Synthetic Social Movement Theory:
Opportunities to Strengthen the NL Environmental Movement

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Contents

Chapter One – The Environmental Movement has been Annihilated

In a 1993 article for the *National Round Table Review*, Dick Martin lamented on the potential premature demise of the environmentalism in Canada; "calling it an environmental movement is really a misnomer – it is more like environmental anarchy" (1993, 12). It was the same year that the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE) was formally enshrined in legislation "to play the role of catalyst in identifying, explaining, and promoting, in all sectors of Canadian society and in all regions of Canada, principles and practices of sustainable development" (Government of Canada 1993). This independent policy advisory body was founded following the Brundtland Commission on sustainability and reported to the Minister of the Environment from 1988 to 2013 (National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 2013, 3). NRTEE linked Cabinet Ministers and senior government officials on a regular basis to environmental organizations, the business community, and academia (National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 2013, 3). In 1993, Martin might have seemed comical for doubting the movement which had for the first time been "invited to the table" to discuss policy alongside ministers. Yet, one generation later, the environmental movement is spoken of not even as 'an anarchy', but as an almost complete "failure" by the most prominent environmentalist in Canada, David Suzuki (Suzuki 2012).

Martin was writing on the heels of the 'silver age' of environmentalism in Canada; the golden age being the 1960s and 70s characterized by the creation of *The Water Act* (1970), *The Clean Air Act* (1971) and significant revisions to *The Fisheries Act* (Klein 2014, 202). The golden age saw the development of professional environmental groups, litigating in court and advocating from inside of government boards rooms for policy development, and in 1977, the

Canadian Environmental Advisory Council[1] was established to introduce "some degree of rationality and organization" to small environmental groups (McKenzie 2007, 286–87). Supported by a broad grassroots base and funded through government consulting contracts, the golden age was a time of growth for many environmental groups.

By the 1980s however, the environmental movement was becoming placated by the initial victories won by protest and contained by offers of resources. The Canadian Environmental Advisory Council, later renamed 'Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network' (RCEN) and its affiliates in each province received Environment Canada operating funds from 1977 to 2011, with agreed upon terms that restrained advocacy while offering direct access to bureaucrats within Environment Canada (McKenzie 2007, 286–87). The terms of reference of the RCEN by 1989 had removed any reference to speaking "as independently and as forthrightly as possible [as the role of the council] is not to tell the Minister or the Department or the public of Canada pleasant, uncontroversial things but to 'tell it as we see it' and thus at times [the council's] comments may be irritating, unpleasant or embarrassing" (Bird 1989; Canadian Environmental Advisory Council 1980, 9).

Throughout the 1990s cutbacks to expenditures and initiatives quietly reversed theground won in the earlier decades including the retraction of the $3 billion dollar Green Plan (Paehlke 2000, 167).[2] "The Canadian environmental movement was so professionalized that by the mid-1990s it could not easily mount an effective grass-roots political resistance to cutbacks" (Paehlke 2000, 172). Additionally, the professionalized groups were being filtered by, and growing

[1] Renamed first the ENGO Network and later the Canadian Environmental Network (RCEN) (McKenzie 2007, 286).

[2] Environmental spending between 1995 and 1998 was cut by 32% and included a 25% cut to salaried positions at Environment Canada (Paehlke 2000, 166). The widely publicized Green Plan was approved for $3 billion in 1990 and was cut by 1.2 billion dollars between 1991 and 1992 before it was "quietly shelved" (Paehlke 2000, 167).

increasingly dependent on, two 'independent' crown agencies; the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council and the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy. The environmental movement has failed to recover. In 2005, at a meeting of environmental leaders they agreed that their organizaions "provide good results for [their] small resources" but also that they "are losing ground in many ways" (DeMarco 2005, 6).

The Harper Government, first elected in 2006, began to create a hostile atmosphere for environmental organizations, implementing sweeping changes to environmental legislation. In 2011 the RCEN was defunded, and half of the affiliate networks under its umbrella collapsed, while most of those that remained have diminished in operational size. Such is the case with the Newfoundland and Labrador Environment Network (NLEN). Today both RCEN and NLEN receive no operational funds from Canadian governments and depend solely on volunteers from their member organizations. Likewise, in 2013 the NRTEE was defunded and ceased operations. While these agencies played a part in the professionalization of the environmental movement that helped undermine the goals of the movement in the 1990s, they were nonetheless vital resources for an environmental movement which found itself increasingly marginalized after 2006.[3]

Thus, nineteen years after Dick Martin called for "'One Big Environmental Movement' [to bring] organization where much chaos exists, revenue where poverty exists, and real political punch where fly-swatting exists" David Suzuki has exclaimed the "failure of environmentalism" (Martin 1993, 12; Suzuki 2012). Indeed Suzuki used his statement to launch an organization

[3] Other closures of federally funded research agencies under the Harper Government which had provided objective data as a resource for environmental organizations included the Office of the National Science Advisor , the Canadian Foundation for Climate and Atmospheric Sciences, Ocean Contaminants and Marine Toxicology Program, the Canadian Council on Learning, the Drought Research Initiative, the Canadian Policy Research Networks, the National Council of Welfare, and the Mersey Biodiversity Centre (Douglas 2015, 90–91).

meant to create a nationwide environmental movement; *The Blue Dot Movement.* It calls for nation-wide support from individuals, municipalities, organizations and businesses to declare their support to enshrine "the right to a healthy environment" in the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (About Us n.d.). Four years since it's launch, the campaign only has the support of 24 organizations *or* businesses, 166 communities nationally, and 110,961 individuals (Declarations n.d.; Our Signatories n.d.; Why Environmental Rights? n.d.).

These results from one of the largest environmental organizations in Canada are in stark contrast to the report that 74% of Canadians (in 2008) did not believe environmentalism had gone far enough (The New Environmentalism n.d., 7). While the campaign's website boasts that "85% of Canadians say our government should recognize the right to healthy environment" (Why Environmental Rights? n.d.), the inability of environmental organizations to mobilize the population is undermining the effectiveness of the movement. Has the environmental movement in Canada been annihilated and can it be rebuilt?

Social Movement Theory – Understanding the Challenges of Canadian Environmentalism

In order to provide guidance on any potential 'renaissance' of the Canadian environmental movement, it is important to understand the methods that have produced the movement to date. Modern social movement theory developed alongside the golden age of environmentalism, with social movement theorists increasingly engaged in activism, asking how organizations could most effectively mobilize a population. This literature tracked and fueled the professionalization of social movements, with an emphasis on the details that affected the movement; regulatory changes, policy decisions, funding sources, societal culture, etc. The resulting literature has tried to provide instrumental guidance to organizations in order to help

them provoke social transformation; however social movement theory has often lost sight of the "movement" itself, and therefor often fails to consider movements as multi-faceted, networked environments. Movements are comprised of a plethora of non-incorporated groups, organizations, social enterprises, government agencies, and political parties often working together, rather than necessarily in competition. As such, the field of social movement theory remains fragmented if not rudimentary. It is a rich resource for understanding aspects of how social movements are transformed by external factors, and provides organizations working in isolation with practical tools to manage their responses to external factors (See Andrews and Edwards 2004; Bartley 2007; Carmin and Balser 2002; Dart 2010; Dreiling and Wolf 2001; Kadowaki 2013; Pross and Webb 2003; Staggenborg 1988; Zald and Ash 1966), but it has less insight as to how to build the broader movement (Attempts to do so include Brulle 2000; Dryzek 2013; Saunders 2013). The revival of the environmental movement in Canada is dependent on forming a cohesive movement. In order to provide practical tools and understandings to a nearly extinct movement, social movement theory, now two generations in the making, must too become cohesive.

For example, the interest in forming a cohesive movement is palpable in Suzuki's *Blue Dot* campaign for the right to a healthy environment. In social movement theory the *Blue Dot* campaign is an example of a 'master-frame', (which is further explored in Chapter Two). It is not the only possible master-frame, but it involves the deliberate attempt to redefine environmental issues as a set of broader dilemmas with the potential to bridge gaps between environmental organizations as well as between the environmental movement and other social movements. In essence, the *Blue Dot* campaign illustrates the kind of intellectual network building activities that have been under analyzed in social movement theory. Without an academic exploration of what

it is to collectively produce this kind of master-frame, prominent environmentalists have started to deploy these approaches: "It may be that the environmental movement will only succeed in many of its aspirations when the line between other important issues and 'environmental' issues disappears" (DeMarco 2005, 5). Within this theoretical framework, the ability of the movement to succeed rests on its ability to highlight that "'environmental' matters were and are inextricably intertwined with the basics of food, shelter, movement, symbolism, story-telling and spirituality" (DeMarco 2005, 5).

Simply stated, a reformulation of social movement theory that clarifies from the beginning what it is to be a broad 'social movement' is needed to bridge the gap between theory and the practicalities of what actually 'works' for environmental organizations in modern politics. As will be argued below, recent developments in networking process analysis provide some clues as to how the social movement literature could be synthesized as a critical theory that would help advance social movement politics. Likewise, within organizations there has also been interest in broader networking initiatives, such as collective impact ventures. As such, the need for this research is both theoretical and practical.

In order to assess the practical application and further develop lessons of a synthesized social movement theory which highlights network analysis, this thesis will examine the (re)building of an environmental movement 'from the ground up' in Newfoundland and Labrador (NL). Using NL as a case study allows the researcher to go inside the environmental movement and work with representatives of environmental organizations to understand the mechanics of networking from the front lines of a social movement. As a member representative on the NLEN, and an active participant in the movement overall, the researcher is able to

approach the possibility of studying the whole universe of environmental organizations connected to the environmental movement in the province.

Furthermore, NL is strong selection as a case study of social movements as a result of geographical isolation. To this end, networking is likely a more purposeful, concerted effort then might form in larger metropolises. Equally important is the fact that the provincial environmental movement has gone through the same basic trends as the national movement on the whole. The references to a golden age supported by a grassroots activist culture came across in multiple interviews which shows how the provincial movement is imbedded in, and thus can provide lessons to, the broader Canadian case.

Like the rest of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador's relationship with the environment is complex. The beauty of nature and our connection to it is contrasted sharply against the exploitation of natural resources as a means of livelihood. The conventional understanding across Canada of the environmentalism as the opposition to destruction of nature, known as the 'wilderness frame', is the prevalent lens through which organizations in NL have also defined their scope. This traditional definition of environmentalism is also favoured by regulatory regimes, which can have a limiting effect on more inherinantly advocacy based topics through restricting resources. In effect, environmental organizations in NL are not particularly controversial despite the fact that resource extraction is a persistant cause of environmental issues in the province. This includes changes to ecosystems and species distribution as a result of offshore oil, megadams, forestry, fisheries, agriculture, and mining projects.

The following paragraphs quickly describe what will be discussed in each chapter. Chapter Two will review literature from social movement theory from the past century and

situate how the study of networks can synthesize this literature into a practical tool for social movements, thus seeking to both understand and expand social movement success.

Chapter Three will discuss the methodological approach of this research and contextualizes the gap addressed by using the NL environmental movement as a case study for this research. This chapter also reflects on the use of qualitative methods, the research design, as well as the research strategy. Data for this research was gathered through the creation of the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*, interviews with members of environmental groups in NL, and via participant observation inspired by critical theory.

Chapter Four will contextualize the NL environmental movement. This is done by comparing the data collected for this research to a collection of other sources to explore what characterizes the organizations which are environmental and within this province.

Chapter Five will link the data collected via semi-structured interviews and participant observation to theoretical implications of the synthetic theory presented in Chapter Two.

The concluding chapter will consider theoretical implications that this case study offers social movement theory. It is the final piece which provides insight into the research question; does a synthesized network process theory contribute practical and dynamic tools that if used by social movements could help advance the effectiveness of social movements such as the NL environment movement.

Chapter Two – The Next Big Thing: Revolution Synthesized

Social movement theory seeks to describe, explain, and enhance collective mobilization for social transformation. This literature has attempted to be a catalyst for change, written by academics, activists, scientists, and experts in every field; for every movement across generations. It is widely traced as far back as Parks and Burgess' explanation of protest being a symptom of structural change in 1921 (Buechler 2006, 49; Saunders 2013, 12) and can even be attributed to Marx' Communist Manifesto in 1848 (Flacks 2004, 138). Theorists in this field are notably sympathetic to societal transformation, conveying a normative urgency alongside the accumulation of empirical data. Thus it ought to be a rich resource and guide to (re)building the environmental movement in NL, or any other social movement. However, the field of social movement theory remains fragmented with even the definition of a 'social movement' varying across the literature. Lessons must be gleaned carefully from these theories, which are deeply rooted in the specific contexts they were meant to describe, in order to avoid conceptual stretching while synthesizing the field.

To understand social movement literature as a product of its time is to underline that these theories were created within hermeneutic circles. Modern social movement theory developed in the mid-twentieth century and is intrinsically tied to the golden age of activism as well as the heavy influence of positivism and critical rationalism on social science at the time. Theorists attempted to provide movements with synthetic catalytic theory using only inductive knowledge gained through observation.

In the introduction, these theories were criticized for their failure to grasp the multi-faceted nature of social movements. However, it may also be argued that social movements became the multi-faceted network of agencies (as they are understood in this thesis) due to the

catalytic theories that inevitably disturbed the hermeneutic circles they were created to describe. By focusing on induction, the theories created were unable to predict or account for the unintended consequences of 'success' as defined by the theories. For example, the definition of success being tied to resource availability led theorists to track and fuel the professionalization of the movement, consequently crippling its capacity to resist government cutbacks in the 1990s (Paehlke 2000, 172).

In order to present and test a synthetic theory relevant to social movements today, it is crucial to first assess the "sprawling, diffuse and inchoate" social movement literature (Lofland 1993 quoted in Saunders 2013, 10). With the goal of incorporating lessons from the broad spectrum of this literature, it is necessary to address conceptual inconsistency prior to exploring the major theoretical frameworks. Once the various frameworks are presented individually, the practical relevance to modern movements will be considered in order to establish the need for a new approach to social movement theory. This chapter will conclude with a preliminary synthetic theory to be used as a lens through which to evaluate the environmental movement in NL in subsequent chapters. In turn, the case study will provide insight into the utility of the synthetic theory as presented here.

Conceptual Inconsistency

The quintessential modern social movement literature, which really emerged in the early 1960s, consists of four major theoretical frameworks for understanding social movements; collective behaviour, resource mobilization, political opportunity and new social movement theory. Consistent with the heavy influence of positivism and critical rationalism on all social sciences during the last century, these frameworks are often presented as separate, incompatible

theories. However there is a great deal of overlap when simplification is avoided. Likewise, to present them as chronological, as is sometimes done, is a misrepresentation as it implies the theories ceased being relevant in favour of the 'latest' theory to be published, when this is not how the field unfolded.

Sparse theories prior to 1960 described *disorganized groups* of people using *extra-institutional* means to voice their opinions, having only indirect, if any, influence on government. Social movements in this earlier literature were thus differentiated from pressure groups, which were recognized *formal* organizations working *within institutions* to influence government policy (Saunders 2013, 23). This early differentiation of 'this' type of group versus 'that' bleeds through the literature to this day. Andrews and Edwards take an abundance of care to define what scholars generally have meant by the terms pressure group, public interest group, advocacy organization, social movement organization and non-profit organization concluding there is "substantive common ground" as scholars pick and choose the variables to divide organizations into types (2004, 485). Indeed, Klimova recommends that further distinctions are made between crowd-like behaviour and social movements, social movements and social trends, expressive movements and movements seeking change in social institutions (1993, 9). Conceptual inconsistency and concept stretching are a theme of social movement theory contributing to significant confusion and inhibiting comparability across the literature.

To bridge the conceptual inconsistency across social movement literature, the synthetic social movement theory presented in this thesis uses a consensual definition of a social movement, arrived at through Diani's comprehensive review of the major social movement theoretical frameworks. It defines social movements as the combination of a network, a conflict and a collective identity; or the "interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or

organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani 1992, 17). As such a 'public interest group' should be understood as a potential organization-type participant of a social movement; the minimum requirement to be recognized as a group or organization is a collective name by which they may be recognized. Their characteristics are only of interest insofar as these properties can be used to understand the interorganizational and interpersonal networks that are directly relevant to the study of social movements (Diani 1992, 16). A 'social movement organization', while often otherwise meant to convey what this framework describes as a public interest group involved in a social movement, is understood within this thesis, and its synthetic social movement theory, as an organization whose main mandate is to facilitate an interorganizational and/or interpersonal network around a collective identity with a goal of social transformation; i.e., their mandate is to facilitate a social movement. Where others have used divergent definitions, their chosen terms will be replaced with the appropriate term as described here.

Collective Behaviour Theory

The early musings about social movements had more in common with Durkheim then Marx as they sought to explain the disorderly gatherings as a result of anomie; the breakdown of integrated society (Buechler 2006, 48). The earliest predominant form of collective behaviour theory in essence says that individuals become alienated as a result of the necessarily isolating structure of ever larger communities and seek to join social movements as a result (Buechler 2006, 50). This is known as either mass society theory or structural strain theory (Buechler 2006, 50). Psychological strain theory refers to the thesis of relative deprivation whereby individuals perceive a deterioration of their circumstances, either in comparison to their historical

circumstances or to others' circumstances, which triggers participation in social movements (Buechler 2006, 49).

Collective behaviour theory is commonly understood as the beginning of modern social movement theory but it was really just an extension and development of these earlier ideas. Starting in the early 1960s, it became the dominant way to understand social movements into the 1970s. As a result of the close overlap and understandings derived from the early theories, collective behaviour theory is often trivialized as a mob mentality thesis or social-psychology (Saunders 2013, 10). To further compound the issue, collective behaviour was used as an umbrella concept to understand all gatherings whether it be riot, panic, or mobilization for social transformation (Buechler 2006, 50). The result is that references to collective behaviour theory often have the caveat that these theories are "now out of favour" (Haluza-Delay 2006) rather than credited as a rich resource for social movement literature. In particular, Saunders considers the symbolic interactionist collective behaviour perspective as formative to social movement theory as a field, highlighting theorist Neil J. Smelser (2013, 12–16). Smelser understood collective behaviour or action to be "an outcome of *communicative interactive processes* within a group of individuals" at a particular time and place (emphasis added, Klimova 1993). Structural functionalism allowed Smelser to develop a unique variation of symbolic interactionism, as his theory encompassed society as both the cause (as in strain theory) *and* the context in which a social movement occurs (Klimova 1993, 4).

According to Klimova's review of social movement literature, collective behaviour theory is also unique in its differentiation of the development stages of a movement including social unrest, popular excitement, formalization and institutionalization as well as placing emphasis on the role of leadership (1993, 7–8). Particularly, this feature is important for

considering interorganizational networks as only one part of the movement (Klimova 1993, 8) or a stage in a movement's development.

New Social Movement Theory

New social movement theory has a great deal in common with collective behaviour theory. Also referred to as 'European' social movement theory or 'identity-based' theory, it is a constructivist approach to social movements. Buechler goes as far to say that "European social movement theory is more politicized and resistant to the negative image of protest that plagued US versions of breakdown theory; hence the European versions were less likely to toss the baby out with the bath water" (2006, 62). 'New social movement theory' entered the literature in the late 1960s but was still relatively under-explored into the late 1970s (Melucci 1988, 335; Saunders 2013, 121).

There are widespread simplifications leading to misunderstandings of this theory including a rush to explain what is '*new*' about '*new* social movement theory'; indeed there is a stand-alone literature arguing that there was nothing *new* about it (Saunders 2013, 122). The claim is that prior to the 1960's there were no social movements dedicated to non-material goals such as peace, the environment, civil rights, women's rights, education, et cetera and therefore is it these causes that are '*new*' (Saunders 2013, 122). This is however an unhelpful oversimplification.[4]

New social movement theory considered the acknowledged connections by which a societal transformation is attempted as the core of a social movement. What is peculiar about the new social movement theory was that, depending upon the scholar, it often refused the

[4] To explore the nuances of what is novel about the contemporary movements to which this theory refers see Melucci (1988, 335).

predefined concept of a social movement; "social movements are not exceptional and dramatic events: they lie permanently at the heart of social life" (Touraine 1981, 29). To study social movements is to study society; the field of social movement theory is in actuality the field of sociology. "*A social movement is the collective organized action through which a class actor battles for the social control of historicity in a given and identifiable historical context*" (Touraine 1981, 31–32 italics in original). Historicity is the re-production of society and cultural norms that occurs as a result of the collective identity or the collectives' system of meaning; akin to a society's dominant rhetoric. To control the historicity is to control what is acceptable in society at a given point in time. In other words, while social movements are still defined as having a conflict, there is no definable opponent; the conflict is the every day transformation of society towards a particular system of meaning.

> Collective identity is thus a process in which the actors produce the common cognitive frameworks that enable them to assess the environment and to calculate the costs and benefits of the action; the definitions that they formulate are in part the result of negotiated interactions and of influence relationships; and in part the fruit of emotional recognition. In this sense collective action is never based solely on cost-benefit calculation and a collective identity is never entirely negotiable (Melucci 1988, 343).

To this end, new social movement theory can be summarized utilizing the three key attributes of a social movement; the conflict is for control of historicity, the network is the interactions which continually recreate the collective identity which "may crystallize into organizational forms, systems of rules, leadership relationships" (Melucci 1988, 342), and the collective identity is the system of meaning. New social movement theory is concerned predominantly with explaining the cultural shift of a society as a result of a movement. However,

it is often criticized for focusing on 'why' social movements are successful, while overlooking 'how' social movements become successful.

Resource Mobilization

Whereas new social movement theory is broadly considered a European-constructivist social movement theory, simultaneously in North America, the shift away from collective behaviour lead to structuralist theories of resource mobilization and political opportunity structure becoming dominant in the literature[5]. In North America the focus turned to "the availability of resources and opportunities for collective action [as most] important in triggering social movement formations" rather than grievances (Klandermans and Tarrow 1988, 4). The initial shift was the result of a wave of criticism from social movement theorists (Buechler 2006, 51–53; Flacks 2004, 136; Saunders 2013, 10). Flacks explains the shift largely in terms of real world developments as budding social movement theorists were increasingly surrounded and engaged in social movements during the 1960s (Flacks 2004, 136). These new theorists disagreed with the earlier ideas that individuals in social movements were acting "irrationally",

[5] Throughout the literature there is an abundance of conceptual confusion between political opportunity structure theory, political opportunity theory and the political process model. The political process model will be explored in the next section. However for the purpose of clarity, 'political opportunity structure theory' within this thesis refers to the camp within resource mobilization theory that explores the caveat that the expectation of success, including the expectation of future resources, should *also* be part of the explanation as to how social movements are triggered (Klandermans and Tarrow 1988, 4). The differential factor is that the political opportunity theory says that *the* critical factor for triggering social movements is expanding political opportunities; "neither intense grievances nor extensive resources are sufficient or *even necessary* for movement mobilization to occur**"** (Goodwin and Jasper 2004, 6). The concept of political opportunity is criticized for being tautological; if social movements are defined as interactions by people and political opportunity is the chance for people to interact, the argument is circular (Goodwin and Jasper 2004, 6). Opportunities here face the same dilemma as resources; both are either defined so broadly as to be analytically useless (Goodwin and Jasper 2004, 6) or alternatively, defined so narrowly they are trivial. The issue is compounded by the numerous incidents of social movements occurring under or as a response to conditions of contracting rather than expanding political opportunities. There is an attempt by McAdam to salvage political opportunity theory is simply that it does not apply to spin-off movements (Goodwin and Jasper 2004, 14).

and, as activists, they were ultimately more concerned with aiding the movements rather than explaining their existence (Flacks 2004, 136). Even among the European new social movement theorists who continued to use concepts from earlier theories, the emphasis changed from the valuing of stability to the valuing of societal transformation (Buechler 2006, 62).

