COMMUNITY CAPACITY BUILDING TO SUPPORT SUSTAINABILITY

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INTRODUCTION

As the United States prepares for the 21st century, communities across the country are actively searching for ways to revitalize their failing economies, improve the overall health of their populations, protect their environments, and re-inspire people of all ages to become active participants in shaping their futures.

Some areas of the country are far ahead of the rest in pursuing new directions. In states such as California, Colorado and North Carolina regional and statewide initiatives, built on visionary principles of community involvement and bottom-up decision making, are resulting in significant changes in the ways communities interact and do business.

However, in other regions such as the Hudson Valley of New York State, these types of regional or statewide initiatives are viewed with suspicion and skepticism. Fiercely independent, and governed by principles of Home Rule, Hudson Valley communities are reluctant to support the types of collaborative initiatives progressing elsewhere. These inter-municipal initiatives, perceived as threats to long term power balances and political systems of control, create suspicions which divide the community and shut down opportunities for communication.

In places such as the Hudson Valley, how can advocates for a sustainable future advance their concerns? What steps can they take to infuse the understanding and perspective of sustainability into ongoing community initiatives? For advocates seeking a sustainable vision and new direction for their communities, this paper provides several recommendations for strengthening the capacity

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of their communities to embrace principles of sustainability by building on other efforts being pursued within the community.

This paper will focus on three separate movements that are currently capturing the imaginations and resources of a significant number of American communities: Economic Development, Sustainable Communities and Healthy Communities. In some places, these initiatives have provided the catalyst for completely rebuilding the community from the bottom up. In others, the same initiatives have at best resulted in small incremental changes. In this paper, the similarities and differences between each of these three movements will be reviewed. Key linkages which form communication bridges between interest groups will be identified. Finally, action strategies for building community capacity to support sustainable initiatives will be outlined.

BACKGROUND

Over the past decade, three major movements have emerged within the United States aimed at revitalizing American communities: Economic Development, Sustainable Communities, and Healthy Communities. With the primary goal of improving the economies, health and environments of some of America's largest urban centers and most remote rural regions, millions of federal, state and local dollars are being spent under the name of each. In addition to the dollars spent, thousands of hours of time are being contributed by businesses and individual citizens. While the overarching goals of these enterprises are similar, the methods of achieving their goals can be considerably different and the eventual outcomes substantially varied. A brief overview of each is provided below.

Economic Development

The field of Economic Development has grown rapidly in the past ten years. Led primarily by the business and development communities, economic developers are usually charged with the responsibility of creating strategies for restructuring failing economies. Traditionally, economic development has focused on developing strategies for increasing manufacturing, construction and service sector jobs. These jobs are usually the highest paying providing the greatest employee benefits and financial gain for the community. Until recently, with this targeted focus on the manufacturing sector, little if any attention was paid to the contributions of agriculture, tourism and retail sectors of the economy.

Most economic development consultants focus on attracting new jobs and capital from outside the community. Their strategy is to match the needs of a particular type of industry with the physical, human and financial resources of the community. Some limited attention has been placed on business retention and attraction, but this has been relatively minor compared to the attempts to lure large companies to relocate.

This focus on business attraction is changing somewhat, especially in small to medium sized cities and rural areas in the Northeastern and Midwestern sections of the country. For a variety of reasons these communities have been unsuccessful in competing for the few companies who are considering relocation. Severely impacted by major layoffs and corporate downsizing in the late 80's, these communities have learned the hard way that economic diversification must be a cornerstone of a successful economic development strategy. As a result, retaining and growing local, small to medium sized businesses is becoming a priority for some economic development initiatives.

Broad based community involvement in economic development efforts is the exception not the rule. Most economic development initiatives are spearheaded by Chambers of Commerce, Economic Development offices or coalitions of business and civic leaders. What efforts are made to gather community input comes from focus groups and interviews, the information from which is fed into the consultants final reports and recommendations. While outreach in terms of numbers of people contacted may be significant, no structure is put in place to support ongoing community involvement to implement the vision or plan.

Economic development is very much a model of the outside expert coming into "save" the community. Unfortunately, in more cases than economic developers would like to acknowledge, once the final report is circulated, it rests on a shelf.

