social Movement theorists argue that the 'new political paradigm' develops in modern Western social movements. This new paradigm, or New Mode, does not fit the organisational dichotomisation of informal/formal, institutionalised/non-institutionalised, bureaucratic/non-bureaucratic.

This is, at best, an exaggeration which ignores the role of the formalised and conventional activities associated with the bureaucratised and conventionalised core movement bodies. The reason for this exaggeration may be that the analyses of the new social movement theorists are based mainly on studies of European movements which have a quite distinct history and structure. The Green movements in Europe have largely developed out of the fractured and informal anti-nuclear protests and citizens-initiatives. For this reason they are less institutionalised, less formalised, and less bureaucratic. In Australia and the United States, by contrast, the Green movements have largely evolved out of more formalised wilderness movements, and retain many formalised features related to their origins. The dominance of the formalised organisations in the United States' movements has lead theorists there to a different conclusion - that social movements are increasingly adopting the Institutional Mode.

A more balanced view is necessary to capture the complex organisational configurations in Australia. First, this must acknowledge the multi-modality of the movements. Secondly, the

view of the movement 'core' has to be partly reassessed. Contrary to the beliefs of the resource mobilisation theorists, it is not the more formalised and institutionalised movement bodies that make up the 'core' of social movements but the bodies exhibiting a New Mode structure. The key organisations politically, strategically and, most importantly, organisationally within the two movements examined here are made up of New Mode structures. The wilderness movement is dominated by the Wilderness Society (TWS). The New Mode groupings within the wilderness movement are predominantly Wilderness Society branches (10). The anti-nuclear movement is dominated by People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND). The New Mode groupings within this movement are almost all PND groups (20).⁵⁷ (see Appendix E)

This has two significant implications for social movement theory. It prompts qualifications in the resource mobilisation theories and in the formulations of the European new social movement theorists. They appear to be correct in their claims that new social movement structures form the dominant, or core, groupings within modern social movements. Such core groupings, as the research here shows, are more diverse in their forms than suggested some theorists, such as Offe (1985).

In addition to formalised bodies, movements also contain groupings operating in the Social Movement Mode. This includes small groups of part-time participants, whose focus is on shared identity and the expression of new cultural models. Here,

⁵⁷ A further 5 branches of TWS are multi-modal, having both New Mode and Social Movement Mode structures. A further 8 branches of PND are multi-modal, having both New Mode and Social Movement Mode structures.

The medium, the movement itself is a new medium, is the message. As prophets without enchantment, contemporary movements practise in the present the change they are struggling for: they redefine the meaning of social action for the whole society. (Melucci,1984:830)

Action/identity theorists, who see such organisation as the key components of contemporary movements, put too much stress on informal and non-institutional movement initiatives. Although such initiatives and bodies are an important part of movements, they can hardly be seen as 'core' or key bodies. The prominence attributed to them by action/identity theorists, such as Touraine and Castells, reflects their preferences, their definitions of social movements and their methodological bias, as discussed in chapter two.

Social movements clearly do partake in institutionalised conventional politics. It is, as Donati (1984:853) points out, the professionalised organisations that "'speak' to the system" and are directly involved in the bargaining process. Depending on the outcome of this process, the social movements oscillate between the competing modes of organisation.

This study shows that social movements are much more diverse than any stream of contemporary movement theory would have us believe. Movements are partly incorporated with state instrumentalities - a fact which the action/identity theorists seem not to acknowledge; but they are not merely embryonic parties and interest groups, as the resource mobilisation theorists assume. They consistently operate through the informal Social Movement Mode and the New Mode of organisation as well.

The organisational and strategic pluralism is reflected in the diversity of movement ideologies and orientations. They cover a wide range of politico-philosophical thought - including 'deep' (biocentric) ecology, 'shallow' (anthropocentric) ecology, political radicalism (Marxism and anarchism) and authoritarian conservatism (Hay, 1986, 1987). This ideological inclusiveness, reflected in the variety of constituent groups, gives numerical strength to movement initiatives but presents difficulties in maintaining unity around particular programs and strategies.

The challenge for contemporary movement theorists is to acknowledge this, and to elaborate a model which will take into account the multi-modal structure of modern social movements. Another challenge is to account for an interesting and complex relationship between movement bodies and conventional political organisations. This takes the form of incorporation, which occurs informally and formally, through movement and elite networks. How these elite networks are inter-related and how movements either succumb to, or resist, institutionalisation, needs to be further studied.