Using the *Annual Review of Sociology* as evidence, Buechler narrows the timeframe of this shift to an article in favor of 'strain' as a central concept of collective behaviour in 1975 and the disappearance of any mention of collective behaviour theories by 1983 (2006, 50). McCarthy and Zald developed the idea of resource mobilization in 1977, essentially formalizing the then decade-old alternative to collective behaviour and solidifying the next dominant social movement theory. Their abstract in "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory" directly reflects this North American theoretical shift "away from its heavy emphasis upon the social psychology of social movement participants" towards movement survival (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1212). Klimova articulates the key difference to be that "collective behaviour theorists argue that problems arise after people have been mobilized, [whereas] resource mobilization scholars [view] getting them mobilized" as the problem to be solved (1993, 20). A social movement under resource mobilization theory was redefined as *a set of preferences for changing some aspect of society* (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1217–18). Resource mobilization theory generally assumes a conflict but it is unclear or perhaps unconcerned with the opponent; lest they be 'countermovement' organizations defined only by their opposition to a social movement's set of preferences (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1218).

Collective identity is acknowledged in McCarthy and Zald's concept of a 'social movement industry'. They use this terminology to refer to "the organizational analogue of a social movement" i.e. a group of public interest groups categorized by a common target goal,

where any one public interest group may be counted among multiple social movement industries (1977, 1219). A social movement became no longer the outcome of mobilization to be understood, but the drafting of a business-like plan to produce effective mobilization.

Resource mobilization thus, not only reincorporated the idea that social movements could include public interest groups using institutional means to influence government policy, but also centralized their importance as the formal leaders particularly in their capacity to "define[], create[], and manipulate[]" a grievance (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1215). 'Pressure groups' previously excluded from the definition of social movement theory were now reincorporated albeit with the caveat they had the goal of social transformation for the collective good.

While resource mobilization has been called the "workhorse of social movement research, fueling an impressive literature in which organization plays a central role" (Clemens and Minkoff 2004, 155), it is important to realize its limitations. Under resource mobilization theory, public interest groups[6] have been studied as though they are independent social movements or "single-organization movements" causing conceptual confusion across the literature (Diani 1992, 14). The earliest resource mobilization theory, that of Zald and Ash, does recognize that public interest groups interact, however they emphasis competition indicating that public interest groups rarely cooperate outside of "full scale revolutions" (1966, 335). While they argue that any such instances of inter-organizational cooperation are theoretically unimportant and cause little to no transformation of organizational characteristics, the opposite, inter-organizational competition, is described as "lead[ing] to a transformation of goals and tactics" (Zald and Ash 1966, 333). However, in practice, there were few attempts within resource

[6] In a footnote, McCarthy and Zald acknowledge the conceptual confusion of 'social movement organization' and 'public interest group', and clarify that for their purposes it is a question of institutionalization, with the latter being a more formalized version of the former (1977, 1218). As explained above, their chosen terms have been replaced to provide consistency throughout this thesis.

mobilization literature to describe or analyze the interactions within 'social movement industries'.

The focus on the attainment of resources for organizational survival produces an emphasis in the resource mobilization literature on organizational growth patterns towards institutionalization in order to increase availability of resources, where public interest groups are the indispensable managers of said resources (Dow 2012). Zald and Ash theorize that as a public interest group progresses there is a shift from utopian or 'unattainable' goals to more diffuse, broad goals or "pragmatic ones in line with social consensus" in order to ensure adequate resources to maintain said public interest group (Brulle 2000, 82; See also Zald and Ash 1966, 327). It has since been qualified that this transformation towards social consensus is contingent on the public interest group's membership involvement and degree of external funder influence, whereby a public interest group may be held accountable to its original, if utopian, goals by engaged members and, with larger internal revenue, decrease its reliance on external funders (Brulle 2000, 82). In essence, the original theory assumes resources are gathered from external sources only and therefore infers only one development path, the very same issue for which collective behaviour theory was criticized. The definition of 'resource' has also been heavily criticized for conceptual stretching as it is seemingly all-encompassing; a resource is anything which aids the survival of public interest groups.

Brulle's large scale study of American environmental organizations is an exception to the norm. Using the resource mobilization literature, Brulle used a compare and contrast method of organizational characteristics in an effort to congeal public interest groups into a cohesive, effective social movement. This study hinged on an internal organizational structure typology which had a five tier ranking scheme that took into account the amount of bureaucracy, the

structure of organizations, the status of leaders and members, the development of organizational goals, the internal conflicts, the characteristics of members, the power distribution, and the participation skills within each public interest group (Brulle 2000). Brulle argued that increasing the internal democracy of each public interest group would result in a convergence of ideologies across the larger movement which, in turn, would increase participant mobilization, thus increasing effectiveness (2000). His idealized 'convergence of ideologies' however is contrary to how organizations carve out niches to avoid both resource competition and amalgamation. As noted previously by Zald and Ash in 1966, the attempt to promote convergence is not institutionally-incentivized.

Political Process Model

The political process model is a structural synthesis of new social movement theory and the political opportunity *structure* thesis[7], using methodology drawn from comparative politics. Like resource mobilization theory and the political opportunity structure thesis, the political process model asks 'how' instead of 'why' but closer to new social movement theory, the political process model tries to emphasize the societal context or "the overall dynamics which determine social unrest and its characteristics" rather than focusing on public interest groups (Diani 1992, 5). This is differentiated from collective mobilization theory, as grievances are taken for granted in the political process model; indeed it emphasizes how external structural factors "facilitate or constrain the occurrence of conflict" (Diani 1992, 5).

The political process model tries to recognize the larger societal and cultural frames, as per new social movement theory, through which political opportunities are understood. In theory

[7] The variant of resource mobilization theory that explores the caveat that the expectation of success, including the expectation of future resources, should also be part of the explanation as to how social movements are triggered (Klandermans and Tarrow 1988, 4).

it is the notion that "social movements result when expanding political opportunities are seized by people who are formally or informally organized, aggrieved, and optimistic that they can successfully redress their concerns" (Goodwin and Jasper 2004, 17). However, it is critically reviewed as only adding the international, or comparative politics, aspect to the political opportunity structure theory, while unsuccessfully conceptualizing a society's perception of its capacity to implement policy changes (Klimova 1993).

Frame Analysis

The first of the two conceptual models used as adaptions to the existing 'foundational' social movement literature discussed above are "frame analysis" or framing. Framing is not a standalone theory as much as it is an instrumental method of branding. Branding is far from unique to social movements, but was introduced into social movement literature predominantly by Benford and Snow in recent decades with no acknowledgement of the interdisciplinary lessons that could have advanced the field more generally (2000). In compliment to their work, Taylor provided a nuanced account of framing processes within social movements including frame alignment and master frames (2000).

Framing within social movement literature is "the process by which individuals and groups identify, interpret, and express social and political grievances" (Taylor 2000, 511) and public interest groups accordingly increase resonance among a larger population in order to benefit from the likewise increased support for their particular cause (Benford and Snow 2000, 619). Thus frames are strengthened by the size of the audience empathic to the objective magnitude of an issue; which Stevenson et al define as a frame's "experiential resonance (subjective relevance)" and "empirical credibility (objective importance)" (2007, 35–36). Social

movements thus must communicate the objective reality of their issue in a way which is relatable to the maximum number of people on a continuous basis. Literature using frame analysis thus considers the ways in which an issue or a social movement has been communicated within a particular context, or should be in the future in order to increase resonance.

'Framing' introduces cultural understandings into the otherwise overly structural explanations provided by resource mobilization and political process research. It is similar to resource mobilization theory in that frames are yet one more way to classify organizations, but it goes beyond resource mobilization theory in that it provides an internal context to social movements, similar to how political process theory attempts to compare and contrast political opportunities of, or the expectation of resources by, social movements in various places, times, and political contexts.

Much of this literature focuses on how the social movements, but often more specifically public interest groups, should realign their frame in order to be more inclusive. Benford and Snow differentiate between three core framing tasks: diagnostic, prognostic and motivation; respectively the identification of the problem, the articulation of a solution and the "call to arms" (2000, 615–17). There are four types of frame alignment: "frame bridging (linking two or more frames), frame amplification (embellishment or clarification of existing values), frame extension (extending a frame beyond its primary interest), and frame transformation (changing old understandings and/or generating new ones)" (Pellow and Brehm 2015, 187; See also Taylor 2000, 512). 'Master frame' is the term reserved for comprehensive realignment of an issue to the extent that it "provides a unifying message bringing together various subissues, organizations, and networks within a social movement" (Stevenson et al. 2007, 37).

The Canadian environmental movement according to Haluza-DeLay and Ferhout, based on an analysis of website content, "remain[s] locked into an 'environmentalist' frame that often ignores such issues [as multiculturalism, gender inequality, low income and racialization]"; whereas all of these seemingly distinctive movements has helped empower the environmental justice movement in the United States (2011, 727). Similarly, in a content analysis of the Globe and Mail and the National Post from 1997 to 2010 regarding climate change coverage, it was found that "consequences of climate change are overwhelmingly presented as consequences for the natural environment, with social consequences correspondingly ignored" (Stoddart, Haluza-DeLay, and Tindall 2016, 227). This is reasoned in concert with Haluza-DeLay and Fernout "that if environmental organizations are not promoting climate justice as part of their ongoing work, it is unlikely to appear in media discourse about climate change" (Stoddart, Haluza-DeLay, and Tindall 2016, 229). The extent to which this is true indicates a limitation on what can be defined an 'environmental' organization in the Canadian context; frame analysis literature can thus contribute to identifying the limitations of a study population.

An 'environmentalist' frame is more commonly referred to in frame or discourse analysis literature as "wilderness environmentalism" and includes the new ecological paradigm and deep ecology, amongst others (DeLuca 2007). New ecological paradigm (NEP) is the combination of the colonial preservation and conservation environmentalists; the former protects the environment from all human interference for its own intrinsic value, the later manages resources for sustainable consumption (Pellow and Brehm 2015, 191). While preservation and conservation movements are theoretically distinct, with recognition of the idea that 'nature' cannot be bound by borders, they are difficult to distinguish in practice (Jamieson 2007, 87). Deep ecology, a radical frame, takes this further to say humans are not special and intervention

in nature is immoral, NEP only goes as far to say a balance is required and impacts should be minimized where possible (Pellow and Brehm 2015, 191). NEP has been widely critiqued as "too reformist in its goals, orientation, tactics too close to industries it wishes to regulate, and too distant from the needs of grassroot communities" (Pellow and Brehm 2015, 191). While there are other sub-frames within wilderness environmentalism, it suffices to say they that while wilderness environmentalists are radically divided on the ways humans *should* interact with nature, they are essentially united in the "oppositi[on] to environmentally destructive initiatives" and is thus considered a negative frame (Jamieson 2007, 87, 98).

Wilderness environmentalism has been studied in opposition to the more inclusive environmental justice paradigm (EJP) of which the three major focal points are (1) environmental risks that result from specific discriminatory policies and practices, regardless of intention; (2) the discriminatory exclusion of stakeholders regarding the access to and/or management of resources and related decision making processes; (3) the reframing of the issues, i.e. what is environmentalism, acceptable risk, environmental health, et cetera (Mohai, Pellow, and Roberts 2009). EJP considers environmental risks inseparable from both "substantive rights (that is, human safety and survival, and access to and the use of natural resources and the environment) and procedural rights (that is, access to information, fair hearings, and equal participation)" (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008, 7). In essence, under EJP, one cannot examine environmental politics without considering social justice (Mohai, Pellow, and Roberts 2009).

Haluza-DeLay, Demoor and Peet provide a normative case for the creation of a master frame to combine wilderness environmentalism and environmental justice under the one agenda or goal "*to live well together in this land"* (2013). It is then a matter of uniting as Canadians and honoring lived realities and a sense of place, a master-frame they define as 'just sustainability'

(Haluza-DeLay, DeMoor, and Peet 2013). Their vision is quoted in length to provide a context of how a master frame could be interpreted across the environmental movement:

> Living well together in the land, then, means building inclusive, just, and sustainable communities for humanity with the other-than-human. If the task is to live well together, … we have to do so in the land (not on it…), for mutual benefit, and make it last. This is sustainability, justice, and inclusion, in all their environmental and social dimensions, broadened beyond their often unnecessarily narrowed guiding concepts (Haluza-DeLay, DeMoor, and Peet 2013).

In order to be considered a master frame, it must be "sufficiently broad in interpretive scope, inclusivity, flexibility, and cultural resonance" (Benford and Snow 2000, 619). Master frames such as this one are argued to be essential in creating a unified movement capable of social change (Haluza-Delay 2007, 561; Shellenberger and Nordhaus 2009). Brulle similarly identifies the "failure to develop a comprehensive ecological discursive frame" as a limitation of the environmental movement (2000, 272). Armed with normative passion, frame analysis scholars' descriptions of idyllic movements that incorporate a full array of issues is oddly reminiscent of claims from new social movement scholars that there is only one social movement and that is a class' struggle for the control of historicity in daily life. While some are exclusively normative (such as Haluza-DeLay, DeMoor, and Peet 2013), other provide ambitious solutions such as the purposeful creation of an authentic deliberative democracy (such as Dryzek 2013) or a multi-pronged approach including opening a dialogue amongst all environmental organizations, the reform of external funding, and the internal democratization of each environmental organization (such as Brulle 2000). Yet one approach is mercifully distinctive, offering networking organizations as the key to creating a master frame to unite a movement (Levkoe 2014, 2015; Stevenson et al. 2007).

Stevenson et al in the tradition of resource mobilization theory use organizational characteristics to categorize the variety of frames, though not necessarily organizations, within the agrifood movement (2007). The characteristics they consider are the goal orientations of inclusion, reformation, and transformation and the strategic orientations of warrior, builder and weaver. There are more nuanced terminology throughout the literature which parallels their goal[8] and strategic[9] orientations with the exception of inclusion and weaver. The goal of inclusion "is to increase participation by marginalized" actors in the existing system, such as, in the given case of the agrifood movement, immigrant farmers (Stevenson et al. 2007, 34). Inclusion thus does not attempt to change the system other than to make it more accessible. Weaver work "focuses on developing strategic and conceptual linkages" amongst all types of organizations with a focus on movement building and frame alignment (Stevenson et al. 2007, 34). Accordingly, Stevenson et al. provide weavers as the solution to intra- and inter-movement networking towards creating a persuasive master frame.

Levkoe operationalizes this concept of a weaver organization as social movement umbrella organizations in a qualitative study of weaver organization strategies to enhance

[8] Taylor uses alternative, redemptive, reformative, and transformative to distinguish the magnitude (partial or total) and level (individual or societal) of change sought (2000, 251). Dryzek uses the combination of reformist v. radical, and prosaic v. imaginative to distinguish the magnitude of change sought (partial or total) and the inclination to accept industrial neoliberalism as a constant respectively (2013, 14-16). Reformation for Stevenson et al mean alterations within the current system which is akin to Taylor's reformative change (partial in magnitude at the societal level) or Dryzek's prosaic-reformist discourse (partial in magnitude with a status quo approach to industrial neoliberalism)(2007). Transformation for Stevenson et al is akin to Taylor's transformative change (total in magnitude at the societal level) and at its core similar to Dryzek's imaginative-radical discourse (total in magnitude of change and adverse to the societal status quo)(2007).

[9] While 'builder' and 'warrior' are uniquely defined, they are similarly based upon campaign activities of organizations. 'Builders' are entrepreneurs who provide alternatives to the status quo in the economic sector. 'Warriors' are advocate organizations working on policy initiatives in the political sector. Warriors could be further broken down into the concepts insider, thresholder, and outsider as strategic orientations which indicate the types of protest organizations coordinate (Saunders 2013, 37). Alternatively, Brulle codes organizations into one of these five categories based upon its stated strategy for realizing its objective: transcendence, education, parliamentarian, protest, and prophecy (2000, 291).

interconnectedness within a movement (2014, 2015). Weaver work takes "an immense amount of energy… to sustain network coherence and function, but [in order to be successful] it needs to be exerted in a way that recognizes and works with the actors' diverse perspectives and the network's decentralized structure" (Levkoe 2015, 175). Umbrella organizations, also known as peak bodies, refer to organizations which have organizations as members. Tasks regularly undertaken by umbrella organizations may include "information and dissemination services, membership support, coordination, advocacy and representation, research and policy development for their members and other interested parties" (Australian Industry Commission 1994 quoted in Melville 1999, 3). Organizations make strategic decision to join umbrella organizations or networks when the advantages (particularly survival capacity) outweigh costs to maintaining the membership including loss of autonomy (Provan and Milward 1995, 2). Social movement umbrella organizations are distinguished in that they are movement-serving organizations; their membership consists specifically of public interest groups (Melville 1999, 3). These social movement umbrella organizations, in contrast to private sector umbrella organizations, benefit from the stronger rationale among public interest groups to collaborate to accomplish movement goals, "even when specific incentives to integrate and cooperate are weak" (Provan and Milward 1995, 3).

Levkoe explores deliberate networking strategies by umbrella organizations and the challenges they face while highlighting the historical and geographical contexts to account for the differences in organizational structure (2015). The strategies he identifies are coordinating the scaling-up of local projects to have a greater impact on provincial policy in addition to the creation of both physical and virtual spaces for interaction amongst public interest groups

(Levkoe 2015, 175).[10] The two general challenges to weaver work Levkoe uncovers in his case study of three provincial organizations are (1) the balance between networking autonomous organizations and creating a master frame while respecting the decentralized nature of a social movement; and (2) disparities between member organizations resulting in uneven access to the benefits of membership (2015, 181).

Umbrella organizations make for an easy, limited study population and this approach benefits movement-relevant literature.[11] The flaw of studying formal networks through umbrella organizations is that formal memberships are not necessarily indicative of connections (perceived or real) among member groups, nor does not consider informal networking patterns. Yet networking requires further examination as a key aspect of not only frame analysis but of all social movement theory.

Network Analysis

The second of the two conceptual models used as adaptions to the foundational social movement literature is network analysis. As with framing, the network analysis perspective is not a standalone theory, it is more accurately described as a methodology or lens. The network analysis perspective highlights the importance of networks relatively neglected in the foundational social movement literature, and uses those networks to analyze social movements beyond single-organizations but also in more detail than the broad societal culture. The synthetic theory will be presented in the final section of this chapter relies heavily on the understandings of

[10] Specifically "(1) the creation of physical spaces that involve direct contact in particular places; (2) the development of virtual spaces where connections are mediated through digital technologies; and (3) the use of scalar strategies that scale-up local projects to organize around and impact provincial level policy" (Levkoe 2015, 177).

[11] Umbrella, weaver, or movement-serving organizations may be able to apply strategies explored by Levkoe and increase their sensitivity to exposed challenges in order to increase movement efficiencies.

the network analysis perspective, while also incorporating the practical relevance of frame analysis.

Literature using a network perspective incorporates multiple social movement theories, justifying the salience of the network perspective across theories, claiming "network processes … *are the movement*" (Diani and Bison 2004). While the network approach is largely synonymous with Diani and his consensual definition of a social movement, it is important to recall that highlighting interactions is deeply rooted in social movement literature. Consider that for Smelser, a collective behaviourist in the 1960s, a movement was understood as "an outcome of communicative interactive processes within a group of individuals" at a particular time and place (Klimova 1993). Likewise, Touraine within the new social movement camp specified social movements are the "fabric of society" (1981, 29), which in turn he defines as "action and social relations" (1981, 25). By emphasizing the interactive processes studied by constructivists while also acknowledging the central importance of organizations and institutions implicit in structural theories, the network analysis approach can unite social movement theory. Specifically, this perspective allows for the empirical study of interactions between organizations which creates a foundation upon which to ask a variety of new questions that target empirically definable social movements. This is in contrast to the historical study of social movements which has been done in two highly contrasting ways; either as singular organizations or as the sociological struggle for historicity.

The frameworks used to study social movements through network analysis vary significantly. But at its core, a network analysis perspective attempts to find patterns in the web of interactions, rather than studying actors in isolations (Levkoe 2014, 388). Two studies using a

network perspective are explored below in order to provide examples of network analysis frameworks.

The first study to consider is that of Diani and Bison who mapped the network processes according to the perceived density of inter-organizational alliances[12], identity dynamics[13], and the perception by the representatives interviewed that actions of their organization were conflictual in nature (2004). Their study highlighted the importance of studying networks to differentiate social movements from other collective processes (Diani and Bison 2004). Their framework defines and creates preliminary indicators for the core characteristics of network processes in order to analytically identify a quantifiable social movement from other collective processes. Questions Diani and Bison raise based on their framework include whether organizations involved in a social movement network have a unique set of organizational characteristics in contrast to non-networked public interest groups; could this set of characteristics be used to predict involvement in a social movement network; does this set of characteristics confirm assumptions made by the literature such as "social movements [are] more likely to consist of loosely structured, grassroots organizations … [with] anti-institutional orientations" (2004).

The second example to consider is Saunders' study of the environmental movement in London. Saunders uses the same definition of a social movement as prescribed here, explaining it is an exercise in futility "to be too prescriptive about which organizations are in or out of a social movement" where other scholars excluded organizations based on a myriad of characteristics

[12] Diani and Bison use the cluster procedure to measure the density of alliances and important collaborations named by the organizations' representatives interviewed; this allows for less significance to be assigned should an alliance be named by only one of the partners (2004).
[13] Identity dynamics is broken down into two indicators: "the sharing of core members between two organizations and … joint past participation in a series of public – often protest – events" (Diani and Bison 2004, 298).

which may change overtime (2013, 3). The all-inclusive approach which the network perspective encourages is consistent with new social movement theory; no more can public interest groups be studied in isolation from their networks of interaction than can social movements be studied in isolation from the society in which they exist. Saunders' questionnaire exemplifies this model with its one self-elimination question; "is your organization in regular contact with at least one other organization that you consider to be a part of the environmental movement? … If No, there are no further questions" (2013, 209). The questionnaire she created collects information on organizational characteristics, identity dynamics, political interactions, and particularly highlights the regularity of interactions with other environmental public interest groups. The purpose of her study is to create a synthetic approach to explain the dynamics of interaction between public interest groups involved in a social movement under the assumption that connections are purposeful, "whether strategic or normative," rather than happenstance (Saunders 2013, 16). Her approach is built by using the data she collected on the environmental movement in London, UK to build upon and test the assumptions about interorganizational interactions made by the standard social movement theories. In this way, Saunders contributes to the field of social movement theory by using the network perspective to combine the elements of the often isolated approaches to the study of social movements.

Synthetic Theory (Building A Synthetic Movement)

This chapter has thus far presented foundational social movement literature including two conceptual models used as adaptations to the foundational frameworks. Conceptual inconsistency across the literature was first addressed in order to arrive at a synthetic theory which incorporates lessons from the broad spectrum of social movement literature. The four

major theoretical frameworks explored above are rich resources which within their own hermeneutic circles of time and space once described, explained, and enhanced collective mobilization for social transformation. This final section will establish the how the extensive yet fragmented theories explored above can form one cohesive social movement theory to be used as a lens through which to evaluate the environmental movement in NL in subsequent chapters. In turn, the case study will provide insight into the utility of the synthetic theory as presented here.

The ability of the foundational frameworks to be relevant beyond the observations they were built upon is limited. Public interest groups have been studied as though they are independent social movements or "single-organization movements" (Turner and Killian 1987, quoted by Diani 1992, 14), yet the creation of a formal network of institutionalized actors, known as a social movement organization, is recognized as a key indicator of a collective identity and a key factor in the effectiveness of social mobilization. Thus, as has been argued above, the resulting literature has focused on participant mobilization (e.g. –what is the ideal recipe for increasing participants –can effectiveness be measured by participant mobilization? – how can the participant base be measured?). As Pamela Oliver puts it "…all too often we speak of *movement* strategy, tactics, leadership, membership recruitment, division of labour, success and failure –terms which strictly apply to coherent decision making entities (i.e., organizations or groups), not to crowds, collectives, or whole social movements" (quoted in Diani 1992, 17). Even where networks are recognized as a way to share resources, it is the increased effectiveness of single organizations which is highlighted. The literature which follows this trend can therefore be more accurately classified as public interest group literature rather than social movement theory, unless it is built upon, as it does not explain social movements more broadly.