Sustainable Communities

The Sustainable Communities movement evolved from the Brundtland Commission Report issued by the United Nation's World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. The focus of the Sustainable Communities movement is to develop a means for improving the overall quality of life for people throughout the world while preserving the environment. While there is a considerable amount of talk and rhetoric about sustainable communities, the concept, especially in the United States is still quite vague and remains primarily within the universe of environmentalists advocating "green business" development and "no growth" scenarios.

As has been the case with environmental protection and regulation in this country since the 1970's, many sustainable communities initiatives focus on individual environmentally supportive localized efforts for example: redevelopment of old industrial sites (brownfields) as part of an effort to revitalize cities; initiation of urban agricultural programs in community green spaces and roof gardens; education and technical support for installation of alternative energy
systems, economic and environmental resources. While many of these programs provide focal points for localized changes, such changes in fact represent small gains and seldom impact the capacity of the communities to maximize their social, economic and environmental resources.

**Healthy Communities**

The Healthy Communities movement grew out of *Healthy Toronto 2000*, a conference sponsored by the World Health Organization (WHO), in 1984. The Healthy Communities' underlying philosophy is that the "traditional medical model for health care" does little to improve the overall health and well being of a population. It is the broader determinants of health - the social, economic and environmental factors of a community which have the greatest impact on the community's overall health and well being. The goal of Healthy Communities is ambitious: to achieve radical, measurable improvement in the health and long term quality of life of American communities.

While most of the Healthy Communities efforts have been initiated by and run by health care institutions and providers, a large number have been lead by diverse groups of business, non-profits, government, religious, and citizen leaders working together to systematically meet their communities' toughest challenges.

In a few notable cities, building a "healthy community" has become the primary economic development goal. In these situations, health is essentially used as an organizing tool - the issue which brings together a diverse group of community stakeholders to work on a common goal, improving the overall "civic" health of the community.

The Healthy Communities approach lays the groundwork for a successful sustainable community revitalization strategy which is anchored in the community and driven by citizens. It is a bottom up rather than top down approach which identifies value and builds on the human resources (frequently referred to as social capital) of the community itself.

A comparison of the primary areas of focus for Economic Development, Sustainable Communities and Healthy Communities is presented in Table 1.

While each approach uses a specific framework for identifying goals and concerns, it is obvious that there are numerous issues which directly overlap or are integrally linked to each other. Identifying these linkages between primary areas of focus is essential for building on ongoing community wide initiatives.

Data collection is also an essential component of all three initiatives. A comparison of the various types of data frequently collected and analyzed is presented in Table 2. It is well recognized in scientific circles that what gets measured gets done. The critical question therefore to be asked regarding data collection and analysis is "are the right things being measured?", and "how will these data be used in developing and implementing a community wide plan of action?" Identifying linkages between various types of data can help to develop interdisciplinary indicators to effectively monitor the long term sustainability and success of community wide change.

**EVALUATION**

By now, ten years into these reform efforts, numerous case examples of successful Healthy Communities, Sustainable Communities and Economic Development strategies can be found. While the initial success of these communities can
be attributed to many things, one common aspect has been the desire on the part of a group of individual citizens for far reaching, visionary change. Through volunteer labor, locally contributed resources and a shared base of knowledge gleaned from sources both inside and outside the community, these individuals became the leaders in creating new forms of civic decision making and sustainability. In these efforts, broad coalitions of citizens have developed new notions of leadership, more community based responsibility for decision making and new systems for resource allocation which maximize the benefits while minimizing the cost to the community at large. In some places, the results have been astounding: creating bottom up approaches which have led to significant changes in community problem solving, resources allocation and community wide accountability systems.

The opportunities to effect significant, long lasting change presented by a Healthy Communities, Sustainable Community or Community Economic Development initiatives is substantial. Each has the potential to provide the opportunity for a community to take stock of itself, determine what are the things it values and what systems and institutions need to be changed.

However, as frequently happens in the American free market systemas these movements catch on, and outside sources of funding from federal, state and foundations become available, more and more “experts” emerge to show communities “how to” become sustainable or healthy communities. Cloaked in the terminology of “Partnership Building”, “Visioning” or “Community Needs Assessment”, increasing numbers of consultants get paid significant amounts of money to develop action plans and strategies for community redevelopment.