5) The future of the two movements:

One may speculate about the future of the two movements. The wilderness movement seems to be more successful in bringing about changes to governments and their policies and gaining representation on government committees and advisory councils than the anti-nuclear movement. It also seems to attract more government funding. Associated with this is higher rates of

activism and professionalisation (Tables 6.4 - 6.6), greater use of the mass media, and lower use of rallies as a protest strategy.

This may lead, in the future, to the growing dominance of the wilderness movement and the environment movement industry in the general sector of Green politics. Wilderness and environmental concerns seem to be growing and displacing anti-nuclear issues (see Blaikie, 1989). One indicator of such a trend is the formation of at least 23 Green parties throughout Australia on the eve of the March 1990 federal elections (*The Australian*, 1990). This politicisation of the Green movement in Australia has been stimulated by the wilderness movement, particularly following the well organised and effective Franklin River campaign and the election of Green Independents to the Tasmanian state parliament. However, to what extent this will affect the other states of Australia, with semi-independent networks and different electoral systems, is open to question. The newly formed Green 'parties' often adopt a new, action-oriented or cadre-style structure reminiscent of the New Mode. This is the result of both political opportunities and emulation of the Tasmanian example.⁵⁸

This pattern of development may set a standard for other movements to follow. If this happens, then modern social

⁵⁸ With the loss of the Lake Pedder campaign, a New Mode group was formed (the Southwest Tasmania Action Committee). This was subsequently transformed into the Tasmanian Wilderness Society - a fast growing and most successful wilderness movement body. The Society was initially oriented towards mass mobilisation, but became highly professionalised following the success of preventing the flooding of the Franklin River. The key activists then formed a cadre-style (New Mode) grouping (the Green Independents or United Tasmania Group) to expand the movement's access to power through lobbying and electoral campaigns. They now hold the balance of power in the Tasmanian state parliament.

movements will, through their multi-modal structure, provide expanded channels for political participation and access to power. The key limitations in this expansion and consolidation are the tensions derived, paradoxically, from the movement's strength - its multi-modal structure.

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APPENDIX A - DEFINITIONS OF THE TERM 'SOCIAL MOVEMENT'

General definitions:

Wilkinson (1971):

- 1) "A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian' community"
 - 2) "A social movement must evince a minimal degree of organisation, though this may range from a loose, informal or partial level of organisation to the highly instituted and bureaucratized and the corporate group"
 - 3) "A social movement's commitment to change and the raison d'être of its organisation are founded upon the conscious volition, normative commitment to the movement's aims or beliefs, and the active participation on the part of the followers or members" -- normative organs (Etzioni) or value-rational fellowship of believers, emotion-affectual following of the charismatic leader, and purposive-rational association for pursuing individual interests - in practice overlapping.
- different from political parties, pressure groups, unions or voluntary associations in that a party is "an alliance or coalition for the purpose of competing for political office or power" (following Schumpeter, 1942); they may engage in pressure group activities or form such (e.g. labour movement); unions lost any normative commitment long ago (p30). Pressure groups accept the rules and

procedures of pressure group activities and accept state structures and rule. Voluntary associations do not involve normative commitment to change or participation on the part of members - they are purely mundane and utilitarian in their functions. Social movements are quite distinct but may share some of the above characteristics.

Pakulski (1990):

"The term 'social movements' refers to recurrent patterns of spontaneous collective activities which are anti-systemic in their value-orientations, form and symbolism. When they attract a large number of supporters and sympathisers, they turn into mass social movements."

Action/identity approaches:

Foss & Larkin (1986):

"A social movement is the developing collective action of a significant portion of the members of a major social category, involving at some point the use of physical force or violence against members of other social categories, their possessions, or their institutionalised instrumentalities, and interfering at least temporarily - whether by design or by unintended consequence - with the political and cultural reproduction of society"

Foss & Larkin (1976):

- 1) A social movement involves intensifying social conflict, using conventional and inventing new forms, techniques and institutions for the purposes of the struggle; invents new cultural forms.
- 2) Growing re-interpretation of social reality, emancipating participants from prevailing interpretations of reality imposed on society by dominant elites, questioning their validity, rationality, legitimacy and relevance.
- 3) Re-evaluation of the self and its capacities - "mass therapy where they in effect 'cure' themselves of ago-crippling and other character deformations which are the consequence their socialisation into a stable condition of social subordination" (p47)

Melucci (1980):

Not belonging to social movements:

crisis behaviour or aggregative behaviour (Alberoni, 1977)

Social movements fulfill two conditions:

- 1) collective action - "the ensemble of the various types of conflict-based behaviour in a social system" i.e. a struggle for "the appropriation and orientation of social values and resources, each of the actors being characterised by a specific solidarity"
 - 2) "transgresses the norms that have been institutionalised in social roles, which go beyond the rules of the political system and/or attack the structure of a society's class relations." (p202)
- goes on to distinguish organisational movements from political and class movements along two dimensions: conflict-based action and deviance.