In particular, both the resource mobilization and political process approaches, with few exceptions, focus on factors external to the movement to explain how movements might succeed or collapse. The significance of the contribution of these foundational literatures is the valuable information by which to categorize these organizations, and should they respond to Martin's call to network, these categories could be used as a framework to understand networking patterns. The variables scholars have chosen to divide public interest groups are numerous; "characteristics of members, goals, tactics, scope of operations… organizational form," degree of institutionalization, professionalization, et cetera (Andrews and Edwards 2004, 483).

Resource mobilization theory in particular emphasizes how the internal dynamics of individual public interest groups change as a result of external dynamics. External dynamics can be broken down into degrees of external influence and sources of external influence. The former referring to variables such as the diversification of funds (Carroll and Stater 2008), composition of the board of directors (Brulle 2000) and the restrictions placed on the use of funds (Pross and Webb 2003, 109–10). The degree of external influence is understood on a scale from indirect channeling, a result of cherry-picking public interest groups that are ideologically compatible or public interest groups attempting to secure further grants, to co-optation, whereby external influences actively partake in the decision making processes of an public interest groups to further their own preferences (Brulle 2000, 88; See also Bartley 2007). Degree of influence is further correlated to the centralization of the public interest group's structure (Brulle 2000, 291). Sources of external influence refers to variables such as the societal culture (Zald and Ash 1966), the types of external funders (Bartley 2007; Brulle 2000; Saunders 2013) and the affiliations the public interest group maintains (Andrews and Edwards 2004; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Saunders 2013; Zald and Ash 1966). Extensive American studies have shown that private

foundation funding affects organizational form, goals, tactics, practices, mobilization ability and legitimacy (Brulle 2000, 86; See also Bartley 2007).. These studies find a correlation between foundational funding and the professionalization of staff (Staggenborg 1988, 597), insider tactics (Dreiling and Wolf 2001, 38) institutionalization of goals, and an overall subduing of radicalization (Bartley 2007). Similar dynamics have been observed as a result of funding from corporations and government agencies in American NGOs (Brulle 2000, 84).

Internal dynamics refers to the organizational characteristics that external dynamics are thought to affect. For example, a professional-type leader rather than a volunteer leader is shown by Staggenborg to be strongly correlated with a shift towards organizational maintenance at the cost of goal transformation (1988). Extrapolating, in order to maintain the organization, professional leaders are more likely to seek resources from external sources, thus inviting their influences. Other internal dynamics that have been studied in this literature include charitable status (Pross and Webb 2003, 72), definitions of success (Bartley 2007; Dart 2010; Kadowaki 2013; Zald and Ash 1966), tactical strategies (Carmin and Balser 2002; Dreiling and Wolf 2001; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Saunders 2013), number of professional staff (Brulle 2000), organizational structure (Andrews and Edwards 2004), and participation of membership (Andrews and Edwards 2004; Brulle 2000; Saunders 2013).

Many studies ultimately advocate for an external change, contending that an external factor is the root cause of the problem in question. For many scholars, this takes the form of explicit as well as implicit external funding requirements. Due to a limited amount of resources or changes in charitable laws, public interest groups must conform accordingly. Pross and Webb go as far to claim the Canadian government's regulatory structures for non-governmental organizations have a cumulative effect of "encourag[ing] certain kinds of behaviour" over others

including culling advocacy in favor of short-term projects (2003, 72, 109–10). Dart furthermore brings to attention the tension created by the drive for increased short-term, casual participants at the cost of long-term, mission related impact as a result of external funding requirements (2010). If the requirements could be altered, it follows that the entire social movement would be altered. It appears quite logical. However, by the same logic, public interest groups are not in a position to demand change. Therefore, the tangible contribution of resource mobilization and political process research is how specific characteristics are indicative of increased external influences.

New social movement literature has an opposite problem whereby rather focusing on public interest groups, it views social movements so closely related to the broader societal culture that it is hardly analytically useful. It is criticized for focusing on 'why' social movements are successful while overlooking 'how' social movement *become* successful. Social movements are thus often seen as fragmented and chaotic, with successes attributed to fluke or grassroots spontaneity. The synthetic merger of political opportunity structure and new social movement theory could only account for the added layer of how social movements interact with policy changes at a particular time and place.

Introducing the study of the networks between public interest groups allows for an understanding of the parameters of a social movement's collective identity and measuring its ability to enhance societal transformation in such ways the following quote describes;

> Networks have been shown to increase the success of movements by encouraging alliance building (Knoke 1990), facilitating the diffusion of ideas and practices (Gerlach 1971), contributing to a more sustained level of activity (Staggenborg 1998) and establishing a more desirable, legitimate and democratic form of political organization (Hadenius 2001) (cited in Levkoe 2014, 388).

It is essential that public interest groups are the target audience of this approach, even though they are only a portion of a social movement. This is due to their capacity to interact with the theory, to make a purposeful attempt to strengthen the social movement of which they are a part. The literature of each of the major theoretical frameworks informs this network approach, but the ability of this synthetic theory to interact with the social movement via the public interest groups helps it to be dynamic beyond the theory's hermeneutic circle. This synthetic theory emphasizes public interest groups in a way new social movement theory cannot, even though it understands public interest groups as manifestations of the collective identity. It also underscores the creation of collective identity in a more organic way then resource mobilization and frame analysis allows. It is a constructivist lens by which to understand that the interactions of public interest groups *is* the structure and core of a social movement.

The emphasis on networks is also observable as a practical framework by which to build a synthetic social movement. Kania and Kramer first introduced the concept of "collective impact," a process that aims to bring forth large-scale change as a result of purposeful networking across public interest groups (2013). The model is meant to be a living process whereby the network in question continuously works towards five outlined key conditions or best practices to obtain change, subverting the isolated impact approach (Kania and Kramer 2011). Rather than borne of academia, this concept circulates philanthropist blogs in accessible forms for activists. While not explicitly condemning social movement literature, collective impact starts entirely fresh. This thesis finds that preventable by addressing the concern to have practical implications by using frame analysis to conceptualize the parameters and strength of social movement networks. By introducing the study of virtually invisible networks between public interest groups, this synthetic theory may shed light on how social mobilization towards a

communal goal of social transformation is most likely to occur, including the recognition of a master frame to define that communal goal.

This line of questioning returns to the original focus of social movement theory; to describe, explain, and enhance collective mobilization for social transformation. A social movement literature which seeks to provide practical advice to "plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani 1992, 17) must consider questions such as –under what circumstances will public interest groups become social movement *organization-type* participants? –are most similar public interest groups more likely to network towards a common goal or envision each other as competitors for resources? –are networks restricted based on external influences such as political climate or funders? –to what extent do diverse public interest groups interact in order to realize the larger social movement goal? –are formalized networks of public interest groups necessary to facilitate co-operation towards a communal goal of societal transformation?

Integrating practical concerns and movement-relevant questions via a network perspective provides the opportunity to build a more complete critical theory of social movements. This is an important moment for social movement theory and social movements more broadly. Understanding the role of networks and their ability to strengthen frames as a collective is key to advancing a range of social goals, including building a more successful environmental movement in Canada.

Chapter Three – Epistemology and Methods

The previous chapter established a synthetic network process social movement theory based upon the foundational social movement literature and two conceptual frameworks. The synthetic theory highlights the importance of networks in understanding broad social movements and uses frame analysis to conceptualize the strength of those networks. Public interest groups were explained as the target audience of the synthetic theory, while being only a portion of a social movement. This is due to their capacity to interact with the theory, to make a purposeful attempt to strengthen the social movement of which they are a part. This chapter will explore the epistemology and mixed methods framework used in this study, not uncommon in social movement research.

Once the epistemology and methodologies for this thesis has been established, it will be important to contextualize the data to be gathered. Starting with an overview of not-for-profits in Canada, the environmental movement in NL is situated as a part of the nation-wide environmental movement. Similarities between the provincial movement and the national movement are important particularly if the findings and recommendations are to be scaled up to the national level; contextualizing allows for a statement of external validity. However, additional approaches will be required using the network process theory in order to highlight how and to what degree public interest groups in the province network with those across Canada as well. The chapter will then conclude with a brief discussion of strategy to implement the epistemological and methodological practices when gathering data to address the research question at hand; does this synthetic theory contribute practical and dynamic tools that if used by social movements can further develop lessons for social movement literature.

Epistemology & Methodology

All mainstream social sciences are faced with the "so-what?" results problem and social movement theory is no exception (Flyvbjerg 2001, 32). Whole fields of research are of significance only within academia while having no "great influence on public discourse and public policy" (Jervis 2002, 187). There is a gap between social movement theory and social movement action; a gap between social movement scholars and social movement actors; a gap between the normative and the empirical, *where theory falls short of being practical for social movement organizations*. This thesis seeks to address the gap that exists between social movement theory and the public interest groups which are at the centre of all social movements.

In order to situate the epistemology and methodologies to be used in this thesis, it is crucial to assess the applicability of those already common in the field of social movement theory. However, the methodological practices used by social movement theorists have been highly varied. Della Porta's review of the methodologies across the field paints a picture of the coexistence and mutual recognition of scholars using positivist and interpretivist epistemologies, in a way unseen in other social science fields (2014, 2). At best, this is explained as a result of the valuing of all data or "common knowledge" that might inform the furthering of societal transformation (della Porta 2014, 2). At worst, it is explained as methodology being an "afterthought" to a problem-solving approach; "there has been little methodological reflection … [and rarely engagement] in broader methodological debates … Methodological pluralism seemed to emerge naturally, rather than as a conscious choice" (della Porta 2014, 4). Methodological considerations of social movement theory appear to be as inchoate as the social movement literature reviewed in Chapter Two.

It is important to return to the idea that social movement literature is a product of its time, and to underline that it was created by specific observations of the world, i.e. within hermeneutic circles. Modern social movement theory developed mid-twentieth century and is intrinsically tied to the golden age of activism as well as the heavy influence of positivism and critical rationalism on social science at the time. Academics were trained to study empirical knowledge gained through observation, however hard data on social movements is an anomaly; "existing surveys on the entire population are of little help for investigations of active minorities, and social movement organizations rarely keep archives, or even lists of participants" (della Porta 2014, 3). Moreover, these academics, trained to resist 'going native' while using an interpretive lens, were often activists before academics. Activist-academics attempted to provide movements, to which they were sympathetic, with catalytic theory. In essence, there was a real emphasis on inductive knowledge gained through observation. Moreover still, if social movements are the daily construction of social life, one does not need to be an activist to be a participant. Thus there is there inherent tension between the positivist training of the early 'foundational' social movement theorists and the increasing turn towards the study of social movements being a fundamentally interpretivist field.

In order to address these issues, this research is inspired by critical theory; the extension of constructivism such that if social reality is constructed, then it can be changed. Critical theory seeks to reveal and displace the power dynamics that have influence over the construction of society and cultural norms. Hence, unlike many theories, critical theory seeks to critique and transform rather than explain and predict. Criticism and praxis are the foundations of critical theory. Criticism is the "uncovering [of] hidden assumptions and debunking their claims to authority, as well as simple fault-finding" (Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner 2006, 89) and praxis is

the call to "action as opposed to philosophical speculation" (Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner 2006, 306). A complete critical theory must explain how historicity is controlled, identify who is in a position to alter that control, and supply practical guidelines to transform society for the collective good. Critical theory therefor provides a guiding epistemology to address the question does this synthetic theory contribute practical and dynamic tools that if used by social movements can further develop lessons for social movement theory literature.

A critical theory should be understood within the postmodernism epistemology which states that "there is no reality to any event apart from the meanings attributed by those who perceived them" (Rosenau 1991, 110). This signifies how concepts, such as a social movement or environmentalism, are valued only in relation to "historical, linguistic, and social contexts"; they are not universal throughout time and space (Peterson 1999, 340). This also implies that costs as well as benefits are relational; it is only when they are interpreted as such that individuals place value on them. The tools postmodernism offers social movement theory include discourse theory and intertextuality.

Discourse theory refers to the ways *texts* create and alter individuals as a political actors. Individuals "are moved to engage in 'politics' (to inform themselves, to participate in discussions or debates, to protest, to organize various kinds of events, to join organizations…) when they feel that something important is at stake and that something can be done, collectively, about it" (Adkin 2009, 12). This approach, in essence, is concerned with how ideologies or worldviews are altered such that they become "a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge" (Sharp and Richardson 2001, 194). Individuals are understood to be political actors in this sense as they contest meanings and implementations of discourse (Sharp and Richardson 2001, 194).

The discourse of 'climate' is useful example of this; climate is not conceptualized or defined as "the prevailing weather conditions of a place" (Agnes 2003, 123). Yet as a result of the changing context, using the discourse prevalent in this ecological crisis, the meaning has been altered and it can now be understood as "an integrated biogeophysical system highly vulnerable to human interference" (Dryzek 2013, 5). Discourse theory would explore the ways individuals have become politicized as a result of this changing discourse. It is important to differentiate the context from the discourse in this case, it is the discourse of an ecological crisis that confirms widespread lived experiences which encourages political actions; not the individual lived experiences.

Intertextuality is the concept that everything, every event is intrinsically intertwined (Rosenau 1991, 112). A postmodern social movement theory therefore naturally recognizes that a social movement cannot be understood in isolation apart from society as a whole and hence we cannot claim impartiality as we are participants, knowingly or otherwise, in any social movement. Producing such a movement relevant theory requires "a distinct process that involves dynamic engagement … Moreover, the researcher need not and in fact should not have a detached relation to the movement [as their] connection to the movement provides important incentives to produce more accurate information" (Bevington and Dixon 2005, 190). While this thesis cannot provide the complete context as defined by intertextuality, it can situate the case study in a broader Canadian context starting with an overview of not-for-profits in Canada and then considering the nation-wide environmental movement. Similarities between the provincial movement and the national movement are important particularly if the findings and recommendations are able to scale up to the national level; contextualizing allows for a statement of external validity. However, additional studies will be required using the synthetic theory

presented in chapter two in order to highlight how and to what degree public interest groups in the province network with those across Canada as well.

Contextualizing the Case Study

> Nonprofit and voluntary organizations are very diverse, in both their areas of activity and their organizational characteristics. But underlying their differences is a common characteristic—they are instruments for Canadians' collective action and engagement in civic life (Hall et al. 2004).

Composed of not-for-profit and charitable organizations, the "third sector"[14] fills essential service gaps left unattended by the public and private sectors as well as opportunities for representation through engagement and advocacy (Smith 2007, 16). As shown in chart 1, Struthers identified an evolution of names for this sector with public benefit economy being the most recent identification in order to "claim impact alongside the commercial economy" (Struthers 2012, 267). This is prudent considering the sector is "as significant an employer as the country's entire manufacturing industry" (Hall et al. 2005, 8) however, in spite of this, there has been limited research done on the sector as a whole. Statistics Canada carried out the only large scale survey to date reporting an estimated 161,000 'core sector'[15] nonprofit and voluntary

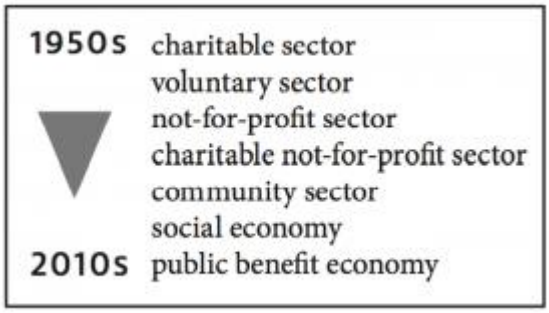

Chart 1 Evolution of Sector Name (Struthers 2012, 267)

[14] From personal experience, the labeling of the sector as 'third' is now considered to be problematic as it might give the impression that the sector is less-then the public or private sector. The language was used here to stay true to the cited author and give context to readers who might be familiar with this labeling.
[15] Organizations that are not hospitals or post-secondary institutions.

organizations as of 2003, with "just over half" being registered charities[16] (Hall et al. 2004). The scope of this 2003 survey inevitably excluded unregistered and unincorporated organizations that none-the-less play significant roles in the community sector and society at large. These excluded grassroots organizations are often deemed the cornerstones of social movements, whereas charitable organizations are sometimes considered 'too institutionalized' to be valid participants in a social movement. This is however too simplistic as it is estimated that over half of all incorporated not-for-profits and registered charities "are run completely through the contributions of volunteers – in the form of donations of both time and money. Collectively, these public interest groups draw on 2 billion volunteer hours, the equivalent of 1 million full-time jobs" (Hall et al. 2004, 9). Indicators of institutionalization, more positively known as 'professionalization', include 'insider' tactical strategies (Dreiling and Wolf 2001, 38), working relationships with all levels of government (Saunders 2013, 118), higher numbers of professional staff (Staggenborg 1988, 597), centralized oligarchic internal organizational forms (Brulle 2000, 289), as well as charitable status (Pross and Webb 2003), and higher influence of external funders (Bartley 2007).

This research will provide data about the scope of Canadian environmental movement which has suffered from academic disinterest relative to the canon of social movement literature South of the border (Haluza-Delay 2007, 559; Kadowaki 2013, 12). Even social movement historical literature has a reoccurring tendency to describe the evolution of the environmental movement in the United States as the *North American context* (See McKenzie 2007, 281). Canadian environmental movements are influenced by the American narrative and are affected by similar environmental issues as a result of sharing the longest international border in the

[16] Currently there are 86,283 registered charities listed on the Canada Revenue Agency website (Canada Revenue Agency 2016).

world, but they simply have not been examined in the same detail. Additionally, narrowing in on the environmental movement provides this thesis with a manageable number of public interest groups with a range of institutionalization, in comparison to attempting to capture all public interest groups or public interest groups focused on non-conflictual issues debatably beyond the scope of what could reasonably be described as social movements.

From a 'political process' basis we should note that the political system based on the separation of powers in the United States provides further "opportunities for advocacy organizations to find allies at some level of government" (Andrews and Edwards 2004, 496). In contrast, the emphasis on party discipline in Canada's parliamentary democracy ultimately results in the need to convince the Minister responsible, or a select few key bureaucrats (DeMarco 2005, 6). This key difference has contributed to very different environmental frames. Anti-establishment ideas and counterculture has defined the environmental movement south of the border, motivated by the experience of the civil rights movement (Coglianese 2001, 91–92; McKenzie 2007, 283). On the other hand, the Canadian movement was inspired by the beauty of nature and our connection to it popularized by artistic expressions such as nature writings and paintings (McKenzie 2007, 283). The origins and inspiration of the environmental movement continues to be reflected in the current 'wilderness' frame that dominates the Canadian movement. This wilderness frame also makes sense in the Canadian setting, where groups must as a matter of necessity appeal to the kind of elite interests that are of concern to Cabinets.

These differences are also highlighted by the pace of environmental change in the two nations;

> 'You cannot expect from the Canadian public anything like the response… in the United States, because… you have suffered and lost much of your wilderness and we are merely in the process of

> losing it.' (Killian and Warecki quoting a journalist in 1929, quoted in McKenzie 2007, 282).

Simply, in Canada, the conceptualization of 'environment' did not exist prior to the 1960s. What we now refer to most broadly as 'environmental issues' were before then represented by specific, isolated concepts such as 'resource shortages' and 'pollution' (Dryzek 2013, 5).

Yet the Canadian environmental movement has roots as early as 1620 with the acute observation by Gabriel Sagard that the end of the beaver (and thus the fur trade) was imminent due to over exploitation (Forkey 2012, 12). By 1789 Gabriel White was promoting the need to study the natural world as a holistic system, noting the interconnectedness between species (Forkey 2012, 20). At the time, this was associated with the divine belief that each species was created for a purpose and contributed in some way to the holistic system (Forkey 2012, 18). By this history we can understand the context in which environmental issues was a gradually occurring movement long before the word itself was used. By the 1840s, a third of the mature woodland south of the Canadian Shield had disappeared; by the 1870s, 75%; by WWI, only 10 % remained (Forkey 2012, 9).

While we now commonly discuss the 'environmental movement' in Canada, efforts to document its size and various characteristics have been limited. Indeed, it is difficult to provide an accurate account of environmental organizations in Canada due to conceptual differences in what should be included. The classification system used by *Statistics Canada* lists 'environment' as one of the 12 major activities in categorizing nonprofit organizations; however, 'environment' includes the welfare and veterinary services provided to livestock and domesticated animals in addition to activities related to wilderness (Haggar-Guenette et al. 2009, 47–51). Furthermore, it potentially excludes advocacy organizations, neighbourhood organizations, grant-making foundations, social-enterprises, museums, zoos, and aquariums

whose primary *focus* is the environment, even if their daily activity falls outside of "promoting and providing services in environmental conservation, pollution control and prevention, environmental education and health, and animal protection" (Hall et al. 2004, 13).

The *National Survey of Nonprofit and Voluntary Organizations* by Statistics Canada is the best quantitative data available to provide insight into the environmental organizations in Canada in comparison and contrast to nonprofit and charitable organizations with other primary activities. It provides data on how environmental organizations, defined as in this way, compare to eleven other categories of public interest groups[17] in such topics as the years of operation, size of geographical area served, membership composition, revenue (actual revenue, changes in revenue, sources of revenue, reported external funding problems), human resources (number of volunteers/paid staff, number of hours volunteered/worked, reported change in numbers, type of work) (Hall et al. 2004). While not directly comparable due to the issues in the definition of environmental, this can provide some context as to what extent the public interest groups in the province are comparable to those across Canada. What this survey does not provide is details on whether a conflict, collective identity, or network exists; the existence of public interest groups alone whose primary activity is 'the environment' does not compel the existence of a movement.

Narrowing in on environmentalism as a social movement in Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) makes a stronger case study to address whether the synthetic theory contributes practical and dynamic tools that, if used by social movements, can further develop lessons for social movement literature. The strength of this case is the ability to isolate the movement's conflict,

[17] The categorizations with sub-groups in parenthesis are (1) culture and recreation (arts and culture, sports and recreation); (2) education and research (universities and colleges, other educational and research [sic]); (3) health (hospitals, other health); (4) social services; (5) environment; (6) development and housing; (7) law, advocacy and politics; (8) grant-making, fundraising and voluntarism promotion; (9) international; (10) religion; (11) business and professional associations and unions; and (12) not elsewhere classified (Canada Revenue Agency 2016).

collective identity, and network as well as the ability of the researcher to be immersed within all facets of the movement, as is required by the guiding principles of a movement-relevant, critical theory – NL is a small polity and it is possible to fully encounter all public interest groups involved in the environmental movement within the province. Furthermore, as a result of geographical isolation, networking is likely a more purposeful, concerted effort then might form in larger metropolises, and is less likely to be directly influenced by the American environmental movement.

Beyond the researcher's ability to provide dynamic engagement as an active participant of the provincial environmental movement for five years, including sitting as a member representative on the steering committee of the Newfoundland and Labrador Environment Network (NLEN) a key site of environmental movement networking, this immersion provides the possibility of studying the whole universe selected. The data gathered from the provincial environment movement will be compared to the data above relating to environmental public interest groups across Canada.

The following sections will review methodology, research design, and the strategy for how data was collected.