COMMUNITY HEALTH NEEDS ASSESSMENT

A specific example of this shift from empowering communities to supporting consultants can be seen in the implementation of the Community Health Needs Assessment which is spreading rapidly throughout the United States. The Community Health Needs Assessment (CHNA) is a cornerstone of the most successful Healthy Communities efforts. These assessments have been successfully utilized as a method for gathering baseline information about factors impacting the health of a population. In many of the most successful Healthy Cities examples, the CHNA has been utilized as a basic organizing tool to educate and actively involve the community in ongoing community based revitalization efforts.

As CHNAs have become widespread, health care providers have begun to recognize their potential as highly effective marketing tools to increase their market share in an increasingly competitive market. As hospitals become more willing to finance these studies, increasing numbers of “expert” consultants are being hired to conduct these assessments. Under the banner of “Partnership Building” and “Community Participation”, elaborate data collection efforts are undertaken. At the cost of $75,000 to well over $100,000, consultants conduct “scientifically valid” assessments, including surveys, data analysis, and focus groups. The results are multi-page reports which become the template for the hospital’s strategic plan.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

The same scenario is found in the implementation of many economic development studies. Extensive time and community dollars are spent on developing economic development plans. Consultant “experts” in economic development undertake extensive computer data analysis of demographic and employment Industries which match the community’s resource profile are identified and a strategy for building the economy is presented to the community. During the study, community visioning through focus groups or other strategies may be done to get community input. Hopes of people, long seeking better jobs and opportunities for themselves and their family members, are raised. For a brief moment, people are willing to once more believe that things can be different.
Frequently, there is considerable interest in the local media. When it is issued in final form, the Report receives much attention.

However, more often than most communities would like to admit, that is where the attention stops. Some of the easy to implement changes may be made, but the big changes, the ones with the most potential to effect community wide change do not get made. This is due primarily to the fact that the system or process that has supported the status quo “for as far back as people can remember” in the community, the system that has kept change from occurring in the past, remains the same. The traditional way that people have done business, and communicated has not been replaced with something new and more effective.

STRATEGIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving from problem identification to strategy development and implementation is undoubtedly one of the greatest challenges facing communities undertaking any of these initiatives. While talking and planning can consume considerable time and money, they are relatively easy compared with the commitment and focused effort necessary to implement the created vision.

Building the community’s capacity to implement the long term, sustainable strategies is equally, if not, more important than data collection, problem identification and community visioning. More often than not, however, consultant or “expert” directed efforts do not address the community’s capacity building needs.

People who have successfully launched Healthy or Sustainable Community initiatives agree that to be long lasting and sustainable, these efforts must be community led and consensus based. The central issue in achieving community based change is will, not expertise, the will of the people in the community to overcome the political, bureaucratic and psychological barriers to change. Without that will, the great visions and grand plans are not implemented and a critical window of opportunity is rapidly shut.

The critical question for many advocates of sustainable communities in places such as the Hudson Valley becomes how to catalyze action and support their community’s will to effect change. The following are several elements of a strategy for accomplishing this type of impact.

Seek Out Community Change Agents

All too often, people pursuing a vision requiring significant change, such as advocates for sustainability, speak to others of like minds who basically agree with their fundamental principles and avoid those who disagree. The reasons for that are many: deep seated prejudices, personal histories, fear of differences. The reasons are as varied as the people themselves. In places like the Hudson Valley,
Identify Linkages Between Issues

Many environmental sustainability advocates possess a fundamental understanding of ecosystems and how they work. This understanding of the interrelationship and interdependence of environmental communities is a valuable tool for strengthening a community’s capacity to undertake sustainable community change. This ecosystem model can be used to assist natural community leaders in identifying linkages and relationships between their various issues. The sustainability advocate therefore becomes a teacher and guide, helping others to develop new ways of thinking and perceiving themselves and their environment.

Identifying potential linkages and promoting dialogue and communication about these interrelationships begins the process of breaking down real or perceived differences between diverse members of a community. This also helps to define a framework for effecting broader community wide change.

Examples of possible linkages between primary areas of focus of Economic Development, Sustainable Communities and Healthy Communities, presented previously in Table 1, include:

- Economic Development’s focus on job retention and expansion addresses a major priority of Sustainable Communities by encouraging dependable and diversified economic base. This also supports the Health Communities recognition that increasing job opportunities directly improves a community’s health.
- Improving telecommunications infrastructure for new business opportunities can support expanded home based health care initiatives. When done in a systematic planned way, this infrastructure expansion can preserve visual landscapes, enhance tourism efforts and protect overall quality of life.
- In rural areas, developing cost effective public transportation not only improves or preserves air quality, but also provides the mechanism for transporting workers to new jobs and patients to health care services.