Change-oriented definitions:

Heberle (1951:6): Social movements are attempts to achieve "a change in certain social institutions". Although they contain members in organised groups the social movements as such are not organised groups (following Tonnies distinction between a social movement and a corporate group). Also, social movements always integrated by a specific pattern of normative commitments, 'constitutive ideas' or ideology.

Turner (1964:428): "one of the most important ways through which social change is manifest and cultural change produced"

Blumer (1957:145): "a collective effort to transform some given area of established social relations, or else a large unguided change in social relations"

Lowi (1971:35): "focuses on the processes of change rather than the processes of persistence"

Collective action orientation:

Much quantitative research records "incidents of collective action and imply no necessary organisational or group presence in such behaviour" (p11). As Milgram & Toch (1969:6091-2) observe the difference between crowd phenomena and social movements is that "all social movements have some ideological content, while the concerns of crowd members are often relatively trivial" and sms address social problems, whereas crowds simply express a range of emotions.

Recording collective action tells us little about the organisational, ideological and strategic factors that are central to social movement organisations. "Collective violence may be used as an indicator of the presence of social protest movements only to the degree that the violence is truly collective - that is, organised - rather than aggregate" (Melucci,1977:97) - "the presence of conflict is not sufficient to indicate the presence of a social movement".

Politically oriented:

- (1) Turner & Killian's "program for the reform of society" is often not the operative goal but the ultimate value orientation of the social movement which helps them mold and mobilise a constituency" - sustained effectiveness requires a hierarchy of goals.
- (2) Substantive policy goals should be distinguished analytically from the movement's goal of achieving institutionalised participation - what T & K call "power orientation" (p289) - "it is axiomatic that they will seek institutionalised access to power, if not power itself" - institutionalisation has been seen by some as tantamount to failure (e.g. Piven & Cloward:101,159) and by others as a shift to an interest group (Lowi:39) - Touraine, Castells, Jenkins, etc.
- (3) Tactics of a social movement are primarily direct, with a wide spectrum, from violence to instit'ed interest group behaviour.
- (4) The mass base sometimes comes from the base of an existing organisation or from the most mobilised part of a politically unmobilised stratum.

Organisational approaches:

McCarthy & Zald (1977):

"A social movement is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of the society" (p1217-8) - they are "nothing more than preference structures directed toward social change"

Wilson (1973):

"A social movement is a conscious, collective, organised attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order by non-institutionalised means"

- differ from fads, crazes, etc.
- potentially large in scope
- use uninstitutionalised means to achieve their objectives (but also institutionalised)
- not limited to the self-interested objectives of members
- more than aggregate actions in that they are conscious and purposive

Wood & Jackson(1982):

"Social movements can be defined as unconventional groups that have varying degrees of formal organisation and that attempt to produce or prevent radical or reformist type of change"

- differs from deviance in that it is group behaviour
- differs from, but included in, collective behaviour that is less change oriented

One of the main dimensions of social movements is organisation - varying degrees which may be distinguished in terms of institutionalisation and formalisation.

Gerlach & Hine (1970):

"A group of people who are organised for, ideologically motivated by, and committed to a purpose which implements some form of personal or social change; who are actively engaged in the recruitment of others; and whose influence is spreading in opposition to the established order within which it originated"

- note: the group is organised, has some form of ideology, and is actively engaged in recruitment - therefore the non-organised and inactive (such as sympathisers) are excluded by this definition.
- segmented, poycephalous, integrated networks (SPIN)
- the organisation is decentralised, segmented, reticulate (web-like) and integrated by ideology, personal ties between members and leaders, rhetoric and ritual activities; and made up of members who compete for a variety of rewards.

Tarrow (1983) distinguishes between social movements and interest groups, using the following criteria:

- "that the movement identify its goals with the preferences of a previously 'unmobilised' constituency" (Gamson,1968:16)
- that the social movement targets outside its own constituency (so that inner-directed movements like cults and sects are not included)
- engage mainly in direct action to disrupt institutions or processes (not necessarily violent), and indirect action is frequently a corollary of direct action to disrupt them.