Research Design & The Creation of the NL Environmental Organizations Directory

In order to research public interest groups participating in the environmental movement in NL, within a critical epistemology, it is necessary to contextualize the provincial environmental movement in the broader Canadian environmental movement. From there, the building of further context on the public interest groups operating within the province is essential. The addition of small-N qualitative methods in the form of semi-structured interviews

allows this research to increase internal validity (Green and Gerber 2002, 811). The methods of collecting data and the types of data for this research is varied; they include content analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participate observation. Triangulation (or for postmodern scholars, "crystallization"), the use of multiple methods or types of data, is known to arrive at a more valid result then any one method or data type could alone (Seawright and Collier 2010, 356; Richardson and Adams St. Pierre 2005, 963). As this research is based upon critical theory, a section in the conclusion will reflect upon its utility; whether the research was able to supply practical tools to public interest groups in order to overcome barriers to forming a cohesive social movement.

Prior to this research, no attempt had been made to list all of the environmental public interest groups within the province. The best-known resource was *The Green List*, a record of RCEN member organizations across all provinces in 2002. This document, along with social media and organizational websites were used to build an expansive inventory of possible environmental public interest groups. In order to establish that the public interest groups found were operational, the information gathered was correct, and to expand upon the information gathered, each organization was contacted and offered the opportunity to be listed in a free online directory of environmental public interest groups in NL; the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*. The information including contact information data was used to pre-fill questionnaires in order to reduce the workload of the individuals completing the survey and thus increase participation. In this way, personalized emails were sent to 95 named public interest groups and included questionnaires sent pre-filled with any known information about the group (e.g. mailing address, phone numbers, email addresses, etc). Furthermore, any mentions of affiliations and partnerships with other organizations was gathered at the same time to later be

displayed using online software *TheBrain* to illustrate network relationships. This web continues to be displayed, linked through various NLEN communication; including an invitation to email corrections or further connections to be displayed.

Alongside the personalized emails, the opportunity to be listed free of charge in the then upcoming *NL Environmental Organizations Directory* was extensively advertised through NLEN, and was included in a communication from the Wellness Coalition Avalon-East. As a steering committee member, the ability to include a notice in the weekly listserv was utilized by the researcher, as well as the use of ongoing access to the social media accounts. Emails were sent under the NLEN address as a privilege of having access as a steering committee member, and as a result of NLEN's ownership of the resulting *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*. At the end of the questionnaire, participants were additionally asked to forward the opportunity on to other environmental public interest groups in the province. Unresponsive named public interest groups were followed up upon including via searching for new contact information and conversing via social media. A number of the unresponsive public interest groups are presumed to have folded (this has been confirmed in seven of the 95 named public interest groups). The *NL Environmental Organizations Directory* also became mandatory for members of NLEN. This directory continues to be a living resource, whereby public interest groups may continue to join the directory and update information pertaining to them at the discretion of the NLEN steering committee (Porter 2018). The *NL Environmental Organizations Directory* now consist of 53 public interest groups and is available on the NLEN website (Porter 2018).

While other environmental public interest groups do exist, the directory likely accounts for any public interest group beyond a very small volunteer based group or local groups

unconcerned with advertising. Additionally, public interest groups that do not define themselves as 'environmental', though an interesting study population, are also outside of this scope.

Other content collected for this research included the names of individuals listed as officials either on the Canada Revenue Agency form T1235 or on individual websites. This was used to compare overlap of volunteers between public interest groups on the environmental directory as an additional means of mapping the possible interactions between public interest groups.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Following the creation of the directory, public interest groups were subsequently contacted by email[18] to be invited to participate in this research. The email included draft interview questions[19] and a digital consent form[20]. While initially shared only with directory participants, the email was sent again more broadly to all available NLEN contacts. The draft interview provided in the email included some information previously collected from the directory in the case of discrepancies particularly as a result of having sent out pre-filled questionnaires. Duplicating questions in this way allowed verification of basic organizational data and in the case of public interest groups who had not yet joined the directory allowed for the information to be collected.

The qualitative data collected via interviews is presented in the following chapters as original quotations. This is an interpretive approach, as opposed to quantifying coded words or ideas expressed. Interpretive approaches can be criticized for the author's ability to selectively chose and present opinions which represent their own. The bias of the researcher is perhaps

[18] Appendix #1.
[19] Appendix #2.
[20] Appendix #3.

harder to differentiate in a qualitative setting, however, as Jervis notes regarding *all* types of research, "one can do a good job of predicting what a study will find by knowing the preferences of the scholars who undertook it" (Jervis 2002, 188). Beyond a purposeful distortion of the data, qualitative researchers must be aware that data is co-produced or skewed by their presence (Thomson 2010, 32). Furthermore, it is only what a participant is willing to say that is said, but also it is only what a researcher is willing to hear that is interpreted (King 2009, 131). This is in sync with a postmodern epistemology which additionally maintains that simply by researching, the researched is changed. The reporting of accurate, unbiased information in the case of research attempting to provide practical tools in order to be relevant to the movement has the additional assurance that personal connections on behalf of researcher provides additional incentive to 'get it right' (Bevington and Dixon 2005, 190).

A higher report to avoid cases of selective telling or intentional distortions was achieved by sharing personal experiences from within the environmental movement. Various participants were pleased to know that the researcher could be counted amongst environmentalists, that this thesis was intended to encourage the environmental movement, and thus placed trust in the researcher that there was not some ulterior motive to harm to their organizations. While participant observation may seem excessive to collect low risk data from representatives of registered organizations, it was clear in almost every interview that additional trust was garnered on the basis of the recognition that the researcher is a known environmentalist who volunteers with various public interest groups. The trust that this thesis intends to do no harm to any individual, organization or the environmental movement as a whole was additionally useful, as the respondents were not guaranteed confidentially. This is primarily because simply changing names may not mask a respondent's identity if peculiar stories are shared or even if speaking

mannerisms are recognizable. As one respondent put it, "as the days unfold … a lot of these … organizations are in fact really connected and you'll fine in this province of only five hundred something thousand people, you'll find the same folks over the years" (Confidential Interview 2018, #8).[21]

An issue that arose from the structure of the draft interview was that questions were directed at organizations rather than respondents. This causes several related issues. First, respondents held a variety of positions within the organizations; co-owner, board member, executive director, and staff were all represented in different interviews. As a result, some respondents were unsure of responding on behalf of the organization, having no authority to respond to particular questions. Respondents were advised in prior emails, at the beginning of interviews, and at times they hesitated that all questions were optional.

The second issue arising from the questions being directed at organizations was that respondents were not equipped to answer based upon organizational memory or policies (formal or informal). Even where the interviewee was a core, long-term organizer, questions about organizational by-laws was brushed off with "secretaries have come and gone" deeming the questions unimportant in favor of personal experience (Confidential Interview 2018, #8). To some extent, the prior questionnaire to join the environmental directory elevated this issue as it answered a number of these more tedious questions on organizational characteristics.

The result of these issues were a more personal interview specifically based around the final section of the interview,[22] for example the question "What are the main reasons your organization would attempt to network with other environmental organizations?" from the interview guide became "What do you think are the benefits and barriers to networking for

[21] Interviews completed by the author have been numbered to maintain confidentiality.
[22] Appendix #2.

environmental groups?" and the interviewees were encouraged to draw upon their full personal experience from any environmental group they were a member in some capacity.

The interviews were thus semi-structured, allowing for a more natural conversation to discover unexpected information, characteristic of an unstructured interview. However, by maintaining some uniformity, the results were easier to compare as is characteristic of a structured interview. The semi-structured style was the best choice in this case due additionally to the researcher being a novice interviewer.

There were four parts to the interview. The first part consisting of five questions was designed to ease the respondent into the interview by talking about themselves and would situate them in reference to the public interest group and the movement more broadly. The second and third part was aimed gathering insight into whether organizational characteristics were consciously linked with networking patterns. The fourth, and final, part collected opinions on networks and any organizational approaches to networking. Particular attention was paid to any reference to the three defining characteristics of a social movement: conflict, collective identity, and a network.

Strategy for High Validity

> Postmodernism claims that writing is always partial, local, and situational and that our selves are always present no matter how hard we try to suppress them (Richardson and Adams St. Pierre 2005, 962).

I have never written academically in the first person; it is not what my Bachelor of Arts in Political Science taught me. Why it is important that I do so now is that there must be recognition that the participants agreed to be interviewed by a person within the local environmental movement. While technically requiring a low ethically clearance, participants

looked-for reassurance that I was an insider, one of them, before taking my word that this was an effort to make the local movement more efficient. Where I had grown up, volunteered, and worked all became topics of discussion. Caution fueled the beginning phase of each interview. Nobody outright asked what gave *me* the right to investigate the environmental movement in NL. However, it was still clear that they needed to know I was not an outsider to be guarded against, nor was I about to move away. They had been here before in many ways, the interviewees seemed to be both reminding themselves and warning me; "one bizarre thing that can happen in our community is that people will fly in from other provinces and go and talk to the Department of Fisheries and Oceans and then the [local experts] are like 'well that's interesting that they didn't contact us'" (Confidential Interview 2018, #4).

At the same time, these public interest groups were eager to welcome new faces into their board of directors; "opportunistic" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12) was one descriptor used to explain their organization's process of replenishing the board of directors. Opportunistic organizations and my own spontaneity is how I find myself on the board of directors of two public interest groups, and exactly why I now rehearse declining nominations prior to attending annual general meetings.

It is also important to reveal myself because the data that I was privileged to receive was entrusted to me to interpret through the lens of a local participant of this movement; a nonparticipant could have neither collected nor interpreted this data. The advantage and disadvantage of standing within the hermeneutic circle is that it can only be understood as true at this time, in this place; what is true should you look 'in' at the circle, may not be the same truth inside. Likewise, what was true before I started this process, is no longer true from any special vantage point as the process of researching affected the hermeneutic circle. The connections with

other participants at annual general meetings, workshops, and Christmas socials forces the data to go beyond the thirteen semi-structured interviews.

Out of respect for individuals' choice, privacy or busy schedules, I sent out mass invitations to be interviewed but did not approach any individual with the intention of gathering information had they not replied to the email request. However, multiple situations arose in which conversations, or in academic language - unstructured interviews, took place. Individuals had heard of the research from others, or perhaps had seen the emails but did not feel 'qualified' to respond on behalf of a public interest group, but were excited about the possibilities. While not recorded, one such conversation started along the lines of 'Trina Porter? *The* Trina doing the networking research? I was wondering when we would get a chance to talk!' By the end of the impromptu 'interview,' I was not sure who had interviewed whom. Like many of the official interviewees, she had many questions about who I was and what I had learned so far.

Sometimes it was the idea that a 'youth' was so invested in the environmental movement, and others wanted to know the preliminary results with hopes that this research could provide direction on how to network more efficiently. Participant observation, if not immersion, in the community demonstrated that the topic of networking in particular is an important issue to individuals within the environmental movement which imparts additional responsibility to provide tangible outcomes, as is the purpose of movement relevant research.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the mixture of methods used to document the scope and characteristics of public interest groups engaged in the environmental movement within NL. As noted, this undertaking is fairly unique to this project with most social movement literature

focusing on cases in the United States, with little to no specific data on Canadian environmental public interest groups. Relevant lists of even just organization names active in Canada are dated and incomplete (See Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network 2002b) and in the case of those active across NL, a list of public interest groups was essentially nonexistent prior to this research. The subsequent chapters will illustrate not only the quality of information this research method has provided, but more importantly how this local case study speaks to the challenges of both organizing and studying contemporary social movements.

Chapter Four – Mapping the NL Environmental Movement

A critical epistemology was presented in the previous chapter that highlights the importance of situating the case study in a broader Canadian context including an overview of non-profits in Canada and the national environmental movement. The data presented in this chapter shows that the environmental movement in Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) is in crisis due to structural barriers preventing the creation of a movement via the strengthening of a conflict, collective identity, and network – as was argued is central to understanding modern social movements in Chapter Two. It is crucial to establish the barriers present in NL to illustrate how the synthetic theory that was established in Chapter Two can address the specific issues public interest groups face when forming a social movement.

There are four parts to this chapter. In the first section, the *National Survey of Nonprofit and Voluntary Organizations* by Statistics Canada will be examined in comparison to the data on the environmental movement in NL collected for this research. Predominately, this first section establishes the financial concerns faced by the environmental movement, highlighting issues raised by the Canadian Environmental Network (RCEN) as exemplary of the concerns felt by the movement across Canada. The second section focuses on the Newfoundland and Labrador Environment Network (NLEN), and their response to the financial concerns post-2011 budget cuts. This includes a discussion on restrictions to registering as a charitable organization and the institutional barriers created by the desire to keep charitable status, which inhibits the development of a broader movement around conflict. The third and fourth sections outline the environmental movement that exists in the province using the data collected for the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*, as well as publicly available data from Canadian Revenue Agency (CRA). Specifically, the third section introduces the defining factors of

environmental public interest groups in NL, essentially mapping the collective identity of the movement. The fourth section uses formal affiliations to measure the network as it currently exists, including the consideration of overlapping membership of officials or representatives which a key consideration in looking at how connected this network is.

Combined, these four sections document the challenges that the NL environmental movement faces when trying to build a movement based on a conflict, collective identity, and network – the key factors identified in the synthetic theory presented in Chapter Two. In the next chapter, the impact of these challenges on individual public interest groups will be explored.

Financial Woes of Environmental Organizations in Canada and Newfoundland and Labrador

As of 2003, 56% of the estimated 161,000 'core sector'[23] nonprofit and voluntary organizations in Canada and 41% of the environmental organizations were registered charities[24] according to *Statistics Canada's* only large scale survey on the sector to date (Hall et al. 2004, 14). Only 2.7% or 4,424 organizations across Canada fell into the 'environmental' category, while 4% (or 89 of the 2,219) organizations operating in NL fell into that category (Hall et al. 2004, 13, 18–19). In the US, organizations with incomes less then $25,000 are not required to register with the IRS meaning the total number of organizations in unknown. However there are approximately 10,000 environmental organizations that are registered with the IRS boasting a combined annual income of $2.7 billion (Brulle 2000, 102–3). South of the border, the environmental movement is "more likely than many other movement sectors to be funded by large foundations" (Bartley 2007, 249). By contrast, in 2012 only 5% of grants made by community foundations in Canada were categorized as 'environmental' (Canadian

[23] Organizations that are not hospitals or post-secondary institutions.
[24] Currently there are 86,283 registered charities listed on the CRA website (Canada Revenue Agency 2016).

Environmental Grantmakers' Network 2014, 5). In 2014, 12% of all environmental grants in Canada and 31% of those in America were over $50,000, while over half of all Canadian grants were *under* $5,000 (Canadian Environmental Grantmakers' Network 2014, 23, 2). As a result of the size of Canadian grants, revenue diversification is vital, but is bureaucratically-burdensome, particularly for smaller organizations where staff time is a luxery particularly as many grants do not factor administration into eligible costs (Carroll and Stater 2008, 947).

According to the *Statistics Canada* study, environmental organizations had a total revenue of $1,131 million in 2003, a mere 1% of all revenues in the nonprofit sector (Hall et al. 2004, 22). The impact of these financial limitations for environmental organizations within Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) is further amplified by the fact that while 1.4% of all nonprofit and voluntary organizations are within the province, their total revenues only account for 0.9% of total revenues, *less than any other province* (Hall et al. 2004, 29). At 27% of total revenue, 'environmental' organizations both across Canada and the 16 charitable organizations based in NL within the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory* received 22% less from government grants and contributions then nonprofits and charities across Canada on average, and 25% less than those in NL (Hall et al. 2004, 26, 30).[25] The Canadian Environmental Grantmakers' Network also reveals that over 45% of all environmental funding in 2011 and 2012 was received in British Columbia, while Atlantic Canada (four provinces combined) received only 3% (Canadian Environmental Grantmakers' Network 2014, 2). At the bottom of the list, NL received only 0.2% of all grants – larger than only Nunavut's 0.1% (Canadian Environmental

[25] Of the 53 organizations within the directory, 23 are registered charities. However, 6 of these are local chapters of nation-wide organizations thus their reported revenues are not reflective of the local case and two further are excluded here as they are listed in the directory as allies which have environmentalism outside of their primary mandate. Revenue data is not easily obtainable for the non-charitable organizations listed in the directory.

Grantmakers' Network 2014, 26). Thus, environmental organizations receive below average revenue from government sources; and groups based in NL have below average total revenue.

Paradoxically, as shown by Chart 2 below, organizations listed in the directory in comparison to their counterparts across Canada are the most likely to service a whole province or areas larger than just the province, and the least likely to service only a municipality (Hall et al. 2004, 15; Porter 2018). While this may seem to be an indication of the size of organizations, alongside data on limited revenue streams, this instead appears to show a movement stretched thin. Furthermore, organizations listed in the directory are 11% more likely than their counterparts across Canada to have organizational members and 20% more likely than all nonprofits and voluntary organization across Canada (Hall et al. 2004, 16; Porter 2018). Once again, indicative of larger organizational size, while putting their capacity to be effective into question.

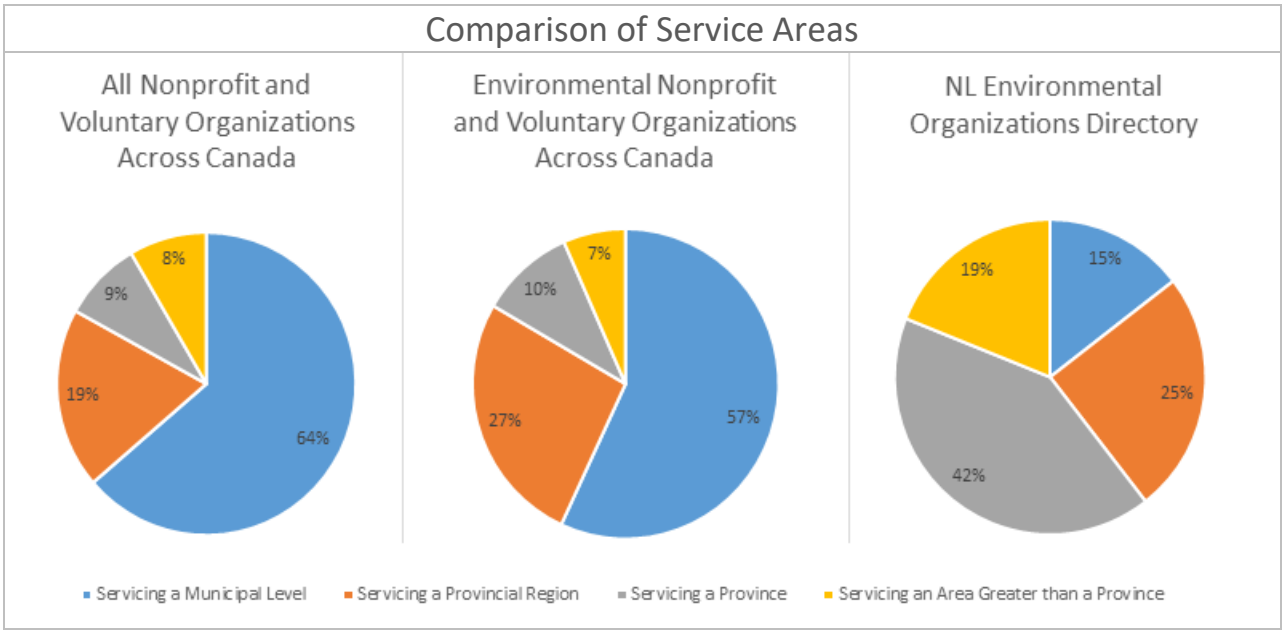

Chart 2 Data from Statistics Canada shown alongside of data collected for the NL Environmental Organizations Directory *shows how organizations studied in this thesis compared to organizations across Canada* (Hall et al. 2004, 15; Porter 2018).

The financial situation has likely been dire for some time for environmental organizations, but it has gotten worse under the Harper Government. As exemplary of this, consider the case of the RCEN and its affiliate networks. As presented in the introduction, RCEN was established in 1977 to introduce "some degree of rationality and organization" to small environmental groups (McKenzie 2007, 286–87). RCEN and its affiliate networks received Environment Canada operating funds from 1977 to 2011, with agreed upon terms that restrained advocacy in exchange for direct access to bureaucrats within Environment Canada (McKenzie 2007, 286–87).

Specific revenue is shown in the Chart 3 (below), with RCEN receiving a minimum of $600,000 from Environment Canada towards operational costs between 1994 and 2010 inclusive (Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network 2003, 5, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009b, 2010b, 2010a, 2011b). According to RCEN's 2003 annual report, this funding was insufficient at the time in light of inflation, provincial government funding reductions for environmental activities, and a shift in private foundational grants away from operational funds towards project based funding (Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network 2003, 6). They warned that the $18K-$31K of core operational funding they were able to provide the provincial affiliate networks, such as NLEN, was "…clearly inadequate to finance the administration of a provincial or territorial network" and puts their existence at risk (Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network 2003, 7). In a bid to get Environment Canada to reevaluate the operational funding provided to RCEN, they contrasted their $600K used to connect a membership base of 804 organizations and 11 provincial affiliate networks with "Health Canada's core budget contribution of approximately $1 million to the Canadian AIDS Society for a national network with some 115 organizational

members and provincial affiliates" (Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network 2003, 5).

The financial struggles of 2003 however, both detailed by the Statistics Canada data and the RCEN annual report, were only a precursor what happened under the Harper Government. "In 2010, Environment Canada's core contribution to the [RCEN] was reduced from $600,000 to $550,000, and the umbrella agreement for the RCEN's consultation services was cut completely – an additional reduction of $330,000" (Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network 2011a, 3). In 2011, the Harper Government cut all remaining funding for RCEN despite their optimism only months prior that "we will emerge a more effective, self-aware and stronger network" (Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network 2011a, 4). RCEN in 2010 had a staff of 10, with affiliate networks having additional staff as a result of annual contributions from Environment Canada dating back to 1977. As a result of the 2011 Canadian federal budget cuts, RCEN and many of the provincial affiliates became volunteer organizations overnight without any prior notice. While this undoubtedly undermined the effectiveness of RCEN as an organizational node, it has also meant a severe loss of "organizational memory" as information has been scattered or lost; including access to the majority of RCEN's digital files (Personal Communication 2015a). Of the twelve affiliate networks, only six have continued to function (including NLEN).[26]

[26] The remaining networks are NLEN, Nova Scotia Environmental Network, New Brunswick Environmental Network, Ontario Environment Network, Manitoba Eco-Network, and Alberta Environmental Network. The collapsed affiliate networks are Prince Edward Island Eco-Net, Le Secrétariat des organismes environnementaux du Québec, Saskatchewan Eco-Network, British Columbia Environmental Network, Yukon Environmental Network, and First Nations Environmental Network.

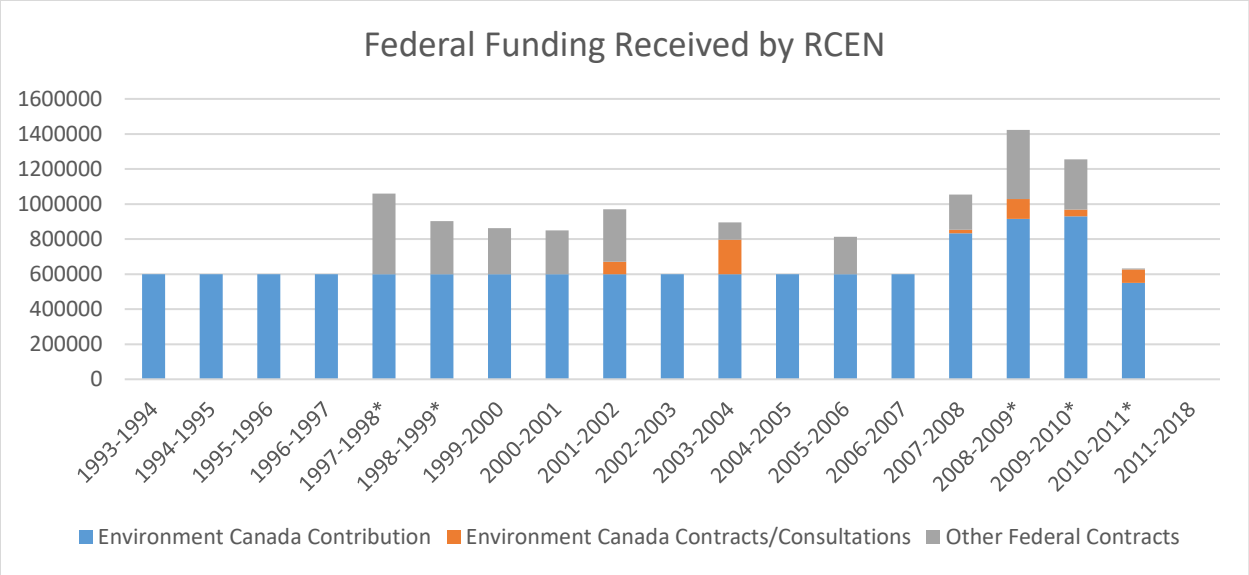

Chart 3 Federal Funding Received by RCEN – *Asterisk denote data obtained from audited financial statements, revenue in all other years is the amount claimed in RCEN annual reports. Years dating back to 1977 are known to have had some contribution from Environment Canada, but exact amount is unknown* (Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network 1999, 2000, 2009a, 2010b, 2010a, 2011b, 2001, 2002a, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009b).