Create A Structure For On-going Community Involvement

Creating a framework for ongoing participation, including decision making, resource prioritization, monitoring and accountability is essential for assuring long lasting sustainable community change. As evidenced by recent experiences with Community Health Needs Assessments and Economic Development Studies, developing a vision is not enough to create change.

There are a variety of ways to ensure that someone is accountable for coordinating implementation initiatives. Some communities utilize existing resources of organizations such as the United Way or the local Health Department. However, in many instances, staff in these organizations are working under the already overwhelming pressures and requirements of their existing jobs and systems. It is usually extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to take on the added responsibilities necessary to implement these community wide initiatives. Equally important to recognize is that these individuals are no better equipped to develop and implement the type of creative interdisciplinary solutions necessary for sustainability than other decision makers in the community.

Recognizing these limiting factors of existing institutions, many of the most successful Economic Development and Healthy Communities initiatives have formed community partnerships made up of representatives from diverse interests of the community. Frequently these Partnerships are formalized into a non-profit organization to carry out the work.

Develop New Skills For Consensus Based Leadership

Although the Partnership structure can provide the framework of accountability for implementing community wide initiatives, interdisciplinary - interdependent solutions require new approaches to problem solving and decision making. Skills in collaborative, consensus based decision making, data analysis and quality assurance are essential. Developing these leadership skills must be part of the community change process.

CONCLUSION

People who study change recognize that there are windows of opportunity in the lives of individuals and likewise communities, times when circumstances converge to support major breakthroughs in how we perceive our world and how we live within it. As pressures increase at the community level to cut costs, revitalize economies and remain attractive places to live, resources and personal energy are being committed to find new solutions. One could easily argue that the window of opportunity for infusing the basic principles and understanding of sustainability into the culture of our communities is wide open.

However, if hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent on plans and vision which go no where, but only sit on a shelf, it is most likely that the window will quickly shut, and not likely open again for quite awhile.

For advocates of sustainable communities, the challenge becomes how to influence the scope and focus of these efforts to ensure long term sustainable change. By working to build the capacity of the community itself to implement change, the sustainable community advocate will go far in achieving their goals and serving as guides for their community toward a sustainable future.
REFERENCES


ENDNOTES

1 Started in 1988, the California Healthy Cities Project is the first and one of the largest healthy cities programs in the country. Over thirty-five cities have been designated as health cities. See, Twiss, Joan. 1997. “Healthy Cities: Governance in Action”, National Civic Review, v. 86, No. 1, pp. 81-91.

2 The Healthy Mountain Communities project involves three counties and nine municipalities in Colorado. Tourism is the primary industry in this area and the impact of residential and commercial growth is the community’s major concern. See, Twiss, Joan. 1997. “Healthy Cities: Governance in Action”, National Civic Review, v. 86, No. 1, pp. 81-91.


8 In a recent multi-county community health initiatives, randomized telephone surveys of over 1,000 people were conducted, review of secondary data including public health a nationwide risk assessments and focus groups organized were conducted to prepare the Community Health Assessment.

9 See, Ontario Roundtable Community Resources Guide.


REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY NETWORKS

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INTRODUCTION

An evolution of a regional environmental policy structure is an important facet of sustainable maintenance of a natural ecosystems and human communities. Federal and regional power structures inherited much from soviet era power structures. Today, many current structures of environmental management were established for the first time in Russian history. The overall process of democratization as well as the changes of property forms had a great impact both on the content and structure of regional environmental policy making.

I’ll begin the chapter with a description of official environmental policy making at federal and regional levels. Then, I’ll turn to the question of an epistemic community, that is, to the role of scientists and their communities in the shaping regional environmental policy. Next, I’ll consider the role of environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as actors in a regional public arena. Then, the structure and processes of regional environmental decision-making will be described and analyzed. The chapter will also focus on interrelationships in the “triangle”, that is, between regional administration, the scientific community and environmental NGOs (ENGOs). Three following paragraphs deal with network analysis inside and outside the above “triangle”. The last paragraph discusses the explicit and implicit goals which influence the process of policy networking.