Summary: "Social protest movements (are) groups possessing a purposive organisation, whose leaders identify their goals with the preferences of an unmobilised constituency which they attempt to mobilise in direct action in relation to a target of influence in the political system" (i.e. a purposive, organisational and politically-oriented definition).

New Social Movements

Feher & Heller (1986):

Social movements include the following characteristics:

- 1) transfunctional - public disregard of social functions in the spheres of recruitment and dynamics - a social movement has no predefined space but "flows over the whole 'surface' of society in search of supporters" (p122)
- 2) public character - publicly state their issues and objectives, even strategy and tactics - they explore all channels that can make their issues common knowledge (c.f. political parties)
- 3) do not claim to dominate the entire personality of their followers - no formal admittance (inclusive, c.f. parties and unions) - no binding discipline, nor is there a sense of longterm affiliation
- 4) organised on one or a few issues
- 5) primarily social; and not directly political in character and objective - their aim is mobilisation of the public sphere and seizure of power is not their objective
- 6) discontinuous
- 7) critical in the self-determination of civil society

APPENDIX B: Formalisation of communication with general membership.

	<u>Anti-nuclear</u>	<u>Wilderness</u>
	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Movement</u>
<u>Newsletter Frequencies:</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
0	30	34
<12 p.a.	45	49
>12 p.a.	<u>25</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100

APPENDIX C.

TABLE 5.4: CLASSIFICATION OF GROUPS WITHIN BOTH MOVEMENTS

<u>Anti-nuclear Movement Groups:</u>	<u>% by groups</u>	<u>% by membership</u> <u>(formal)</u>
Primary interest in anti-nuclear issues:		
- PND affiliates	20	11
- independent groups	27	4
Secondary interest in anti-nuclear issues:		
conservation	5	28
women's	8	15
religious	12	3
professions	10	5
trade unions	2	13
youth	2	4
political parties	4	2
other groups	<u>10</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100

Wilderness Movement Groups:

Primary interest in wilderness conservation:		
wilderness groups	23	48
Secondary interest in wilderness conservation:		
wildlife	12	2
flora/forest	12	2
flora/fauna	22	15
multi-issue	18	9
outdoor recreation	12	22
occupational	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

APPENDIX D

SUMMARY OF ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

CHARACTERISTICS

ACTIVISTS:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>M/SHIP</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOLF/T</u>	<u>VOLP/T</u>	<u>PAYF/T</u>	<u>PAYP/T</u>	<u>TOTALS</u>
NSW	11,617	23	9	440	27	20	496
VIC	19,337	39	21	458	17	27	523
TAS	805	2	3	198	0	0	201
W A	9,692	19	10	193	6	9	218
SA	5,477	11	17	157	8	7	189
QLD	<u>3,166</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>238</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>287</u>
	50,094	100	108	1,684	58	64	1,914

[Formal membership only]

SUMMARY OF WILDERNESS MOVEMENT CHARACTERISTICS: ACTIVISTS

<u>STATE</u>	<u>M'SHIP</u>	<u>GROUPS</u>	<u>VOLFUL</u>	<u>VOLP/T</u>	<u>PAYF/T</u>	<u>PAYP/T</u>	<u>Totals</u>
TAS.	7,097	11	23	88	22	1	134
VIC.	23,998	17	8	369	29	22	428
S.A.	2,125	8	0	111	4	11	126
N.S.W.	6,894	30	32	547	36	19	634
QU.	4,323	26	31	345	14	12	402
W.A.	<u>1,173</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>125</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>134</u>
	45,610	102	99	1,585	105	69	1,858

APPENDIX E: LISTINGS OF GROUPS ACCORDING TO MODES

SOCIAL MOVEMENT MODE:

Wilderness Movement:

5 variables:

Macedon Range Conservation Society
 Australian Conservation Foundation
 Field Naturalists Club of Victoria
 Federation of Victorian Walking Clubs
 Victorian National Parks Association
 Mt. Lofty Ranges Association (SA)
 Conservation Council of S.A.
 The Ulitarra Society (NSW)
 The Wilderness Society (Sydney)
 South Coast Conservation Society (NSW)
 Queensland Conservation Council
 Australian Littoral Society (Qu)
 North Queensland Conservation Council
 Conservation Council of W.A.