As a result of these financial developments, there was minimal activity by the RCEN between the loss of funding in spring of 2011 and the Autumn Federal election in 2015. Under a new Liberal government there was an expectation by RCEN volunteers and the affiliate networks that funding would be reinstated (Personal Communication 2015b). Since that time RCEN and the remaining affiliate networks have had this as a primary goal, however they have not received any positive feedback from the Canadian Government. "Innovative project proposals" were requested by Environment Canada in response to the appeal to reinstate operating grants (Personal Communication 2018a). The Minister responsible, Catherine McKenna, is said to have not have been aware of "what RCEN was" during their meeting and going forward "showed little interest in engaging with [RCEN]" (Personal Communication 2018a).

NLEN's 'Solution' to Financial Woes In Environmental Organization

NLEN was formed in 1990 as an affiliate network of RCEN. Until 2011, the operational funding provided to RCEN by Environment Canada allowed NLEN to distribute small project grants and reimburse travel costs for organizations to attend collaborative events within the province as well as cover the salary for a part-time executive director, who could, in turn, seek further funding. A requirement of receiving funds from NLEN was that the organizations were members and that the projects must be publicly presented at a collaborative event (Confidential Interview 2018, #5). The mission of NLEN at that point was focused on "just networking among the environment groups in Newfoundland [and Labrador] and with other provinces with … some capacity building" (Confidential Interview 2018, #5). In order to stay operational post-2011, while some of the other affiliate networks folded, NLEN chose to seek status as a registered charity through adding education as a core mandate (Confidential Interview 2018, #5). Charitable status was obtained in 2012 as an educational charity, "not elsewhere classified" (Government of Canada 2017).

In order to register as a charity, organizations must comply with a series of restrictions which include that they "must be established and operate exclusively for [the CRA definition of] charitable purposes" and meet the public benefit test (Government of Canada 2016b). The definition of charitable purposes subdivides into what is refered to as 'the Pemsel categories'; the relief of poverty, the advancement of education, the advancement of religion, and other purposes that benefit the community[27]. The catchall category, other purposes, uses over 30 individual policies to outline when particular causes can be considered charitable. Outside of these policies, CRA relies on the courts to decide if a cause meets the "public benefit test" whereby the

[27] Health is an additional 'type' listed on the charities listing advance search option, with each of these five being further subdivided into a total of 55 categories; none of which specifically refer to the environment, promotion of volunteerism or umbrella organizations.

organization must prove “its purposes and activities provide a measurable benefit to the public; and the people who are eligible for benefits are either the public as a whole, or a significant section of it” (Government of Canada 2003b, 2009b).

Of relevance, three policies within the catchall category concern purposes relating to the environment, promotion of volunteerism and umbrella organizations (Government of Canada 2016a). “Organizations established to protect the environment, including its flora and fauna, can qualify for registration as a charity” is the shortest policy of these three (Government of Canada 2003c). With the use of ‘conservation’ as the only ‘keyword’ listed or this policy we might begin to understand this as a very narrow category. Umbrella organizations are limited to preforming charitable activities in unison with any organization, or preforming activities which benefit registered charities such as capacity building (Government of Canada 2008b). At the present time NLEN’s membership consist of 16 registered charities, four incorporated not-for-profit organizations and six non-incorporated groups; 10 of its member organizations would not qualify to participate in capacity building programs under CRA’s umbrella organization policy.

Promotion of volunteerism has the same restrictions of benefiting only registered charities should the organization classified under this policy choose to restrict itself to a “particular type of organization that reflects a single interest” (Government of Canada 2008a). However should they promote volunteerism across the community-at-large, the restriction is loosened to including not-for-profit incorporations as well as registered charities. It remains the case that four of NLEN’s registered members would not be eligible to receive benefits under this policy. Furthermore NLEN would be required to provide the same benefit to organizations outside of their own membership.

Political activities and advocacy are not considered a charitable purpose, but can within limits be carried out by a registered charity. A charity may use a maximum of 20% of its resources[28] on political purposes providing that it fits within the organization's charitable purpose, they are nonpartisan at all times and the views promoted are grounded upon a "well-reasoned position" (Government of Canada 2003a). That is, it must be "a position based on factual information that is methodically, objectively, fully, and fairly analyzed. In addition, a well-reasoned position should present/address serious arguments and relevant facts to the contrary" (Government of Canada 2009a). Research funded or conducted by a charity, even if it meets the standard for a 'well-reasoned position,' is still not necessarily considered charitable and could be considered political in nature, thus using a portion of a charities allowable political activities (Government of Canada 2009a).[29]

The distinction of charitable verses political advocacy work is a gray area defined by common law rather than legislation. Political purpose defined by common law on behalf of CRA is the "further[ing] the interests of a political party… or candidate for public office" or "[seeking] to retain, oppose, or change the law or policy or decisions [sic] of any level of government in Canada or a foreign country" (Government of Canada 2003a). Neither of these definitions are considered to be exhaustive and any challenge of a definition would go through the judicial system (Government of Canada 2003a, 2009b). Interestingly, CRA also admits "that

[28] The allowable percentage is a range from 10% to 20% directly dependent on operating budget (Government of Canada 2003a).

[29] The challenges of doing politically related research for charitable organizations is further complicated by the closures of federally funded research agencies that used to be quick and easy sources of environmental data. Closures of federally funded research facilities under the Harper government between 2006 and 2015 include: the Office of the National Science Advisor, the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, the Canadian Foundation for Climate and Atmospheric Sciences, Ocean Contaminants and Marine Toxicology Program, the Canadian Council on Learning, the Drought Research Initiative, the Canadian Policy Research Networks, the National Council of Welfare, and the Mersey Biodiversity Centre (Douglas 2015, 90–91).

in order to assess the public benefit of a political purpose, a court would have to take sides in a political debate. In Canada, political issues are for Parliament to decide, and thus the courts are reluctant to encroach on this sovereign authority (other than when a constitutional issue arises)" (Government of Canada 2003a).

The bottom line is that the consequence of going beyond perceived limits on activities set by CRA is the loss of charitable status, an institutionally enshrined indicator of credibility. The loss of this type of credibility, with a publicly listed charitable status of "revoked", could be devastating economically as the organization's personal donations, corporate sponsors and government funding would be severely cut. In order to maintain credibility through maintaining charitable status, organizations face direct limitations to advocacy and discourse overall.[30] There is an unfortunate trade off as this limitation, as mentioned above, reduces an organizations' credibility among some would-be supporters.

Limitations to discourse can also be indirect, where funding is made available with the requirement of detailed project proposals and cherry-picking funding recipiants occurs. Pross and Webb's longitudinal study of 20 non-governmental organizations found evidence that federal regulatory structures result in "encourag[ing] certain kinds of behaviour" over others, which they refer to as a regulatory regime (2003, 72). Funding in particular was found to be the determinant by which other aspects of the regulatory regime were invoked or reinforced (Pross and Webb 2003, 64, 108–9). As of 1999, the nonprofit and voluntary core sector was responsible for 4% of Canada's GDP (Hall et al. 2005, 7) and has undergone drastic growth with core sector income

[30] Advocacy should be understood as a tool used to communicate an issue. Discourse as the ability to define or *frame* the issue. Limiting advocacy changes *how* the conversation occurs, but a limited discourse changes the conversation. For example, if 'environmental issues' is taken for granted to mean 'wilderness issues' then environmental organizations would not attempt to advocate on topics covered by the environmental justice frame. The inability to frame an issue as within their scope results in the inability to act upon it, whereas the inability to advocate does not take away the ability to communicate the issue in a different manner. Furthermore, if an issue has been *framed* as advocacy based, conversation also cannot occur at the risk of losing charitable status.

having “more than doubled between 2000 and 2007” (Struthers 2012, 268). Funding sources of the core sector have remained stable over the same time period, with the sale of goods and services as a source of revenue floating around 45% (Haggar-Guenette et al. 2009, 19). Despite these encouraging numbers, public interest groups and professionals in the field claim the sector is increasingly fragile due to *how* public interest groups are funded and cuts to the larger networks upon which they rely. The retrenchment policies of the 1990s are the most often cited cause of undue influence as “contractual prohibition, funding cut backs, shifting the category of support from core funding to project funding, and tightening procedures” was found by Pross and Webb to constrain organizational advocacy. Funding criteria thus at best implicitly or at worst explicitly excludes advocacy activity, and redirects the energy of skilled advocates to the completion of fundable projects (Pross and Webb 2003, 109–10).

Furthermore, this institutional barrier opens the door to coercion by political parties, particularly those in power. In the 2012 Budget Plan, the Harper Government allowed for $8 million dollars between 2012 and 2014 to enhance transparency and accountability within charities (Harper Government 2012, 204–5). Resulting in the auditing of charities suspected of political activities, this budget was later increased to $13.4 million over the same time period (Beeby 2014b). According to Caplan, the CRA maintains it is autonomous in decisions regarding audits, claiming that “the process for identifying which charities will be audited for any reason is handled by the Charities Directorate of the CRA alone in a fair and consistent way” (CRA as quoted by Caplan 2014). In contradiction to this autonomy, speaking on behalf of CRA, Hawara confirmed that the CRA “considers any formal complaints from citizens, lobby groups, MPs or even cabinet ministers” (Beeby 2014a).

Moreover, “information gathered by The Canadian Press shows at least half of the 10 political-activity audits slated for 2012-2013 were conducted on charities in one narrow category — environmental groups, all of whom oppose government energy policies” (Beeby 2014a). Beyond actual audits, CRA has also sent letters to organizations indicating their political activities are being monitored and should cease in order to avoid an audit (Beeby 2014b). What is concerning here from a discourse perspective is the way this has instilled fear among environmental organizations. Along with the ambiguity of what and who defines a political activity these measures have resulted in an “advocacy chill” (Beeby 2014b); many environmental organizations cannot risk losing their charitable status due to credibility barriers.

Reliance on a diversified pool of revenue sources including “grants, contracts for service, and sales of goods and services to finance operations and capital improvements” provides a different set of credibility concerns as organizational survival contributed to goal transformation towards more institutionalized values (Carroll and Stater 2008, 947; See also Zald and Ash 1966). One interview referred to these credibility concerns saying they are cautious of how they finance their public interest group as “we don’t want to be ‘the green washing group’ – you get into compromising situations” (Confidential Interview 2018, #12). Environmental Grantmakers in Canada have noted that foundational funding is more likely to support larger organizations, rather than small unknowns, and is often restricted geographically, such that it is not just the large American foundations that are inaccessible but also a number foundations in other provinces or regions (Canadian Environmental Grantmakers’ Network 2014; Kadowaki 2013, 38). As a result, large public interest groups were more likely to have greater revenue diversification (Scott 2004, 12) and organizational stability in spite of the credibility concerns (Carroll and Stater 2008, 964).

Becoming a registered charity was and still is lauded as a means to access greater funds, however NLEN remains afloat due to volunteers, without the means to pay staff beyond grant-based project coordinators for limited periods of time. As reviewed above, foundations avoid funding operational costs in favor of projects. To demonstrate that the funds are not used for operational costs, the projects frequently are required to be new and innovative yet they also often will not fund the labour required to create a new project. Furthermore, as noted above, half of all Canadian grants are *under* $5,000 (Canadian Environmental Grantmakers' Network 2014, 2). As one interviewee more passionately put it "you spend all your bloody time filling out applications for funding and then dealing with government bureaucrats in terms of the administration of the thing … that sort of cuts back on your effectiveness" (Confidential Interview 2018, #8). Small organizations are burdened with the bureaucracy of revenue diversification through small grants which do not cover ongoing administration or overhead costs..

Even prior to losing federal funding in the form of an annual Environment Canada contribution to RCEN, NLEN had issues with maintaining a membership diverse in geographical areas of the province, size of organizations and issue areas covered; it seems to have always been "a core group of regular members over the years [while] smaller groups come and go" (Confidential Interview 2018, #5). An interviewee from NLEN recalled a particular conference she had attended where the idea of creating an umbrella organization was lauded as an exceptional idea without the knowledge that NLEN was already in existence (Confidential Interview 2018, #5). She explained further that part of problem was (and still is) that "it takes an awful lot of time, individuals … contacting people and suggesting they should get involved. In the past it has usually depended on having a proactive executive director" (Confidential

Interview 2018, #5). As a representative of another organization, I joined the steering committee of NLEN at their second annual general meeting as a charity in the autumn of 2013. Membership has fluctuated predominantly with the efforts of the steering committee, myself included, to provide the time and effort to keep membership up to date. Prior to the creation of the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*, membership had dropped as low as six organizations officially, while post-directory membership had expanded to include 26 organizations. The highest known number of members and associates[31] is 41 in 2011 prior to the loss of federal funding (Newfoundland and Labrador Environment Network 2011).

NL Environmental Organizations

The *NL Environmental Organizations Directory* was created as a result of this research to discover the quantity of environmental organizations in the province, as well as some qualifying details about the combined movement. NLEN's directory currently lists 53 self-proclaimed environmental nonprofit or charitable public interest groups operating in NL (Porter 2018)[32]. While other organizations are believed to be still operating, as a NLEN representative the researcher extensively advertised the free opportunity to be listed on the directory and actively sought out known organizations. It was noted by another official of NLEN that it may be the case that unlisted organizations are run by a skeleton volunteer groups without the capacity to respond or may no longer be functional (Confidential Interview 2018, #5). It is also possible organizations are not concerned with province-wide advertising, for example the directory might not be of interest to community gardens that only service a small geographical area and are regularly at capacity. Other organizations still do not consider themselves 'environmental',

[31] Associates are non-voting members due to not entirely fulfilling membership criteria.
[32] There are an additional six organizations listed as "allied organizations" whose primary mandate is not environmentalism, but rather commit to incorporating environmentalism into its programs.

though are defined as such by others, including Statistics Canada. With these factors considered, the following data relates to the 53 organizations who agreed to provide information for NLEN's directory.

Table 1 Geographical Distribution[33]

	Region of Head Office	Region(s) in which the organizations distribution by status have an ongoing, strong presence (e.g. new volunteers would be able to join the organization in these regions).				Human Population
		Total Organizations	Charitable Organizations	Incorporated Not-for-Profits	Non-Incorporated Groups	
Newfoundland and Labrador	N/A	53	23 (41%)	17 (32%)	13 (25%)	**530,128**
Labrador	2%	17%	26%	12%	8%	5%
Western	13%	34%	35%	24%	38%	15%
Central	6%	23%	26%	18%	23%	17%
Eastern	2%	25%	22%	29%	15%	10%
Avalon	9%	40%	48%	35%	31%	12%
North East Avalon	62%	57%	61%	53%	54%	41%
Avalon and/or North East Avalon[34]	72%	72%	78%	65%	62%	*53%*
Unknown	6%	6%	9%	6%	0%	N/A
Average Number of Regions Selected	N/A	1.66	1.91	1.53	1.46	N/A

[33] Percentages have been rounded to whole numbers and numbers have been rounded to two decimal points. Only percentages in the first and the last column should add up to 100% when the row 'Avalon and/or North East Avalon' is excluded – *see footnote number 34 below*.

[34] It was assumed of the participants that they would conclude 'Avalon' meant outside of the 'North East Avalon' due to it also being an option. However, in order to account for the fact that this may not have been interpreted correctly, the data has been combined in a separate row 'Avalon and/or North East Avalon' to reflect the most accurate data; it is not simply the sum of the percentages given that some organizations had selected both options.

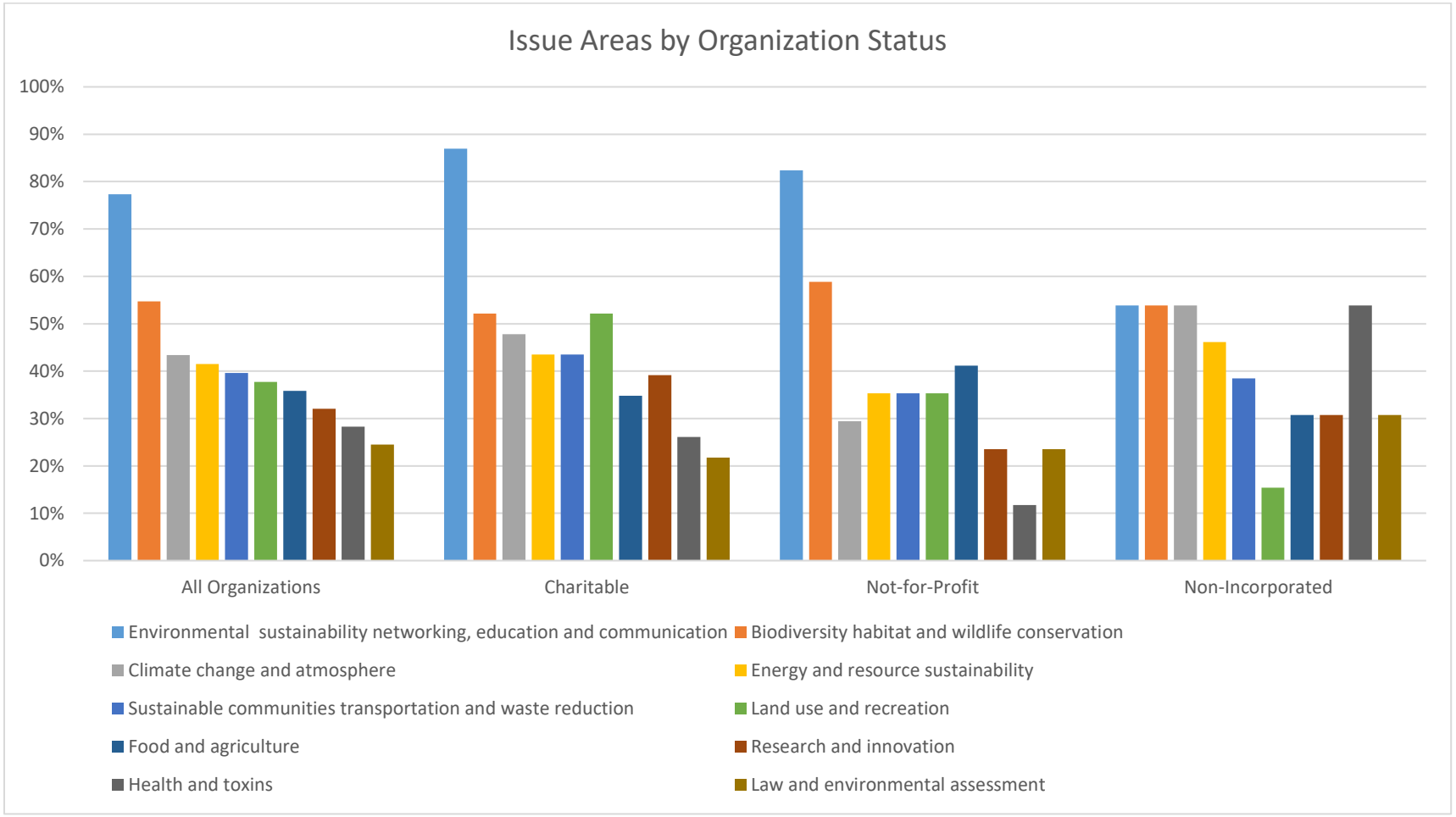
Issue Areas by Organization Status
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
All Organizations
Charitable
Not-for-Profit
Non-Incorporated
Environmental sustainability networking, education and communication
Biodiversity habitat and wildlife conservation
Climate change and atmosphere
Energy and resource sustainability
Sustainable communities transportation and waste reduction
Land use and recreation
Food and agriculture
Research and innovation
Health and toxins
Law and environmental assessment

Chart 4

Table 2 Issue Areas by Organization Status[35]

	Percentage of Total Organizations	Percentage of Charitable Organizations	Percentage of Incorporated Not-for-Profits	Percentage of Non-Incorporated Groups
Total Organizations	53	23	17	13
Environmental sustainability networking, education and communication	77%	87%	82%	54%
Biodiversity habitat and wildlife conservation	55%	52%	59%	54%
Climate change and atmosphere	43%	48%	29%	54%
Energy and resource sustainability	42%	43%	35%	46%
Sustainable communities transportation and waste reduction	40%	43%	35%	38%
Land use and recreation	38%	52%	35%	15%
Food and agriculture	36%	35%	41%	31%
Research and innovation	32%	39%	24%	31%
Health and toxins	28%	26%	12%	54%
Law and environmental assessment	25%	22%	24%	31%
Average Number of Issue Areas Selected	4.15	4.5	3.76	4.08

Table 1 shows the breakdown of the geographical location of each organization's head office and the geographical presence distribution by charitable status, which was asked of the public interest groups in terms of the geographical regions in which an individual would be able

[35] Percentages have been rounded to whole numbers and numbers have been rounded to two decimal points. The sum of percentages in each column does not equal 100% as organization selected as many as appropriate.

to volunteer. The last row in the table reflects the fact that, while each organization has only one 'head office,' there was no limit to the number of regions they could select for geographical presence.

The final column is demographical data available from Statistics Canada and provides context as to whether environmental public interest groups are evenly distributed across the geographical regions. Claims about geographical presence in every case are greater than population distribution regardless of charitable status. In some cases, this may be the result of organizations aspiring to develop a volunteer presence in all regions or having the ability to work with volunteers virtually regardless of geography, rather than having a physical presence in which volunteers would have supervision. However, the region of the organizations' head offices is overwhelmingly the North East Avalon, with each other region having less representation via head offices per populace. The Western region approaches an equivalent share of environmental organization head offices per populace at a 2% difference, and Labrador approaches with a 3% difference. The Western region includes the city of Corner Brook, in which 9% of all head offices, or 71% of all Western head offices, are located. The density of organizations in the North-East Avalon and in Corner Brook in particular had been expected, as these are denser population areas, while the other regions are larger geographical areas. Labrador is the largest geographical region. Even with only a 3% difference, the populace cannot be said to have efficient access to the *one* organization with a head office in the region due to the vast geographical space covered.

Table 2 and Chart 4 break down the percentages of organizations by each issue area within the environmental directory. The *NL Environmental Organizations Directory* uses 10

issue categories[36] (Porter 2018, 2), condensed from 19 issue categories with subcategories used in the RCEN *Green List* (Reseau Canadian de l'Environment - Canadian Environmental Network 2002b, 11) and the 15 issue categories used by the Alberta Environmental Network ENGO directory (Alberta Environment Network n.d.).

Of the ten issue areas, the least anticipated under-representation was 'food and agriculture' at 19 public interest groups self-identifying. Of the known 40 community gardens operating within the province, only one responded. Likewise, a number of hunter/angler organizations are known to be absent from the directory that could have boosted the numbers in the 'food and agriculture' as well as the 'land use and recreation' issue areas.