This paper, as well as the paper “Interpersonal Networks of Russian Greens” written by Anna Kouzmina and myself, are based on 7 case-studies in different regions of Central and northern Russia, namely: 1) The Mogotova Gora (mountain) case: the protest action against the quarry established on the slope of a mountain belonging to the state national park Samarskaya Luka; 2) The Cheboksary Reservoir:

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the set of protests and mass campaigns against the project to raise the reservoir level up to the 65m mark; 3) The Volosyanikha Canal: a public hearing organized by the greens on the issue of pollution of the canal; 4) The Sudogda Water-Pipe: a set of protest campaigns against the Sudogda-Vladimir water-pipe construction organized by the Sudogda local public committee “Save the River Sudogda!”; 5) The Cottages construction: a campaign against illegal cottage construction in the greenbelt of Vladimir city; 6) The Federal Forestry Code Passing: the case where ENGOs' members made an attempt to participate in decision-making at the federal level; and 7) The Karelian Old-Growth Forests. A set of protest campaigns against old growth forest cutting headed by Greenpeace Russia.

During 1997, 65 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted and tape recorded. Each interview lasted from 55 to 75 minutes. The selection of respondents was carried out on the basis of press reports, official documents of power, scientific and non-governmental organizations as well as on the prior experience of the research team and local informants. There were two types of respondents: persons who were actually involved in the above listed cases; and, high-skilled experts on relevant issues. This respondents corps consisted of 22 officials from regional and federal environmental organizations (nature protection departments and committees, land use and economic divisions, etc.), 19 scientists from universities and research institutions, and 24 leaders and activists of the ENGOs. To reveal the pattern of relationships within this policy "triangle", qualitative network analysis was used.

A FORMAL STRUCTURE OF A REGIONAL POWER

Even a very superficial look at the formal structure of organizations involved in regional decision-making gives ground for a set of conclusions. I used as an example the structure of Nizhgorodsky region (oblast), as it represents the most advanced case.

First, regional environmental bodies are subordinated to the federal authority to a large degree. The regional power structure is literally transgressed by vertical lines of subordination. Second, the “body” of regional environmental issues is cut into pieces, as each one is included in the domain of a particular federal ministry of service (say, of the Ministry of agriculture or the Federal Forestry Service).

For example, the regional committee for land management and land resources which is subordinated to the State committee on land resources and land management executes the state supervision over land use and protection, shapes the state land cadastre, and monitors land use. The committee also organizes land management, funds scientific research on land management issues, land cadastre and moni-

toring. The regional committee comprises a network of city and district committees. In addition, regional land management is also administered by territorial branches of the federal organization, such as the Federal Service of geodesy and cartography (Roskartografiya), the Federal mining industry supervision (Gostechnadzor), the Federal committee on geology and bowels of the Earth (Roskommnedra) and others (Fomichev, 1995: 12). It means that “departmentalization” of environmental problems at the federal level is transferred to the regional one.

Third, it is absolutely clear that the Ministry of environment (now State Committee) has very limited power (or realm of control), because each component of the environment and the Biosphere, at large, is controlled (or: under supervision) by a particular federal organization.

Fourth, both federal and regional executive powers are well-structured and dominate over legislative power. As our investigation showed, this domination is actually even stronger since the Committee of Ecology of Legislative Assembly of a region usually consists of city and town mayors. It is quite natural that these mayors, who are mostly concerned with current problems of day-to-day life of their cities and towns, are not able to gq deeply into environmental issues of the region as a whole. Besides, these mayors usually have only a rudimentary level of ecological training.

Fifth, it seems that regional executive and legislative powers are not too tightly interconnected. This impression is confirmed, when one sees that regional administration has four interdependent (and sometimes competing) units involved in environmental decision-making, whereas within the legislative assembly there are no other committees dealing with environmental matters.

Sixth. The official structure tells nothing about actual subordination between regional branches of federal organization or the interrelationships between different ecological departments within the regional administration itself. One might suggest that a regional environmental administrative edifice” is not only transgressed by vertical lines of subordination, but actually suppressed (clutched) from both sides — from the top (by federal and inter-regional) and from below (by district and town administrations).

Seventh, all non-governmental organizations and voluntary associations are missing from scheme. Civil society’s organizations are totally excluded from the decision-making process. Actually, the above decision-making structure reflects the state’s view on the model of environmental decision-making process, according to which every regional branch/unit fulfills the commands of corresponding federal organization (ministry, state committee, etc.).