Anti-nuclear Movement:

5 variables:

Medical Assoc. for Prevention of War (Vic)
 Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF)
 Footscray/Sunshine PND
 Womens Electoral Lobby (ACT)
 People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND) - Illawara
 Scientists Against Nuclear Armaments (Lane Cove)
 PND (Sydney)
 Womens International League for Peace & Freedom
 (NSW)
 Medical Association for the Prevention of War (NSW)
 Womens Electoral Lobby (NSW)
 Australian Peace Committee

Wilderness Movement:**4 variables: (SMM)**

TWS (National Office)
 Save the Dandenongs League
 East Gippsland Coalition
 South Gippsland Conservation Society
 Conservation Council of S.A.
 Natural History Society of S.A.
 Environment Centre of the Northern Territory
 Friends of the Earth (Sydney)
 Antarctic & Southern Ocean Coalition (Sydney)
 TWS (Newcastle)
 Hunter Wetlands Trust
 Oatley Flora & Fauna Conservation Society (NSW)
 TWS/ACF - Albury (NSW)
 Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland -
 (Townsville)
 TWS - Brisbane

Anti-nuclear Movement:**4 variables: (SMM)**

Division of Social Justice, Uniting Church (Vic)
 Victorian Association for Peace Studies
 Actors for Nuclear Disarmament (Vic)
 PND (Fitzroy)
 Union of Australian Women (Vic)
 Movement Against Uranium Mining (Vic)
 Catholic Commission for Justice & Peace (NSW)
 PND - Newcastle (NSW)
 Movement Against Uranium Mining (NSW)
 Nuclear Free Australia Party (NSW)
 Nuclear Free & Independent Pacific (NSW)
 Manly Warringah Peace Movement (NSW)
 People for Peace - Albury/Wodonga (NSW)
 Northern Suburbs Peace Group (NSW)

PND - Katoomba (NSW)
 Sutherland Shire for Nuclear Disarmament (NSW)
 Epping & District Peace Group (NSW)
 PND - Balmain (NSW)
 Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (SA)
 Australian Peace Committee (SA)
 PND - Adelaide (SA)
 Mothers & others for World Peace (WA)
 United Nations Association of Australia (WA)
 Australian Democrats (WA)
 Student Guild, WACAE (WA)
 Action for World Development (Qu)
 Australian Peace Committee (Qu)

INSTITUTIONAL MODE:

Wilderness Movement:

5 variables:

Australian Conservation Foundation
 East Gippsland Coalition
 Conservation Council of S.A.
 The Wilderness Society (Sydney)
 Queensland Conservation Council
 Nature Conservation Council of N.S.W.

4 variables:

TWS (National Office)
 TWS (Hobart)
 TWS (ACT)
 Environment Centre of the Northern Territory
 Greenpeace (Sydney)
 Antarctic & Southern Ocean Coalition (Sydney)
 Hunter Wetlands Trust (NSW)
 Australian Littoral Society (Qu)
 Conservation Council of W.A.

Anti-nuclear Movement:**5 variables:**

Greenpeace (Sydney)

4 variables:

ACF (Vic)

Campaign for International Cooperation &
Development (VIC)

Womens Electoral Lobby (VIC)

Catholic Commission for Justice & Peace (NSW)

Nature Conservation Council of NSW

PND (Sydney)

Construction, Mining & Energy Workers Union (WA)

NEW MODE:**Wilderness Movement:****5 variables:**

TWS (National office)

Wilsons Creek Action (NSW)

Douglas Shire W.A.G. (Qu)

TWS (Qu)

4 variables:

TWS (East Coast - Tas.)

TWS (Avoca)

TWS (Devonport)

TWS (Launceston)

TWS (East Coast)

TWS (Diamond Valley)

TWS (Armidale)

TWS (SA)

ACF (Ballarat)

East Gippsland Coalition

Cape Tribulation Field Study Centre (Qu)

Rainforest Information Centre

Friends of the Earth (Sydney)

Students Aware of the Natural Env. (Qu)

NEW MODE:**Anti-nuclear Movement:****5 variables:**

PND (Gumpie - NSW)

PND (Sandgate/Redcliffe - QU)

4 variables:

Briagolong Peace Group (Vic)

PND - Williamstown (Vic)

PND - Wangaratta (Vic)

PND - Mordialloc/Chelsea (Vic)

PND - Hamilton (Vic)

PND - Waverley Group (Vic)

PND - Ascot Vale (Vic)

PND - Blackburn/Nunawading (Vic)

PND - Footscray/Sunshine (Vic)

PND - Healesville (Vic)

PND - Sandringham Group (Vic)

PND - Fitzroy/Carlton (Vic)

PND (Tas.)