Similarly under selected at only 15 and 13 organizations within the directory was 'health and toxins' and 'law and environmental assessment' respectively of the 10 issue areas from which organizations were encouraged to select as many as appropriate (Porter 2018). The small quantity of organizations self-identifying under the 'law and environmental assessment' issue area was anticipated for a number of reasons. The most obvious reason was, of the list of 95 organizations contacted directly that appeared to be environmental, there were only 3 organizations known by the researcher to have a primary focus of law or environmental assessment. Another reason it may not be a commonly reported issue area is it is considered inherently advocacy based. The 'health and toxins' issue area was also anticipated to some extent due to the anticipated wilderness frame that is common across Canada[37]. As such, 'health'

[36] NLEN's issue categories are (1) Biodiversity, habitat and wildlife conservation, (2) Climate change and atmosphere, (3) Energy and resource sustainability, (4) Environmental / sustainability networking, education and communication, (5) Food and agriculture, (6) Health and toxins, (7) Land use and recreation, (8) Law and environmental assessment, (9) Research and innovation, (10) Sustainable communities, transportation, and waste reduction (Porter 2018, 2).

[37] One method of analyzing which environmental frame dominates the Canadian narrative is to look specifically at charitable donations from the public or foundations. Of the 1,155 charities included as environmental in the Charities Intelligence Canada report, only 32 organizations received 60% of the

organizations simply do not self-identify as environmental and would overlook the opportunity to be listed on an environmental directory. In contrast to 'law and environmental assessment' however, an abundance of 'health and toxins' organizations received the invitation to participate as a result of the opportunity being picked up and advertised by the *Wellness Coalition Avalon-East*, with a membership of over 225 organizations (Wellness Coalition - Avalon East n.d.).

The issue areas with the most representation within the directory were 'environmental sustainability networking, education and communication' with 77% and 'biodiversity, habitat, and wildlife conservation' with 55% of organizations self-identifying. See 'Table 1 Issue Areas by Organization Status' for the full breakdown of to which subcategories organizations self-identified. Organizations on average chose 4.15 issues areas out of a possible 10, with six organizations total making use of the 'other' category to further describe activities that in each case where sufficiently covered by one or more of the 10 base issue areas.

$286 million in charitable donations given to environmental programs in 2010 (Grandy et al. 2013, 9–10). Charities Intelligence Canada selected these 32 organizations for being virtually the only environmental organizations in Canada with revenues over one million (Grandy et al. 2013, 12). Expenditures within these 32 largest environmental charities in 2011 were overwhelmingly dedicated to conservation of land and preservation of habitat at 54% (Grandy et al. 2013, 10). Respectively, wildlife protection received 16%, education and communication 13%, advocacy 4%, environmental research 4% and other conservation programs received 10% (Grandy et al. 2013, 10).

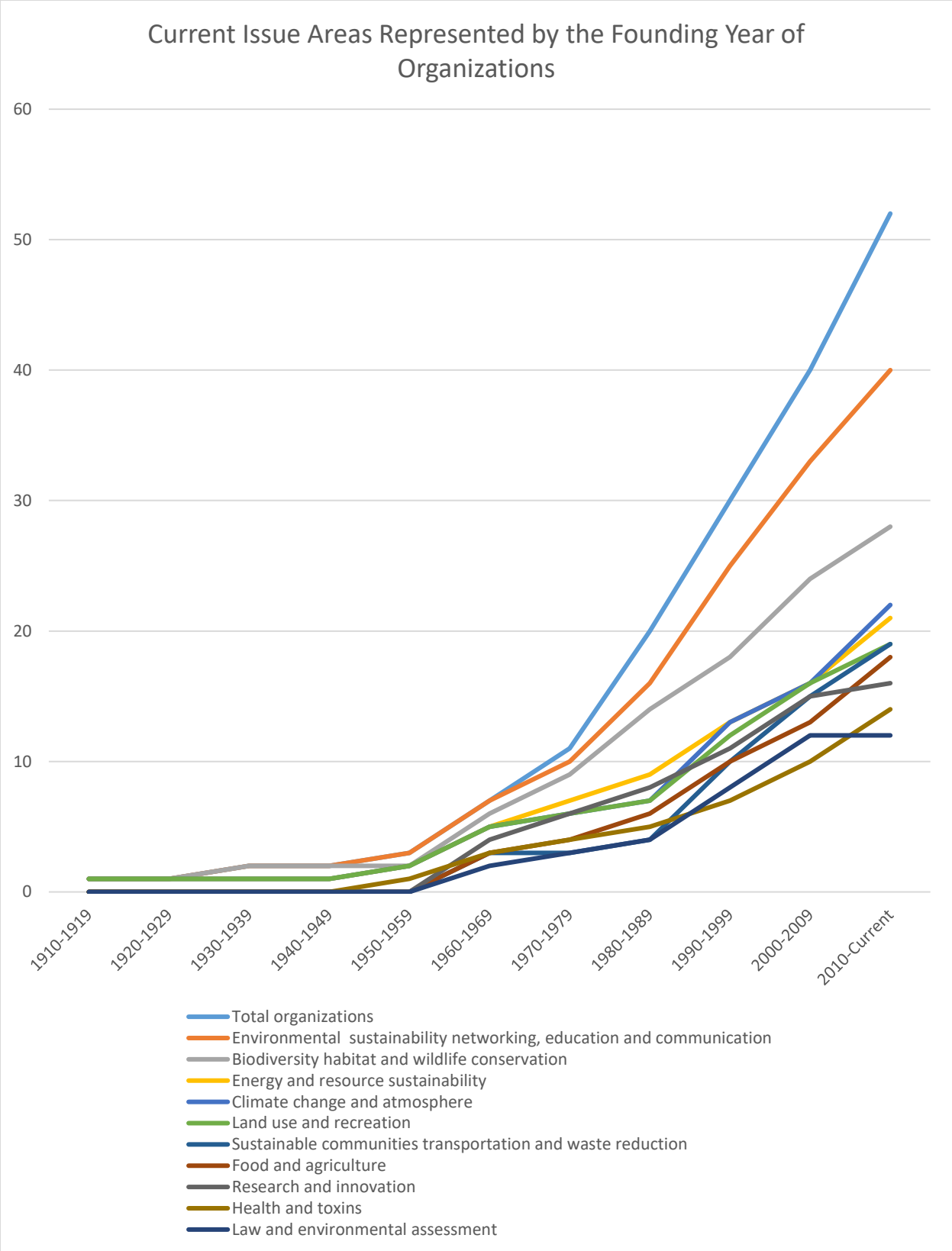
Current Issue Areas Represented by the Founding Year of Organizations
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1910-1919
1920-1929
1930-1939
1940-1949
1950-1959
1960-1969
1970-1979
1980-1989
1990-1999
2000-2009
2010-Current
Total organizations
Environmental sustainability networking, education and communication
Biodiversity habitat and wildlife conservation
Energy and resource sustainability
Climate change and atmosphere
Land use and recreation
Sustainable communities transportation and waste reduction
Food and agriculture
Research and innovation
Health and toxins
Law and environmental assessment

Chart 5

Looking at age as a stabilization factor, Chart 5 illustrates the representation of issue areas categorized by the founding decade of the organizations listed in the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*. While it cannot represent what issue areas these organizations would have selected at different points in time, it potentially shows how stable representation of an issue area is based upon the age of the organization that selected it. If institutional inertia does exist in this way, this graph also represents the difficulty of changing the issue areas represented by public interest groups involved. The method would have to be to expand the movement's frame in order to include organizations already in existence that currently do not define their mandates as environmental.

Further division between issue areas is evident when considering 'wilderness'-based environmental organizations and 'justice'-based organizations working on environmental issues. 'Health and toxins' as well as 'law and environmental assessment, the least selected issue areas in the directory, are both justice-based topics. These could include organizations promoting 'the right to a healthy environment' such as reducing barriers to public transportation, healthier food choices, or challenging development *for disadvantaged peoples*[38]. As illustrated in Chart 6 below, organizations who selected one of the two largest issue areas within the directory are also the most likely to select the *fewest* number of issue areas. Organizations in the largest issue area, 'environmental sustainability networking, education, and communication' are also the least likely to select more than five issue areas, followed by 'land use and recreation' and 'biodiversity, habitat and wildlife' with only 37%, 45%, and 48% of organizations in these categories selecting six to ten issue areas respectively. Organizations who selected any of the other seven category were more likely to select between six to ten issue areas, at an average of

[38] Any number of peoples or groups of peoples who continue to face discrimination. These are rights and equality based organizations that incorporate environmental issues.

66%, which indicates these seven issues areas are covered by general environmental public interest groups rather than those narrowly focused on a niche issue.

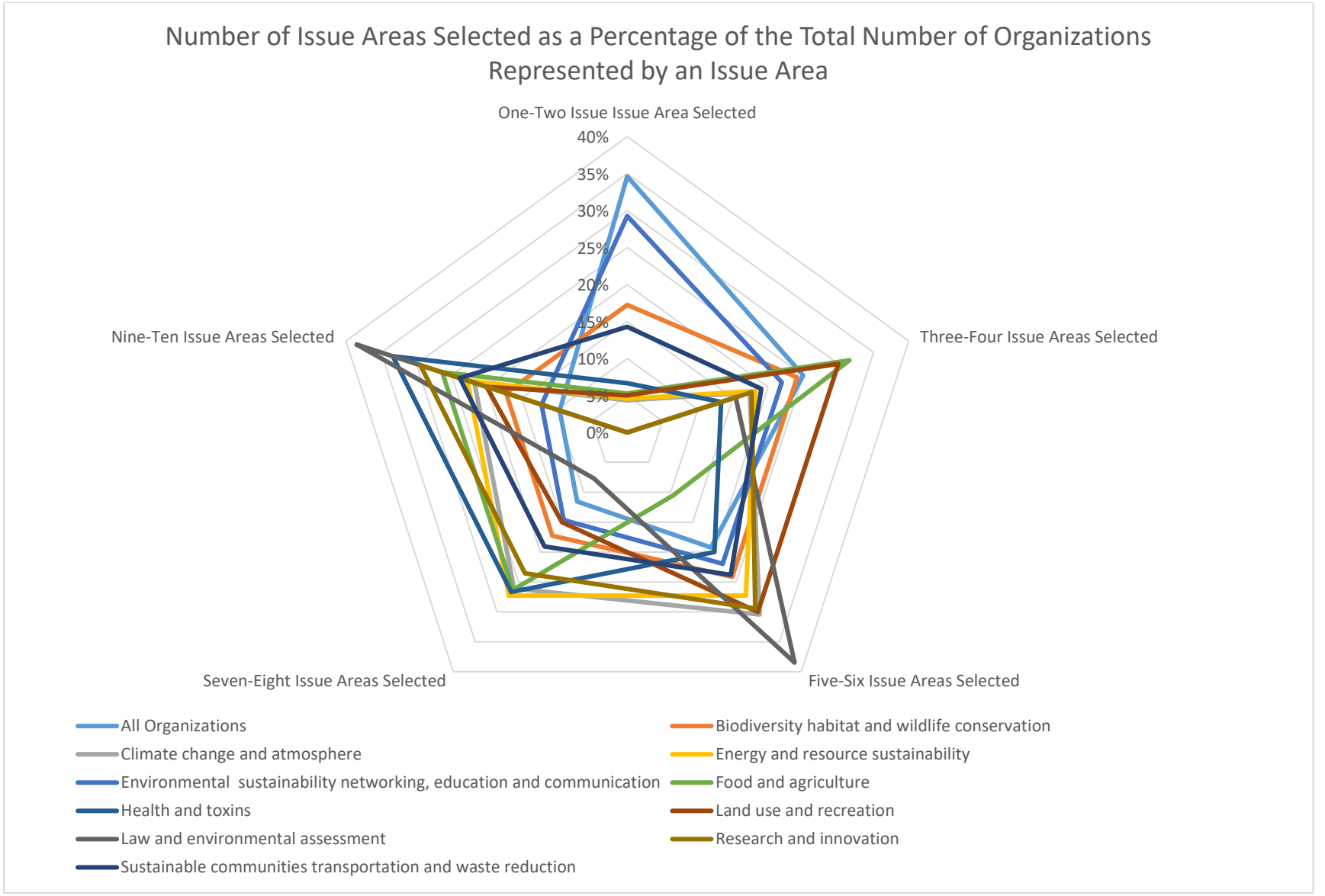
Number of Issue Areas Selected as a Percentage of the Total Number of Organizations Represented by an Issue Area
One-Two Issue Issue Area Selected
Three-Four Issue Areas Selected
Five-Six Issue Areas Selected
Seven-Eight Issue Areas Selected
Nine-Ten Issue Areas Selected
40%
35%
30%
25%
20%
15%
10%
5%
0%
All Organizations
Biodiversity habitat and wildlife conservation
Climate change and atmosphere
Energy and resource sustainability
Environmental sustainability networking, education and communication
Food and agriculture
Health and toxins
Land use and recreation
Law and environmental assessment
Research and innovation
Sustainable communities transportation and waste reduction

Chart 6

Formal Affiliations

Of the 53 organizations listed on the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*, a total of 29 listed formal affiliations to be displayed on the directory with at least one other member of the directory (not including NLEN). As of 2018, there are 17 members or associates of NLEN, of which 11 list formal affiliations with at least one other member of the directory. Chart 7 below shows the formal affliations of the movement but it should be noted that these may be of nominal significance however, as formal affliations may not translate to tangible partnerships or even regular communications. Accordingly, each of interviewees, prominent representatives of their organizations, struggled to recollect the formal affiliations their organizations maintained, one saying to a prompt about formal affiliations "we feel a bit lonely" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12). Chart 7 is included to give a visualization of the potential structure for the environmental movement in NL.

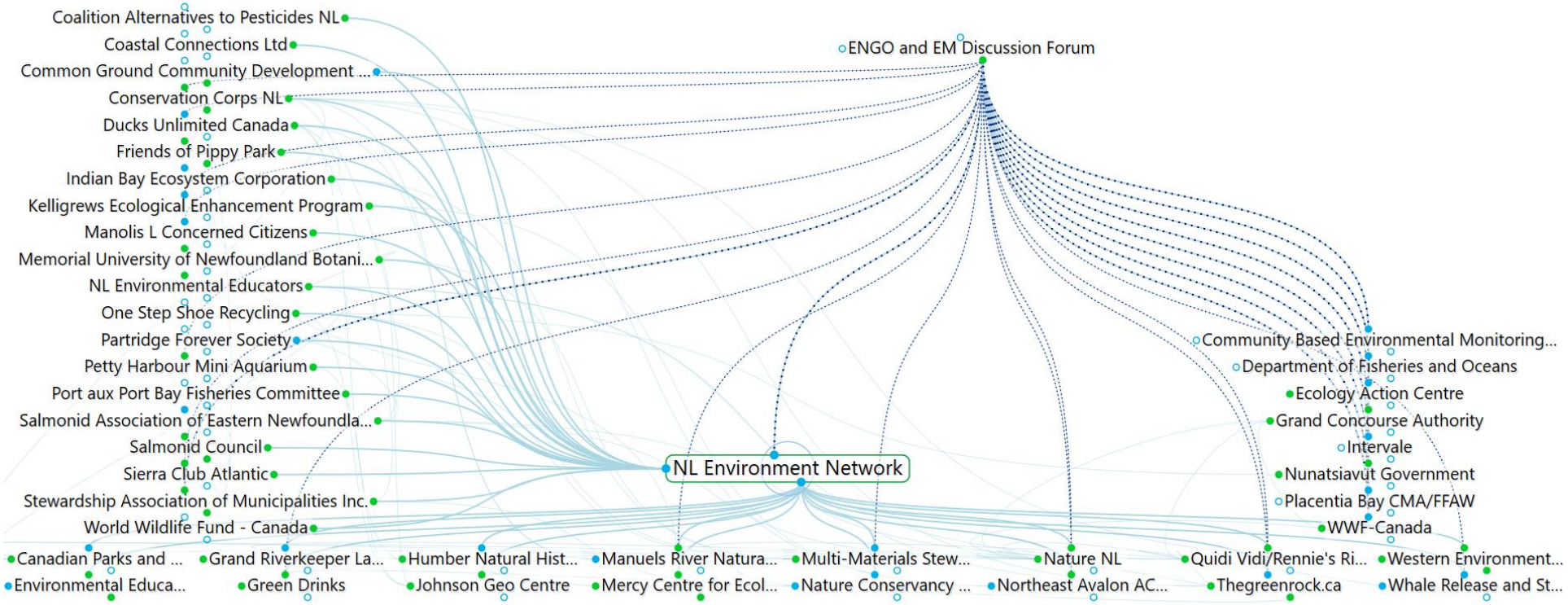

Chart 7

Snapshot of formal affiliations (Porter n.d.). Using *TheBrain*, this web was created to show public affiliations and partnerships of the directory members. This data was obtained via mentions on websites, social media pages, or insider knowledge such as the interviews conducted for this research. This is a snapshot of an interactive website, which contains many more organizations then are visible here. Shown here is the organizations affiliated directly with the NLEN or the Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations and Ecosystems Management (ENGO and EM) Discussion Forum, discussed further below. Nodes connected vertically signify membership - not necessarily "ownership" of any sort. Nodes connected horizontally signify partnership without membership on one or more significant projects.

While not a formal affiliation, the overlap of individuals sitting as directors, trustees and other officials[39] of multiple organizations ought to be a more significant network. These officials have access to deeper organizational memory than the typical employee and are the guidance system of their respective organizations. They have the power to connect public interest groups through formal affiliations, which they are more likely to do if they understand what each organization has to offer. Upon reviewing the 19 public interest groups with publicly listed officials, there were only two individuals listed as officials with two organizations each.[40] The sum total of publicly listed directors, trustees, and like officials for these 19 organizations with duplicates removed is 209. Of the remaining organizations without publicly listed officials, according to the data collected for the directory, there are at least 127 further directors including potential duplicates. Based on these numbers, the minimum overlap is 0.9% of officials sitting as representatives of at least two organizations listed within the directory. However, only 19 of the 53 organizations listed in the directory publicly list officials. Within these 19 organizations, the overlap of only two organizations sharing at least one official, excluding NLEN, or 10.5%.[41]

[39] Henceforth, simply 'officials'.

[40] There are 18 organizations with publicly listed officials which include all provincial registered charities listed on the environmental directory using the CRA charities listing and four not-for-profit organizations listed on the environmental directory using their individual websites. Of the 48 organizations in total on the directory, excluded were four national organizations. Additionally excluded is the steering committee of the NLEN, as their sum total of nine directors are required to be representatives of member organizations. Out of these nine, only three are publicly listed as representatives for other organizations. Thus this data represents 40% (17 divided by 43) of potential officials associated with organizations listed in the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*. When NLEN is included, it represents 41% (18 divided by 44).

[41] All calculations exclude the six national registered charities listed on the environmental directory as their list of officials are both substantially larger than the average provincially based organizations and it is less likely there would be overlap with local individuals sitting as officials on provincial organizations. Hence, should they be included, they would lower the percentages considerably while also reducing the significance of these already low percentages.

The significance of these low percentages is that communications between officials is less likely to be occurring on a regular basis, putting more emphasis on paid staff without the authority to make final decisions on collaborations to connect with staff at other organizations. In NL, chances of this occurring are reduced when considering the statistic that in 2003, before the Harper Government, only 5.7% of the population were employed by nonprofits and voluntary organizations compared to the 6.4% of Canadians (Hall et al. 2004, 40). Furthermore, environmental organizations in comparison to the average of all nonprofits and charities across Canada are 15.1% more likely to have no paid staff at 69.1% (Hall et al. 2004, 36).

As an umbrella organization, NLEN has a unique opportunity to impact these significant connections as all their board members must sit as representatives of member organizations. At current, this results in the minimum overlap of officials to rise to 5.1%, with a minimum of 20.1% of organizations listed on the directory sharing at least one official. This illustrates the extent to which the NLEN is the central, however weak, 'hub' of an otherwise dispersed movement. While the number of board members for NLEN is capped at 12, there is additionally opportunity to appoint officials of other organizations to 'caucuses' or 'discussion forums' of NLEN without directly appointing them to the board.

Recently a discussion forum between environmental organizations and Fisheries and Oceans Canada – Ecosystem Management has formed without the direct influence or administration by NLEN; the Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations and Ecosystems Management (ENGO and EM) Discussion Forum. According to the draft terms of reference, the caucus is to focus on the programs of 'Ecosystem Management' administered by government such as "issues related to fisheries protection, oceans management, species at risk and aquaculture management" (ENGO and EM Discussion Forum 2017a). All environmental

organizations are welcome to appoint one member to the forum, and 20 environmental organizations were represented at the second biannual meeting (ENGO and EM Discussion Forum 2017b). Of these 20 organizations, only 15 are listed on the directory and only 12 are NLEN members. The network created between the ENGO and EM Discussion Forum and NLEN membership combined represents 54% of known environmental organizations operating in NL (32 organizations out of 59). The ENGO and EM Discussion Forum creates space for networking between environmental organizations that does strengthen their collective identity as a movement. However it is limited to its focus on 'wilderness' frames specifically relating to Ecosystems Management.

Conclusion

What emerges from the data illustrated in this chapter is a fragmented environmental movement in NL, as well as more broadly across Canada. Environmental public interest groups are chronically underfunded, with a resulting in the inability to effectively act; a situation made worse in the Harper era which has not since been repaired. They are increasingly dependent on, yet limited by, institutional mechanisms which they are fearful of losing, such as charitable status. This is especially true of the coordinating umbrella organizations, RCEN and NLEN, which are essentially in crisis. These ought to be 'social movement organizations'; i.e. their mandate ought to be facilitating the environmental social movement. However, as the situation presented here makes clear, their ability to successfully pursue strategies of social movement building, as identified in Chapter Two, is severely limited. The pervasiveness in the belief of the barriers will be further explored in Chapter Five with the presentation of data collected through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. While the structural barriers presented in

this chapter represent significant decapitation of the environmental movement, it is interesting to explore the extent to which these barriers so pervasive that they are reconstructed by the organizations as well.

Chapter Five - Constructed Barriers

The call for "a sustained, high profile, and well-networked campaign by environmental [public interest] groups across the country" (McKenzie 2007, 303), or even provincially, was contrasted by the fragmentation of environmental issues and officials shown in Chapter Four. Kadowaki interviewed leaders of Canadian environmental organizations and also found that the sector was fragmented, and at best, each category could be considered an isolated movement (2013, 52). One of Kadowaki's interview participants tellingly "suggested there might be no movement at all because the sector has been professionalized and the modern iteration hasn't formed a grassroots movement around injustice" (2013, 52).

This chapter will present data collected from semi-structured interviews alongside the strategy of participant observation described in Chapter Three. The overall feel of the interviews is presented immediately below followed by the challenges to be an effective organization as seen by the interviewed members of the NL environmental movement. These challenges mirror the structural problems presented in Chapter Four, suggesting that they are so ingrained that organizations now co-construct the barriers to forming a social movement based on a conflict, collective identity, and network. As was argued in Chapter Two, successful social movements must have a common conflict, collective identity, and network. The interviews conducted for this project highlight the extent to which those factors are absent in NL. This chapter is crucial in addressing the gap between social movement theory and organizations which have the potential to form a social movement, where theory falls short of being practical for social movement organizations.

The Interviews

The interviewees were invited to participate under the banner of studying networking within the environmental movement in Newfoundland and Labrador (NL), with the goal of aiding the movement. Once I had been established as an insider, participants wished me luck and asked if there were any preliminary findings; networking appeared to be a hot button issue but organizations were struggling to match their own intentions. One interviewee was particularly direct in describing this theme, which underlies much of the data collected for this thesis; she saw her organization as only needing to focus on one part of the movement claiming "there are lots of other groups that have the energy to do the research and have the energy to be experts so we let them be the voice" (Confidential Interview 2018, #9).