All-in-all, it is a complete “directory” model of environmental decision-making, that leaves absolutely no room for regional self-organization or at least coordination between units of regional competence.
Naturally, this model is the heritage of Soviet times with permanent attempts of party-state leaders to rationalize the hierarchical pattern of decision-making in all spheres of social life. Nevertheless, it would be an oversimplification to consider this model as a mere imprint of directory mode of thinking of the communist ideologists. We have to stress that ten years ago the majority of elements of the above structure were totally absent! Absent, because the environment as a public issue was out of political agenda of those days.

Of course, when environmental issues appeared on the Soviet society’s political agenda, the structure of official environmental organizations was built similar to those which already existed in the Soviet party-state hierarchical system.

But that is not full the truth. For at the end of the 1980s, this hierarchical structure of environment protection and control over resource use was the only one possible. In spite of democratic upsurge in those times, the state was the single property owner of the society’s resources and controller of their rational use. Environmental and other social movements had yet to begin to fight for having a right to say and becoming a political power at regional stage (arena). None of the ENGOs were institutionalized. Under these conditions, the group of pro-ecological deputies of the USSR parliament with support of regional representatives and the environmental movements’ leaders was able to pass some key laws which later became a ground for the establishment of relatively rational structure of state organizations responsible for nature protection and control over resource use.

Let us consider the regional power structure in more details. There are two major nuclei of it: legislative and executive (administration). In 1989-93, the former (the Soviets) played a growing role. The process of political democratization of the country went under the “All power -- to Soviets!” motto. Regional administration was subordinated to Soviets. All power levels, namely the urban and country districts, town and city, and an oblast had their own Soviets. During the years of perestroika (1986-89), the Soviets in the form of Public committees for self government were established even at the ground level -- in the urban neighborhoods.

After the parliament elections in 1993, the situation turned upside down. The Soviets, as direct people’s representative power, were removed. As the regional Legislative assemblies lost their power, the regional administrations became the decisive force. 1993-97 were the years of the intensive development of the regional administration. Each governor, when he came to power, restructured the regional administrative body.

But this permanent restructuring was not only the result of a governor’s will. Three processes went hand in hand. First was the process of strengthening of the federal executive power accompanied by the competition between the Federal government and the Presidential Administration. Each region had the representative of the above administration. Second, was a very conflicting process mostly between the federal center and regions. Third, was a tough struggle between new and old centers of powers within a region. It goes without saying that all these transformations took place under conditions of struggle between legal, shadow and criminal clan-corporate structures for economic and political domination.

Nevertheless, in spite of this very intricate and unstable pattern of regional power shaping, one trend is clear-cut and permanent: the establishment of new and new units of “defense” -- nature protection, social security, ecological safety, department for protection of ex-servicemen and their families, and, of course, regional security council. Even those departments which have neutral names, say, a health or water ones, actually have direct and indirect protective functions. I have named here only “peaceful” units, and not mentioned those numerous ones which have direct defense functions -- court, public procurator, militia, internal (interior?) troops, etc. and, of course, a regional branch of the Ministry of civil defense, emergency situations and liquidation of natural disaster’s effects. In an “all embracing risk society” as Russia is (Yanitsky, 1987), the process of growth and diversification of defense forces is absolutely indispensable! Let me reiterate that I am speaking only about official, i.e. legal structures, and not touching private and criminal defense forces.

Today, a regional administration usually consists of the following departments: industry, agricultural, economic and forecasting, financial, energy and fuel, transport, roads and communication, culture and arts, health, education, international relations, foreign trade, social protection, a department for protection of servicemen and their families, nature conservation and control of the nature use, forestry, land and water departments, center for ecological safety, committee for protection of historical and cultural heritage, legal department. Some of them may have dual -- federal and regional -- subordination. In other cases, the most powerful departments may have subdivisions which are in parallel to some others. For example, some economy departments have the forestry subdivisions since these departments supervised the timber production. As one can see, the industry, economic and the energy and fuel departments have many overlapping functions. The establishment of mighty energy and fuel department highlights the fact that in this transitional period the gas-oil industry is a backbone of the overall Russian economy.