PND - Newcastle (NSW)

PND - Mudgee (NSW)

Conflict Resolution Network (NSW)

PND (SA)

PND - Southern Suburbs (WA)

PND - Perth (WA)

PND - Western Suburbs (WA)

Goldfields Against Nuclear Energy (WA)

MULTI-MODAL ORGANISATIONS:

All three modes:

The Wilderness Society (National Office)
East Gippsland Coalition

SMM & IM:

Australian Conservation Foundation
The Wilderness Society (Sydney)
Queensland Conservation Council
Australian Littoral Society (Qu)
Conservation Council of W.A.
Conservation Council of S.A.
People for Nuclear Disarmament (Sydney)
Environment Centre of the Northern Territory
Antarctic & Southern Ocean Coalition (Sydney)
Hunter Wetlands Trust (NSW)
Catholic Commission for Justice & Peace (NSW)

SMM & NM:

Friends of the Earth (Sydney)
PND - Newcastle (NSW)

IM & NM:

(No groups)

APPENDIX F Survey Questionnaires

Anti-Nuclear Movement Survey

[All information given will be treated as strictly confidential]

1. NAME OF ORGANISATION OR GROUP:
 2. ADDRESS:
 3. YEAR OF FORMATION OF THE ORGANISATION OR GROUP:
- IF YOUR ORGANISATION NO LONGER EXISTS PLEASE TICK ☐ & RETURN IN POST-PAID ENVELOPE

4. ORGANISATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS:

- (a) Do you produce a newsletter or journal? YES / NO

If yes, what is its title?

How frequently is it produced?

- (b) How frequently do you hold meetings? Please enter frequency (daily, weekly, monthly, etc) for each category of supporter in the table below:

SUPPORTERS:

FREQUENCY:

meetings of core activists

meetings of all members

meetings of all interested people

- (c) How are your main activists/workers selected? (tick one box)

by election? ☐

by self-selection or initiative? ☐

or selected after application for a job? ☐

- (d) Are your main activists/workers paid or volunteers?

(enter below numbers of each on average over past year)

VOLUNTEERS:

PAID:

FULLTIME:

PARTTIME:

5. WHAT HAS BEEN YOUR ORGANISATION/GROUP'S MAIN ACTIVITIES DURING THE YEAR 1986?

.....
.....
.....

(attach list if space insufficient)

6. WHAT DOES YOUR ORGANISATION/GROUP INTEND TO DO OVER THIS YEAR (1987)?

.....
.....
.....

PLEASE TURN OVER - FURTHER QUESTIONS OVERLEAF:

7. DOES YOUR ORGANISATION/GROUP HAVE FINANCIAL MEMBERSHIP? YES / NO
IF YES HOW MANY SUCH MEMBERS DO YOU HAVE?
8. IS YOUR ORGANISATION/GROUP 'AFFILIATED', INFORMALLY OR FORMALLY, WITH ANY MAJOR
PEACE GROUPS? (Such as P.N.D., C.I.C.D., etc.) - Please list:
.....
9. DOES YOUR ORGANISATION/GROUP HAVE REPRESENTATION ON ANY GOVERNMENT OR SEMI-GOVERNMENT
AUTHORITIES, COMMITTEES, ADVISORY BOARDS, ETC.? YES / NO
IF YES, PLEASE LIST:
.....
10. HAS YOUR ORGANISATION/GROUP RECEIVED ANY I.Y.P. FUNDING? YES / NO
11. HOW MANY MEDIA RELEASES HAS YOUR GROUP RELEASED DURING 1986? (approx)
12. HOW MANY SUBMISSIONS OR REPORTS HAS YOUR GROUP MADE OVER THE PAST YEAR
TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT?
TO A STATE GOVERNMENT?
TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT?
TO NON-GOVERNMENT BODIES?
OTHER REPORTS?
13. HOW MANY RALLIES & PUBLIC PROTESTS HAS YOUR GROUP HELPED ORGANISE DURING 1986?
.....
14. HOW MANY OF YOUR MAIN ACTIVISTS USE ACADEMIC OR OTHER TITLES BEFORE THEIR NAMES?
.....

PLEASE RETURN BY 30th June 1987 IN THE REPLY-PAID ENVELOPE. THANKYOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION
ENQUIRIES: Geoff Holloway, Sociology Department, University of Tasmania, GPO Box 2520,
Hobart, Tasmania. 7001. Phone: (002) 20 2217