The overall sentiment of the interviews was that individual participants felt their organizations were relatively isolated nodes in a larger community of environmental public interest groups. While participants wished for a more integrated community, many also expressed confidence that there was already a fairly holistic approach to environmental change in NL. "We should all be working together on this" (Confidential Interview 2018, #4) and the idea that there is "strength in numbers and knowledge" (Confidential Interview 2018, #1) were statements that were oft coupled with the hard fact that their own organizations do not "hav[e] the resources to follow through with ideas and plans" (Confidential Interview 2018, #11).

Resource limitations were the most commonly described challenge, followed by the need to remain within niche orientations. In contrast, a minimal number of interviewees described networking as a means to increase resources, such as through ability to "reach a broader audience if you have more people involved" (Confidential Interview 2018, #11). The remainder of the chapter will explore interviewees' perceived challenges to forming a movement, with a short analysis at the end of each section below on how the perceptions of the interviewees relate to the

themes of conflict, collective identity, and network which Chapter Two argued are central to the development of successful social movements.

Reducing the Overlap

The most controversial aspect of networking seemed to be the need to protect the organization's ownership of purpose and its resources. Even statements such as "one of the things that [the organization] boasts is that we partner with anyone and everyone, so anyone that is willing or interested in *our* work [can join], we don't discriminate" (Confidential Interview 2018, #9) underlines the fact that the organization has a static mission, networking opportunities need to bend around what they are already working on. It was also described as a balancing act between attracting new people and needing to minimize spent resources. One interviewee described how they previously put more effort into networking opportunities but find now that they "just do not have the capacity to provide any ongoing networking with other people who are just interested in being informed about what's going on, [it's more important just] to focus" (Confidential Interview 2018, #8). Another was direct in acknowledging that networking needs to be balanced against branding, known as framing in social movement theory language explored in Chapter Two; "we want to make sure our message is [congruent with our mission statement]" and described the need to avoid confusing their audience as "it is really a specific environmental group" (Confidential Interview 2018, #4).

During multiple interviews networking was described as a preventative measure to "reduce the overlap" (Confidential Interview 2018, #11). Looking at the data from the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory* above, the belief in the smallness of the movement may actually be a result of the saturation of particular issue areas. Intentional networking appears to

be either to avoid another organization's 'territory' or to collaborate on specific short-term campaigns; in both cases reducing the need to expend resources rather than an effort to create resources. The statement "it's necessary for us to operate in a certain niche, otherwise all the groups are doing everything" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12) particularly highlights a tension created by the desire to reduce overlap yet have a holistic movement.

Rather than progressing the movement towards a master frame, individuals 'know' how things ought to be done and in an effort to avoid overlap or waste resources, division is created. Some awareness of the false divide was brought up by an interviewee who ruminated on the gap between East and West in the province. He described his organization as an ally to a like-organization on the other side of the island, however acknowledged the bond was limited to avoiding the others' niche unless there was an explicit request to collaborate; there was no significant communication or thus network. He was uneasy with this disconnect but explained his thought process as "they would know better about their issues –who am I to say I know anything about the issues on the West coast of Newfoundland" (Confidential Interview 2018, #3). It was striking that he felt his organization needed to avoid what he perceived to be their domain or niche, even if they were not actively working on a particular issue stating "if they're not getting involved, why would we?" (Confidential Interview 2018, #3). The organizations of which the interviewee spoke are formally affiliated according to the directory, but as his statements reflect, it is of nominal significance.

According to the synthetic theory presented in Chapter Two, based on the foundational social movement theory, carving out of niches is indicative of resource structures that incentivize competition or amalgamation, which undermines the strength of a movement's collective identity. A weak collective identity in turn co-constructs the conditions in which collaboration or

networking is difficult. In this case, the conditions that the public interest groups are co-constructing are promoting, and even securing, niche orientations of other organizations all the while reporting that they are open to collaborations, if only there were organizations closer in orientation to their niche. This is particularly intriguing given how similar many of the public interest groups appear to be in the data presented in the previous chapter.

Framing Advocacy

Framing as a concept is meant as a method of expanding an organization's target population to increase support or resources, as explored in chapter two. Throughout the interviews however framing, more colloquially known as branding, was done as a method of containing advocacy in order to protect access to pre-existing or potential resources. Speaking to why networking opportunities might not be acted upon, an interviewee described the need to "[never] compromise the charitable organization status. And you sort of think of your brand name. When you collaborate you're sharing your brand name to some extent. If we weren't comfortable with the brand of another organization we would definitely avoid that. People wouldn't want to get involved." (Confidential Interview 2018, #3). It is important to recall 'resources' go beyond funds to include things such as credibility among would-be supporters.

Direct access to government bodies was the reason given by three of the interviewees as to why they do not partake in outsider tactics such as rallying. One of the interviewees with direct access due to government representatives sitting in their board admitted "I would like to be more 'rah rah' advocacy and we're not a registered charity so we could spend more time advocating but I think again it's a pragmatic choice to keep the lights on, so the speak, we only have energy to do so much, so this is where we are" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12). She also

recounted a story of a woman standing up during a research conference and saying "the research is out there, we know it's out there, let's go for the change and stop this nonsense" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12). The interviewee continued however to disagree with the woman in her story, "It's not that simple. As more demand is put on smaller communities to govern larger issues, I think it's important to understand these things, and it's not as easy now as to point out particular players and saying 'You are definitively the problem'!" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12).

In these cases, the organizations had built up a working relationship with government officials such that it would be counterproductive *to appear* to be attacking government policies. These organizations have framed their work as advocating *for* the environment without the need to advocate *against* government in order to preserve resources. Their ability to advocate against policies is constrained due to their perception of the interactions with government as being positive. One interviewee explained "looking at the way we're structured and having that amount of government representations… we are in a position where we are pretty diplomatic because the idea is to have faith in building better policies really as opposed to tearing them down" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12). Another interviewee explained his organization maintain a "common respect" and "open door policy" such that they are able to be strong environmental advocates without the need for activism (Confidential Interview 2018, #1).

When advocacy was not framed by interviewees as contrained to the work they did *with* government, it was said to be contrained by the lack of resources, including time and energy. Several of the interviewees reiterated the reason their organizations were not involved in more direct advocacy was a result of the fear of losing charitable status or funding. Even when their organizations were asked to join a consultation, one interviewee mocked "'Oh great we're going

to get lunch!' These people are experts in their field and they should be treated that way and funded properly" (Confidential Interview 2018, #4). While interviewees both overwhelmingly claimed they would network with all types of organizations, noticeably absent from the environmental movement in the province is direct advocacy. "You have to be very careful sometimes if you get the wrong person that's heading up a networking group or pan group because then, if they're speaking on your behalf, it can sometimes be very embarrassing" (Confidential Interview 2018, #1) was the warning of one interviewee who proceeded to tell one such story they asked to not be repeated.

Each interviewee was asked what type of tactics their organization used to accomplish its goals, with examples given that mirrored Saunders' insider, thresholder, and outsider categorization (2013, 37)[42]. The majority of interviewees revealed they used insider tactics or did not participate in any advocacy campaigns with sentiments such as "we don't want exposure of what comes with advocacy… we don't necessarily want to be making waves out in the community" (Confidential Interview 2018, #6). While this was the only interviewee that specifically revealed they were not interested in trying to advocate, five other interviewees spoke of constraining advocacy due to the assumed result should you "bite the hand that feeds you" (Confidential Interview 2018, #2). One interviewee repeatedly said "follow the money," insisting that government officials and their relatives regularly influenced environmental organizations through the influx of money and their personal connections to board members (Confidential Interview 2018, #10). No other participant voiced anything as close to a 'conspiracy' theory, however, another interviewee did voice their belief that established,

[42] The prompting text was approximately the following: *does your organization participate in any direct advocacy such as letter writing, press conferences, petitions or media students? If yes: would you say your organization does more radical events as well such as rallies, boycotts, or ecotage? If no: so would you say your organization has a more conservative approach to advocacy such as practical conservation, educational and social events, or consulting for government agencies?*

institutionalized organizations would not be able to admit it but they were unable to participate in advocacy against the government saying "nobody wants to talk about it overtly but you've got to really watch your Ps and Qs" (Confidential Interview 2018, #8).

In another instance, at an observed annual general meeting of an environmental organization, an argument occurred resulting in a participant vacating his position on the board of directors due to the unwillingness of the organization to risk their charitable status to do advocacy work. An interviewee correspondingly expressed the need to "not be too obviously involved with radical groups" in order to protect their charitable status and continue receiving government funding (Confidential Interview 2018, #5). This is consistant with the discussion in chapter four around the limitations to advocacy set by a regulatory regime, directly or indirectly.

The reluctance to strongly advocate, while representative of a more holistic movement, has provided further strain and isolation throughout the network. 'Conflict' has a range of interpretations in foundational social movement theories as Chapter Two explored. According to a more structuralist definition, conflict is the mobilization of a force against an opposing party. Moreover, conflict always has the potential to exist but is defined by the tangible 'us' versus 'them' call to arms. In structuralist literature therefore, if a movement has no tangible opposition or conflict, even if the requirements of a strong network and collective identity are met, it is not a social movement. Diani uses "environmental consciousness through education" as an example of a nonconflictual movement using this definition of conflict (2003, 302). According to a more constructivist understanding of conflict, in line with New Social Movement Theory, the struggle to change society, regardless of how complex the solution or how clear the opponent may be, meets the definition of conflict as a key indicator of social movements. The fact that there is a disagreement about what the solution may be, via a differences in how organizations perceive

advocacy being constrained, would reinforce the fact that there is indeed a conflict present, though again provides doubt as to the social movement's collective identity. It is therefore important that there is a productive conversation, fostered by an intentional network, around what the solution to the conflict should be, or even what defines the conflict. Framing advocacy as constrained *to* working with government or constrained *by* regulatory regimes has a limiting effect on the collective identity as organizations in each of these two camps are defining the conflict of the movement differently.

Increasing the Resources

> We would like to be able to do more then what we're doing now, particularly, one area we're interested in getting involved in is … collective impact approaches because as a foundation that has a broad mandate we see the potential to bring other organizations together around areas of shared interest and see how organizations could do more collaborating. But it's a matter of capacity – I'm the only staff person so there's only so much we can do in the time that's available (Confidential Interview 2018, #7).

The inability to allocate resources to networking was a common sentiment among the interviewees; "to have a meeting takes time… there's not very often any money set aside for meetings. There's money set aside to achieve outcomes" (Confidential Interview 2018, #4). Some interviewees talked about the notion that umbrella organizations ought to provide more space and thus resources to network. However, the issue of funding is likewise present for social movement organizations, whose mandate to provide networking opportunities and facilitate the movement. "You've got to be able to fund it to make it happen" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12) an interviewee explained why she believed the Newfoundland and Labrador Environment Network (NLEN) has changed their mission statement to focus on environmental education. She

expressed that her concern that it is so "crucial" to have the unifying body to "collaborative events of any kind" and the movement was lacking as a result of this void (Confidential Interview 2018, #12). The effort required to be that organization was also acknowledged;

> It takes a lot of time and organization to bring people together for an event that would be productive that you would actually get some next steps out of and then you really need to have a point organization that can continue to move it forward and at this stage we're just not able to be that because of time constraints (Confidential Interview 2018, #7).

"If there was a common goal… if there was an issue or an event and it was complicated and we felt that other group was going to bring something to the table, we would certainly reach out then" (Confidential Interview 2018, #3) further illustrates the weakness of the movement's collective identity. The belief that individuals understand the current mandate or capabilities of organization of which they do not represent is creates a barrier to forming "one big environmental movement" (Martin 1993, 12). One interviewee did point to institutional "inertia" as a stabilization factor in aging organizations via constitutions and recurring undertakings irrespective of the succession, or turnover, of individuals involved (Confidential Interview 2018, #3). However, only six organizations in the directory are 'old', with founding dates in the range of 1910 to 1967. Excluding these six, the average age of organizations in the directory is 19; including the oldest six, it is 25. The median age of registered charities, incorporated not-for-profits and non-incorporated groups listed in the directory is 30, 11, and 9 respectively.

The least common way resources were said to affect networking was in the positive light, as described by one interviewee at the "mobiliz[ation of] resources to actually give your organization… capacity to … be effective in terms of [campaigns]" (Confidential Interview 2018, #8). Intentional networking appeared to be the product of short term campaigns or events

where the outcome was increased tangible resources, where intangible resources were under appreciated. “Budgetary caution causes us to consider collaborations sooner. If you have all the money you need, you can just go off and do your own thing. I would say where the budgets always been tight, collaborations are looked on in a positive light” (Confidential Interview 2018, #3).

One interviewee did talk more about intangible benefits to the organization when networking happens in an organic way that does not alter the organizations’ mandates in order to network. She explained the importance of acknowledging the differences while still being able to “naturally partner on and help each other, to achieve each other goals” (Confidential Interview 2018, #9) and went on to describe the tangible benefit attached to being seen partnering with organizations by stakeholders or funders.

The strength or weakness of the network is co-constructed particularly by collective identity and conflict. The result of a weak collective identity, where organizations are isolated by their niche orientation and their concern for institutionally acceptable branding, is a weak network. The result of individual organizations restricting their frame in order to adhere to a niche or brand, regardless of intent, has the result of isolated nodes rather than a network.

The Informal Network of Individuals

The conversations around networking always circled back to the individuals involved in the organizations and an apparent under appreciation for networking. While there was hesitation at the basic question “what are the benefits of networking?” support for individuals was the most common response; “it’s good to see people face to face and know that you have people backing you up. It can be stressful doing things on your own and it’s odd that I brought up that sometimes

groups don't get along but I wish there was some way to dispel that because we're all working on the same thing" (Confidential Interview 2018, #4). Yet this appears to be in contradiction to the sentiment described above that networking is restricted by the time and energy that individuals are able to provide for it. If networking is seen as to the benefit of individuals, then is it the structure of the organizations that prevent networking from happening or do individuals undervalue their own worth?

Organizational priorities were reduced to individuals' decisions with statements such as "everybody is very busy with the particular issue that they're concerned about and trying to get money to continue and just don't have the resources to spend going and chatting with other people. We still try to keep that up; in St. John's it's easier than in other parts of the provinces, but it's getting a hold of people who have the time to get involved" (Confidential Interview 2018, #5). One interviewee from one of the largest organizations in terms of staff and operational budget still spoke of resource restrictions explaining they are a very lean organization; "I can't take the cook out of the kitchen and send her to a networking meeting" (Confidential Interview 2018, #1). The "time and energy" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12) of individuals was the most often cited reason that networking was restricted.

Despite the quantifiable disconnect of official representatives and insignificance of formal affliations presented in Chapter Four, the interviewees claimed the community has an abundance of ties. Most of the interviewees were involved or had been involved in more than one environmental organization and claimed the environment was their primary with only two exceptions; one of which had more broad interests, and the other did not identify as being part of any cause including the environmental movement despite their employment. One interviewee in

particular took issue with the attempt to separate out the networking pattern of his organization from his personal networks. He explained,

> you're speaking to me about what organization I'm involved in and what my connection is but as individuals and as the days unfold … a lot of these … organizations are in fact really connected and you'll find in this province of only five hundred something thousand people, you'll find the same folks over the years and new folks coming in, they seem to be involved in ... not a formal network … but it's there. The same folks sometimes you'll see involved in [multiple environmental issues] (Confidential Interview 2018, #8).

The interviewee then went on to explain that while they had some immediate connections that fueled their organization through funding and research that validated their cause, they felt it was important to recognize a bigger picture of networking outside of the formal affiliations.

The idea that networking patterns were more about the people than the organizations was a reoccurring theme throughout the interviews. Interviewees characterized 'networking' as being a social or organic occurrence tied to the individuals who work or volunteer at the environmental organizations, rather than as a result of intentional policy which would have taken nonexistent resources from the organizations. Interviewees explained that their organizations' connections were often the result of one person's efforts or interests. The ties were not formalized, and while perhaps done in the name of the organizations, had much more to do with the individuals involved. The depth of the organizations' relationship was tied to the individuals involved, should they step away from either organization it was likely the link would dissolve.

Interviewees were reluctant to attribute networking patterns to any intentional agenda passed down from a board of directors or strategic plan, but rather it was the personal contacts of the people involved. This was remarked to be the case both as the reason networking was and was not happening as these two quotes from different interviewees reveal;

> Where a lot of us know each other already [in Newfoundland], we've either crossed paths at one point regardless of [sic] – cause we're all kind of in the same field … so it's hard to decipher if we'd have met or would be working together because of certain networking things or it's just because we're in similar fields, I don't know (Confidential Interview 2018, #11).

> The nature of Newfoundland and Labrador, there's just a handful of individuals who are involved in environmental work and I think it's a fairly incestuous beast… there's a lot of overlap of individuals. I also just think that… people just get burnt out and a lot of these roles are fulfilled by volunteers and so if networking is not happening I don't think it's intentional, it's probably a result of feeling pressured by your day to day (Confidential Interview 2018, #9).

According to one particular interviewee, the activities of their organization was subject to change based on who was involved at particular moments of time, saying of activism that "it goes in cycles" (Confidential Interview 2018, #3). This is a striking comment when combined with the reoccurring sentiment throughout the interviews that there is a small but active group of volunteers across the movement, and they are stretched thin. One interviewee went as far to say that "our community in Newfoundland is too small to kind of completely cut ties or alienate somebody just for [stealing programs/ideas]" (Confidential Interview 2018, #11).

Conclusion

Without intentional processes, it is a small group of individuals who are involved with multiple organizations that inadvertently frame the boundaries of the entire movement. Recall that collective identity as explored in Chapter Two is the process through which discourse can be changed. If the informal network of individuals forming the collective identity is limited to a select group, there are limited margins in which discourse can be changed. The co-construction

of a weak network and a weak collective identity in this case is also undermining a productive conversation around what the solution may be; in essence undermining the conflict. The three core tenets of a social movement defined by the synthetic theory presented in Chapter Two are each individually weakened and preventing each other tenet from progressing.

Chapter Six – Theoretical Analysis / Lessons for Social Movement Theory

This chapter will first review broad interpretations of the foundational literatures presented in Chapter Two and qualify what makes the synthesized network process theory a more practical theory to be used to foster societal transformation. The case study of the NL environmental movement, as presented in Chapter Four and Five, is a tool for testing and expanding the lessons of the synthetic theory. Thus a summary account of the environmental movement in NL will use the three internal factors of a social movement according to the synthetic theory to characterize its limitations; conflict, collective identity, and network. This chapter is the final piece which provides insight into the research question; can social movement theory contribute practical and dynamic tools that if used by social movements could help advance the effectiveness of social movements such as the NL environment movement?

Foundational social movement literature is focused on what external factors have to align in order for a social movement to be successful. If this is the case, the answer is that social movement theory cannot contribute meaningful tools to be used by public interest groups to advance a social movement. External factors change the movement, not the other way around in these discussions. This is most evident in the structural theories of resource mobilization and political process, whereby external dynamics are seen to affect the internal characteristics of the movement. In resource mobilization theory, resources have to be obtained from external sources which directly control which type of organizations qualify for those funds, such as through cherry-picking grant applications or more indirectly broader funding regimes. Frame analysis as a technique adjusts this limitation to a certain extent. Framing used in conjunction with resource mobilization theory works towards changing single organizations rhetoric in order to fit with a broad society, or external funders, to obtain resources it deems necessary for the furthering the

success of organizations. Framing is thus a dynamic internal to organizations used to tweak their external relations, but the whole theory continues to be concerned about individualistic organizations, or public interest groups.

Political process theory already incorporates framing analysis to the extent that it recognizes participants of social movements must be able to interpret the possibility of a social movement occurring, yet it remains overly reliant on the idea of expanding or contracting political opportunities external to the movement. This may be useful to predict under what conditions mobilization is likely to occur using comparative politics, but again places no control within the grasp of the social movement participants, be they individuals or organizations.

The third major approach to understanding social movements was the new social movement literature which was not analytically useful when describing what is internal *or* external to the movement, as it sees social movements as being every day societal change whereby everything, every individual is essentially internal to the movement. New social movement theory cannot provide meaningful tools or strategies as it does not have active participants; social movements are passive emergent cultural transformations.

In contrast, the synthetic theory presented in Chapter Two starts from the focus on three internal factors that need to co-exist in order for a social movement to succeed *regardless* of external factors; a common conflict, collective identity, and network. The synthetic theory uses purposeful framing in conjunction with networking strategies to help organizations fit their own niches together into a bigger picture and focus on what organizations can do in order to affect change. In this way, *change is internal to the movement*; instead of internal to individual organizations of the movement or wholly dependent on external factors.

Yet, even as it reports to be a critical theory of whole social movements, it is essential that public interest groups are the target audience of network process theory. This is due to their capacity to *interact* with the theory, to make a purposeful attempts to strengthen the social movement of which they are a part. While the literature of each of the major theoretical frameworks informs the synthetic theory's approach, its the ability to interact with the social movement via the organizations helps it to be dynamic. It offers a constructivist lens by which to understand that the interaction of organizations *is* the structure and core of a social movement. It is the interactions that are the subject of study, not the organizations in isolation. Using this understanding, it is then possible to study how the state interacts with the social movement *as a whole*. For example, research may be done on how state support changes a social movement by defining how organizations interact, such as through the newly minted Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations and Ecosystems Management (ENGO and EM) Discussion Forum. Without this understanding, it is instead the study of state interactions with some public interest groups, restricting the research on social movements to anetdocal scraps.

The synthetic theory therefore is *able* to contribute practical and dynamic tools to be used by social movements. The question remains what are the tools, will the tools be used and if they are used, will they help advance the effectiveness of social movements.

Defining social movements as the co-existence of a common conflict, collective identity, and network is the core dynamic tool which this synthesized version of network process theory offers to organizations. Practical tools discussed by this research has been master-framing and network analysis. The limitations of the NL environmental movement provides one context to how these tools may help advance the effectiveness. Recall from Chapter Two, core framing tasks are the identification of the problem, articulation of the solution, and the "call to arms"

(Benford and Snow 2000, 615–17). The next section will be the identification of the problem via a summary account of the three internal factors of the environmental movement in NL as the first step towards testing and expanding the lessons of the synthetic theory.

Identification of the Problem

As was presented in Chapter Four, there are at least 53 organizational participants of the environmental movement in NL. According to the data collected via a triangulation of methods including participant observation, the conflict of this movement is quite narrow. More specifically, organizations are focused on their highly individualistic niche issues, providing little to no support on the broader conflict with such statements as "there are lots of *other* groups that have the energy to do the research and have the energy to be experts so we let *them* be the voice" (Confidential Interview 2018, #9). Moreover, there was a generalized fear that to align with another group was risky should they choose to take on advocacy work, and yet at the same time advocacy is noticeably absent from the provincial movement, at least at the present time.

This speaks towards the weak collective identity between these organizations as well. The valuing of niches in order to "reduce the overlap" (Confidential Interview 2018, #11) in particular highlights the weakness of the collective identity. When the *NL Environmental Organization Directory* data is analyzed, these 53 organizations have a fairly narrow identity based on wilderness as the defining issue area of what makes their organization 'environmental'. However, interviewees also often saw their group as unique, with such claims as "it is really a specific environmental group" (Confidential Interview 2018, #4). The exclusive 'right' to operate within a niche is an isolating factor, in this case often to avoid competition but from a mentality of friendliness. The overall sense, both in the interviews and through participant

observation, is it would be encroaching or presumptuous if you sought to work on a project or issue that falls within another's organization's niche.

The issue with 'respecting niches' however occurs when it is not known even *if* the other organization is pursuing that specific work. The network of this movement is more aptly described as a set of loose affiliations. Organizations only connect when there are clear tangible reasons, such as grants requiring organizations to partner. While there is an interest in deepening the connections between organizations, such as through the Newfoundland and Labrador Environment Network (NLEN), there remains a lack of resources. Volunteers are the most likely source of overlap between organizations, with board of directors being the most significant volunteers as they ought to have deeper insights into the organizations and have the power to steer the strategic directions of these organizations. Yet when the public names of the board of directors are analyzed, overlap is infrequent; this is despite the willingness and interest of interviewees to "make time for [sitting on NLEN's board of directors]" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12). The connection between resources and the act of networking would appear to be intrinsically tied looking at the decline in the number of NLEN board members[43] immediately following their loss of operational funds in 2011.[44]

The newly minted ENGO and EM Discussion Forum provides some hope in the form of a physical space for networking, which may lead to the strengthening of collective identity and conflict. However, it is limited at the onset to niche issue areas within the 'wilderness' frame. Furthermore, its formal purpose is the interaction of environmental organizations *with government*. It is accidental that the organizations interact with each other.

[43] Referred to by them as the steering committee members.
[44] The earliest data available is for 2013 when NLEN obtained charitable status, at this time there were 12 board members. By 2016 there were only 6 (Government of Canada 2017).

Articulation of the Solution

According to this contemporary synthetic theory, framing, especially master-framing, ought to be able correct the weakness of all three internal social movement characteristics. However, as these characteristics of conflict, collective identity and network are interrelated in the identification of the problem above, the adjustments need to come in a natural sequence for the movement. This section will review some key ways in which organizations can take action to adjust the internal characteristics of the environmental movement in NL based on the data collected.

A collective impact approach, briefly addressed in Chapter Two, presents possibilities for starting the conversation around master framing in particular. It is the creation of a common goal that is sufficiently complicated that it requires organizations to reach out and work together.[45] There is a call for this, an interviewee revealed that

> We would like to be able to do more then what we're doing now, particularly, one area we're interested in getting involved in is something like collective impact approaches because as a foundation that has a broad mandate we see the potential to bring other organizations together around areas of shared interest and see how organizations could do more collaborating but it's a matter of capacity – I'm the only staff person so there's only so much we can do in the time that's available. (Confidential Interview 2018, #7).

It is important however that change is not initiated by an external factors such as a foundation; it must come from within the social movement or the master frame will not foster a strong and expansive collective identity. It is the collective identity that allows for more organizations to join the network overtime. An external funder has too much control to limit who is involved and

[45] "Primarily if there was a common goal... if there was an issue or an event and it was complicated and we felt the other group was going to bring something to the table, we would certainly reach out then" (Confidential Interview 2018, #3).

to what capacity. Similarly, the ENGO and EM Discussion Forum is limited to one named representative and one named alternative representative per public interest group and the topics are limited to Ecosystems Management programs offered by government. With resources supplied, it also detracts from the organic fostering of resources, thus allowing the movement to be limited to when the funding runs out.

The use of networking by organizations as the key to creating a master frame to unite a movement is an approach introduced by Stevenson et al. and later furthered by Levkoe (2014, 2015; 2007). Their concepts of 'inclusion goals' and 'weaver strategies' can provide insight into best practices for umbrella organizations working towards a master frame. The goal of inclusion "is to increase participation by marginalized" actors in the existing system, to make it more accessible (Stevenson et al. 2007, 34). Weaver work "focuses on developing strategic and conceptual linkages" amongst all types of organizations with a focus on movement building and frame alignment (Stevenson et al. 2007, 34). Accordingly, Stevenson et al. provide weavers as the solution to intra- and inter-movement networking towards creating a persuasive master frame. Weaver work takes "an immense amount of energy… to sustain network coherence and function, but [in order to be successful] it needs to be exerted in a way that recognizes and works with the actors' diverse perspectives and the network's decentralized structure" (Levkoe 2015, 175).

Levkoe's exploration of umbrella organizations highlights two strategies and two challenges for weaver work (2015). The strategies will first be considered for their potential contribution to the NL environmental movement followed by how the challenges might be addressed. The strategies he identifies are coordinating the scaling-up of local projects to have a greater impact on provincial policy in addition to the creation of both physical and virtual spaces

for interaction amongst public interest groups (Levkoe 2015, 175). Specifically he recommends "(1) the creation of physical spaces that involve direct contact in particular places; (2) the development of virtual spaces where connections are mediated through digital technologies; and (3) the use of scalar strategies that scale-up local projects to organize around and impact provincial level policy" (Levkoe 2015, 177).

For the strategies, the scaling up of local projects is an option to be aware of as there are deeper connections formed. This is the breaking down of niches, and the building of trust such that organizations are able to share what is now their specific niches or projects. The creation of virtual spaces for interaction is a low cost method of forging more connections, but it still must be maintained, and fostered with intent for it to grow into a useful space that provide substantive connections. Given the geographical separation of some of the organizations, the virtual space does address inclusion without the heavy use of resources. As one geographically distinct interviewee recounted,

> Time is the only factor that limits sometimes our networking. It's cause I've found years ago we were at it [networking] a fair bit and we were members of a whole bunch of organizations we simply had to cut it back a little bit, you know, you're spending most of your time on the road going to meetings it seemed… that's the only reason we're not involved any more then we already are with networking from the environment side. (Confidential Interview 2018, #1)

Many of the interviewees, regardless of geographical location, identified time as an important resources that restricted their ability to network. A virtual networking space reduce the time used in travel but also removes the importance of meeting and connecting in real time. Thus allowing for individuals to respond as their own pace, in their own space. Any increase to the number of

platforms where networking can take place is of benefit to the movement[46], but it must be used to be beneficial.

The two general challenges to 'weaver work' Levkoe uncovers are (1) the balance between networking autonomous organizations and creating a master frame while respecting the decentralized nature of a social movement; and (2) disparities between member organizations resulting in uneven access to the benefits of membership (Levkoe 2015, 181). The first challenge ought to be addressed by a stronger collective identity and substantive communication. Particularly, in order to avoid a negative experience, expectations on what the partnership involves would have to be clearly outlined and organizations must be recognized for their specific contributions.[47]

The second challenge highlights the importance of inclusion as a goal of the umbrella organization such that marginalized actors have the opportunity to participate. While a virtual space contributes to inclusion, it remains the case that even in virtual spaces "communication can be intermittent between organizations especially if it's a smaller one with limited funding" (Confidential Interview 2018, #11). Smaller organizations rely more heavily on volunteers either entirely or in part especially for nonessential tasks. These virtual spaces must be prioritized and receive the attention of members of the board if they are to foster substantive connections across the movement. It will also remain the case that due to geographical isolation, organizations may not receive the full extent of the benefits advertised by umbrella organizations. Certainly not at the beginning, if ever.

[46] "There's not a lot of platforms for networking" (Confidential Interview 2018, #9).
[47] "A negative experience would arise when expectations … on what the partnership would involve weren't clear" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12); "People also want to be recognized for the work they do, they don't want get lost in the mix, they want to feel important and that they contributed and whatnot" (Confidential Interview 2018, #11).

Umbrella organizations that are empowered with resources and that prioritize substantive interactions between member organizations are key to success. Interviewees were both cautious and hopeful about the idea of an empowered NLEN saying things like "we can make time for that" (Confidential Interview 2018, #12) but also "it takes an awful lot of time, individuals talking to, contacting people and suggesting they should get involved. In the past it has usually depended on having a proactive executive director" (Confidential Interview 2018, #5). Without the initial resources of the umbrella organization to have a salaried executive director, it will be essential to cross appoint officials of public interest groups to the NLEN board of directors. Particularly officials who can utilize their influence across the organizations to find opportunities where substantive interactions are possible.

Creating Momentum: A Call to Arms

With the problem identified, and the benefits of substantive interactions identified as the solution, organizations must now use this theory to create momentum.

In order to use the synthetic theory, the solution needs to be internal to the social movement. When the structure and core of the social movement is defined as the interactions of organizations, the logical solution is to increase those interactions. While this can be done in multiple ways, the most straightforward strategy is to empower an umbrella organization as the coordinator for these interactions to take place, which would also centralize the network. The secondary strategy would be to increase the number of organizations interacting. The umbrella organization both receives from and distributes resources to the broader movement in the form of credibility, expertise, and increased reach. This also results in more 'purchasing power' to approach corporations with grant applications and governments with policy recommendations.

The synthetic theory in this way utilizes the internal characteristics of a movement to force positive changes in external characteristics such as funders and political opportunities.

This snowballs; the more public interest groups there are in the network, the more resources there are for the umbrella organizations, and thus member organizations by extension. But it is essential that the umbrella organizations focuses on coordinating substantial interactions, in order to increase the collective identity. A strong collective identity results in the breakdown of niches such that the ways organizations can partner are better understood, rather than the isolating fear of encroaching on limited resources which is counterintuitive to this model.

The ENGO and EM Discussion Forum is one such opportunity to increase the number of substantive interactions between environmental organizations. It does face limitations including its focus on niche wilderness issues however it is also important to remember intertextuality, everything is inter-related and this is just one tool to increase the effectiveness of the environmental movement in NL. Another tool, synthetically created by this research is the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*. Used by this research to measure the parameters of the environmental movement, it is also a tool to increase the substantive interactions. Identifying organizations capable of interaction is an important first step towards increasing the effectiveness of a social movement.

Catalytic validity is a question of whether this research was able to change the landscape of the NL environmental movement. The *NL Environmental Organizations Directory* has an ongoing impact in its own right. Organizations have continued to join the directory and update their profiles; if this is a measurement of the movement's effectiveness then it has catalytic validity. Beyond the immediate expansion of the network made possible by acknowledging the

existence of organizations, it is difficult to control for how this research will affect the NL environmental movement.

As the network grows and collective identity increases through substantive interactions, the conflict ought to develop into a more sophisticated master-frame in order to expand beyond the narrow wilderness frame present in the movement today. Reframing the environmental movement in NL, or elsewhere, could follow along the lines of Haluza-DeLay, Demoor, and Peet's "just sustainability" (2013). This once again increases the snowball, further expanding the potential organizations that can join the network via expanding the collective identity, and ultimately increasing the power of the movement to affect external characteristics.

A recent email reads "I am writing you because you represent an environmental organization listed by the Newfoundland and Labrador Environment Network…" and goes on to ask for letters supporting the establishment of a NL Conservation Fund to be presented to "decision makers and funders" (Unger 2018). The champion of this initiative revealed that, to date, 16 letters of support have been received from organizations listed on the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory*, a tool which she uses "frequently" (Personal Communication 2018b). The process of collecting letters of support for a NL Conservation Fund in and of itself is a positive step for the environmental movement as it is a substantive interaction. Should the fund become a reality, there is tangible potential build a common conflict, collective identity, and network. The details of how funds are distributed and reported upon are specifically important to this end; they should prioritize opportunities to expand the frame of the environmental movement and increase substantive interorganizational interactions.

Conclusion

The synthetic theory contributes practical and dynamic tools that if used by social movements can help advance their effectiveness. Those keen to increase the effectiveness of any social movement should look for opportunities to strengthen the three defining characteristics; conflict, collective identity, and network. Likewise, it is important to acknowledge the barriers to any one of the three characteristics as they are so interrelated as to limit the success of work on any one of the characteristics in isolation.

In the case of the NL environmental movement, the limitations revealed were vast. It is dispersed, disorganized, and faces challenges entrenched by institutional barriers. Fortunately, this means there is also vast opportunity. Aside from external characteristics, such as funding limitations, the internal characteristics that must be addressed include attitude. Individuals have engrained the barriers created by external factors to the point as to recreate the symptoms internally. The decision to be a movement, to work towards a congealed conflict, collective identity, and network, ought to be a guiding principle integrated into every decision by the officials of environmental organizations. A policy could be implemented is the ensuring overlap of officials between environmental organizations, this might include cross appointing board of directors especially to umbrella organizations, assigning board members to be representatives at (online) discussion forums, and creating space during board meetings for reporting back on the on goings of other organizations. Given the geographical space between organizations, an online forum will be the most cost effective way to increase the effectiveness of the movement. It will also be important for the *NL Environmental Organizations Directory* to stay current, particularly in order to keep a record of smaller or particularly isolated organizations that may not be able to interact as often. From the creation of a virtual space, more physical spaces may be created and opportunities to scale up individual organizations projects with the help of other organizations

may be discovered. The discovery of opportunities to collaborate in any form will further the movement, but must be accompanied by the patience to stay in contact while the movement grows.

Appendix #1: Initial Email Contact

Good day,

My name is Trinalynn Porter and I am a master's student completing my thesis on the environmental social movement of Newfoundland and Labrador under the supervision of Dr. Russell Williams within the Political Science Department at Memorial University. **I am writing to you today to ask for your participation in a telephone interview.**

The purpose of my thesis is to better understand what facilitates or inhibits coordination among environmental organizations in Newfoundland and Labrador. With this understanding, I hope to increase the effectiveness of the environmental movement in this province through further networking. For your organization, this research may strengthen funding campaigns, direct strategic planning, increase participant mobilization and result in a more unified voice when pursuing environmental advocacy. A report on the findings of this research will be available through the Newfoundland and Labrador Environmental Network's website.

I am asking you to complete a telephone questionnaire on behalf of an organization you are directly involved with at your convenience. The questionnaire covers four broad categories; (1) how the questionnaire respondent is personally are tied to the organization, (2) characteristics of the organization such as target audience, tactical approach and types of funding, (3) how individuals are involved and (4) the organization networking patterns. All questions are optional. The questionnaire is expected to take approximate 30 to 45 minutes to complete. A draft copy of the guiding questions are attached for you and your organization's perusal however the questionnaire may go off script to include any additional information you may feel relevant.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in this research, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future. Please note, data gathered by the telephone questionnaire will be held indefinitely by Memorial University for research purposes and is considered neither anonymous nor confidential.

Attached in the formal consent form with additional information. **If you choose to participate please copy and paste the following list into a reply email with your name, telephone number and organization you will represent as well as a preferred time for the telephone questionnaire.**

By completing this telephone questionnaire you agree that:

- *I have read the information about the research.*
- *I have been advised that I may ask questions about this study and receive answers prior to continuing.*
- *I am satisfied that any questions I had have been addressed.*
- *I understand what the study is about and what I will be doing.*
- *I understand that I am free to withdraw participation from the study by ending the telephone conversation, without having to give a reason and that doing so will not affect me now or in the future.*

- *I understand that I have seven days to withdraw or revise any information given.*

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Regards,
Trinalynn Porter
Ph: 709-746-2355

Appendix #2 Distributed Interview Questions

Draft interview script. Please be advise it is possible to go off script to include further relevant information. All questions are optional.

Part 1: Situating the respondent in reference to the organization

1. How long have you been involved with ___?
2. Do you have a title? What's your role?
3. Is this a volunteer position?
4. Are you currently involved in any other environmental organizations? Have you ever been?
5. Do you have any other "causes" or is the environment your main cause?

Part 2: Organizational characteristics

1. When was the organization founded?
2. What are the main goals or mission of the organization?
3. Has this been fairly consistent since the organization was founded?
4. Which of these categories of issues do you feel applies?
    a. Biodiversity, habitat and wildlife conservation
    b. Climate change and atmosphere
    c. Energy and resource sustainability
    d. Environmental / sustainability networking, education and communication
    e. Food and agriculture
    f. Health and toxins
    g. Land use and recreation
    h. Law and environmental assessment
    i. Research and innovation
    j. Sustainable communities, transportation, and waste reduction
    k. Other (Please specify)
5. Do you think organizational goals or even broader categories contribute to networking patterns? How so? I.e. more likely to network with similar groups or differing groups
6. How does the organization work towards these goals? What kind of activities?
7. So would you say the direct target audiences of your organization's activities is…
    a. Government
    b. Private Sector
    c. Individuals
    d. Other NGO's
8. And the participants that carry out these activities on behalf of the organization, they are…
    a. Staff Members
    b. Government
    c. Private Sector
    d. Individuals
    e. Other NGO's

9. I'd like to get a feel for your organization's approach to accomplishing its goals, does the organization participate in any direct advocacy? (e.g. Public Meetings, Media Stunts, Marches, Rallies, Petitions, Letter Writing, Press conferences or interviews)

   If no: so you're approach might be considered more conservative, mild or well mannered such as ….. Practical conservation, Social events, Leafleting, Researching and Reporting, Education or Training, Government Consultant

   If yes: Would you say the organization is even more radical then that? (E.g. Demonstrations, Cultural Performances, Adbusting, Boycotts, Disruption of Events, Blockades / Occupations, Ethical Shoplifting, Ecotage)

10. Do you have any insight as to why your organization has chosen these tactics?
11. Do you think this approach affects networking patterns with other environmental organizations? I.e. if conservative would the organization dissociate from more radicalize groups.
12. Does your organization attempt to provide advice to or engage with government?
    a. If yes
        i. Which level(s) of government (federal, provincial, municipal) do you engage with?
        ii. Frequently?
        iii. How is your organization received?
            1. Amicable
                a. Government frequently seeks you out
                b. You seek out government
            2. With hostility
                a. Government is almost never receptive
            3. It depends on the issue or departments involved
    b. No – your organization prefers not to engage with government directly
13. How is the organization funded?
    a. Individuals including membership fees & public fundraisers
    b. Foundations (grants)
    c. Federal Government (grants and contracts)
    d. Provincial Governments (grants and contracts)
    e. Other Contracts
    f. Corporate / Private Sector
    g. Capital Assets
    h. Sale of products
    i. User fees
    j. Other (please specify)
14. Do you think funding sources have any sway on networking patterns with other environmental organizations?
15. Can you give me an idea of the size of your operating budget?
16. Do you think the organization's budget plays a role in networking patterns with other environmental organizations?

Part 3: Who is directly involved and how.

1. How many people are in each category?
    a. Board of Directors
    b. Professional-Career Based Staff
    c. Other Staff
    d. Volunteers (not incl. board of directors)
    e. Individual Members (not incl. organizations)
2. What does it mean to be an individual member? How are they regularly involved?
    a. Funder (incl. attendance of fundraising events)
    b. Participate board or committee meetings (not incl. board members)
    c. Volunteers
3. How are individual members most commonly recruited to your organization?
    a. Mail campaigns including social media
    b. Face-to-face contact (incl. attending events)
4. Tell me about the type of people your organization has or would recruit to the board of directors…. Is the board made up of particular professional backgrounds, would they necessarily have a history with the organization, etc.
5. Are individuals sitting on the board of directors… Please select as many as appropriate
    a. Elected by a broader membership
    b. Limited to a number of terms
    c. Representatives of member organizations
    d. Sitting as representatives of external interests

Part 4: Network Facilitation

1. What are the main reasons your organization would attempt to network with other environmental organizations?
2. What are the factors, both negative and positive that your organization would consider when joining a formal network? Who would be involved in the decision to join a network?
3. Can you think of a reason your organization would leave a formal network?
4. Do you feel you compete with any organizations? Do you avoid networking with them?
5. Are you involved in any formal networks with which you have regular contact with a group of organizations? (i.e. not just with the umbrella organization).
6. Do you actively attempt to network with environmental organizations?
7. What's been your experience with networking with environmental organizations?

Appendix #3 Digital Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Title: *Networking in the Newfoundland and Labrador Environmental Social Movement*

Researcher(s): *Trinalynn Porter, Political Science, Memorial University. tporter@mun.ca*

Supervisor(s): *Russell Williams, Political Science, Memorial University. russellw@mun.ca*

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled *"Networking in the Newfoundland and Labrador Environmental Social Movement"*

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. In order to decide whether you wish to participate in this research study, you should understand enough about its risks and benefits to be able to make an informed decision. This is the informed consent process. Take time to read this carefully and to understand the information given to you. Please contact the researcher, *Trinalynn Porter*, if you have any questions about the study or would like more information before you consent.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in this research, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future.

Introduction:

As part of my Master's thesis I, Trinalynn Porter, am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. *Russell Williams within the Political Science Department at Memorial University*. I am an active member of the local environmental movement and aim to help the Newfoundland and Labrador Environmental Network increase the effectiveness of the movement through this research project.

Purpose of study:

The purpose of this study is to better understand how and under what conditions social movement organizations are most likely to network with other organizations within the same movement, in this case the environmental movement within Newfoundland and Labrador. Umbrella organizations, such as the Newfoundland and Labrador Environmental Network, ideally would be able to use the template created by this research to connect organizations with other viable organizations willing to network, or 'matches', in order to increase the overall efficiency of the movement.

What you, the participant, will do in this study:

In order to create an informed template to increase the effectiveness of the environmental movement in Newfoundland and Labrador, I am asking a selection of organizations with environmental mandates to participate in a telephone questionnaire. Geographically varied respondents across the province are sought to increase the impact of the research on the movement. Questions include public organizational characteristics, such as personnel size and types of regular public activities, as well as questions concerning network connections within the movement.

Length of time:

The questionnaire includes a total of twenty-four questions. It is estimated that this should take 20 to 40 minutes to complete.

Withdrawal from the study:

There will be no direct consequences for withdrawing from the research. However please note the as part of the environmental movement, this research needs your participation to increase the significance of its findings and the effectiveness of the movement as a result. To withdraw entirely or to edit responses, please contact the researcher, Trinalynn Porter, within seven days of the telephone questionnaire.

Possible benefits:

The results will provide organizations with a multi-purpose resource. Specifically, it may help strengthen funding campaigns, direct strategic planning and increase the effectiveness of the social movement. Effectiveness here may mean increased participant mobilization as well as a more unified voice when pursuing environmental advocacy. Umbrella organizations, such as the Newfoundland and Labrador Environmental Network ideally would be able to use the template

created by this research to connect organizations with other viable organizations willing to network, or 'matches', in order to increase the overall efficiency of the movement.

There is an academic gap in social movement theory whereby organizations are treated as formalized individual social movements rather than as a type of participant in a larger social movement. This data set will be useful in expanding social movement theories and understanding the effectiveness of social movements academically.

Possible risks:

There are no foreseeable risks to participation in this study.

Confidentiality:

The ethical duty of confidentiality includes safeguarding participants' identities, personal information, and data from unauthorized access, use, or disclosure.

Confidentiality cannot be guarantee and this data may be used for additional future research.

Anonymity:

Anonymity refers to protecting participants' identifying characteristics, such as name or description of physical appearance.

This research seeks to address the relationship between organizational characteristics and organizational network connections. Due to the wide scope and nature of the information collected, anonymity is not possible.

Storage of Data:

The data will be collected by the researcher, Trinalynn Porter and may later be shared with other interested parties.

The data is intended to be stored indefinitely for it has archival value, meaning it would be an interesting base for historical comparative research particularly should the environmental movement later be perceived as being increasingly effective, comparing network connections

across time to show significance. At minimum data will be kept for five years, as required by Memorial University's policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research.

Reporting of Results:

- This thesis when complete will be publically available at the QEII library.

Sharing of Results with Participants:

- *Results will be synthesized into a report for public consumption on the Newfoundland and Labrador Environmental Network website.*
- *The Newfoundland and Labrador Environmental Network website will additionally direct participants and members of the public to the full thesis available at the QEII library.*

Questions:

You are welcome to ask questions at any time before, during, or after your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact: Trinalynn Porter, tporter@mun.ca. Research supervisor, Russell Williams may also be contacted at russellw@mun.ca.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Please copy and paste the following list into a reply email to show consent.

Consent:

By completing this *telephone questionnaire* you agree that:

- I have read the information about the research.
- I have been advised that I may ask questions about this study and receive answers prior to continuing.
- I am satisfied that any questions I had have been addressed.
- I understand what the study is about and what I will be doing.

- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation from the study by ending the telephone conversation, without having to give a reason and that doing so will not affect me now or in the future.
- I understand that I have seven days to withdraw or revise any information given.

By consenting to this telephone questionnaire, you do not give up your legal rights and do not release the researchers from their professional responsibilities.

Please retain a copy of this consent information for your records.

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