The status and, therefore, domination/subordination networks depend also on the political status of a region and on its economic and political “weight”, as well. In the Karelia republic, for example, which is much less industrialized and low-density populated than Nizhegorodskaya oblast, many of the above departments have a rank of ministries and republican committees. In Karelia, where the
timber industry is the major bread-winner, the Forestry committee has a key position. In other regions the leaders may be industry, economy or foreign trade departments. But in all cases all departments and committees are subordinated for and dominate by the governor and his deputy-governors.

Within the regional administration there are usually two ecologically concerned “clusters” of departments. The former ecological service usually includes three divisions: the Nature conservation and resource use department; the Center for ecological safety; and, the Committee for historical and cultural heritage. The latter includes land, water, forestry and architectural-planning department.

This merits close examination. In soviet times, a regional planning unit, be it situated in Moscow or in any inter-regional center, played a key role in all regional matters, because it was the last and highest instance in which the interests of all federal and regional actors had to be coordinated. In the first half of the 1990s, such units (institutes and departments) lost their significance for well understandable reasons. But the chaos in land use, urban and infrastructure construction could not last forever. In particular, the current cadastre of lands and land-use became matter which could not be postponed. Besides, in the planning institutions, very important information has been accumulated for years. In a sense, these institutions are more “environmental” than particular ecological departments, since they deal with the full socially developed territory, and not only with natural resources use and protected areas. Thus, the recent rehabilitation of regional planning units is the objective necessity, and a sign of the beginning of a region self-organization.

THE STRUCTURE OF “REGIONAL” SCIENCE

Now we turn to the formal structure of scientific organizations and units that are involved in a regional decision-making process. I again use the structure of the above organizations of Nizhgorodskaya oblast since it represents the most advanced case. The specificity of other cases will be considered below.

To begin with, I have to distinguish between two types of scientific organizations. The first is represented by those organizations whose product in one way or another (methodology, concepts, recommendations, standards) is applicable to a regional level at large. It is a “regional” science, a science which produces universal knowledge which then could be applied “in situ”. The second is the genius regional science which sees a region as an individual socio-ecological entity with specific regularities of maintenance and transformation.

Firstly, the majority of “regional” scientific organizations are a mere extension of federal ones. As we see, the vertical networks at least in theory are dominating. Second, as in the case of power structure, the “body” of “regional” environment-
At the regional level, we revealed more circumstances which seriously Impeded scientific development. For well understandable reasons, actual epistemic communities could not emerge in an authoritarian society, the more so, as at the regional level, where regional administration along with captains of industry and finance fully dominated over such a fragile thing as science. Strictly speaking, the true regional science was needless since a region as social subject was absent. It is an irony of recent Russian history that initially regional science has emerged as political geography, needed for top politicians and officials to monitor electoral behavior in different regions of the country. There was no social order for environmental research in a region. In soviet times, these researches were partly implemented within the frames of so-called regional planning (raionnaya planirovka). But one should keep in mind that this instrument for territorial planning was part and parcel of the administrative-command system. As our respondents mentioned, the true environmental interdisciplinary investigations were not carried out by state organization—only by some groups of enthusiasts who did it at their own risk.

As a result, today regional science: 1) is very poorly funded and, therefore, suffers from the lack of skilled staff and physically (and morally) backward equipment; 2) have a very few number of voluntary associations and other organizations belonging to a civil society; 3) never participates directly in regional decision-making process, except in extremely rare cases when scientists consciously leave their scientific career and became the official politicians (there are less than 10 cases like this across all regions of Russia), and, therefore, 4) science exerts very limited direct and indirect influence on a regional environmental policy shaping.

There is one more reason for the degradation of regional scientific organizations. It is a sharpening competition between them and newly emerged ENGOs and other public organizations which pretend to be scientific ones. These units were established by ex-members of academic institutions, because the major flow of foreign financial aid was addressed to the ENGOs. Thus, voluntary or not, the western donors and their experts promoted the rise of non-professionalism in the realm of environmental science.

Finally, the total pattern of federal and regional scientific organizations is exposed to deep restructuring. We will consider that process in more detail in the following paragraphs. Remember, it was the representation of the formal structure and some related issues of scientific organizations involved in environmental policy making process. The true pattern of scientific network can be revealed in the course of the analysis of the environmental policy-making process as such.

ENVIRONMENTAL NGOS AS POLITICAL ACTORS

A rapid development of formal, state and local, structures of environmental policy-making is only one side of the coin. The other is no less important. It is a rapid growth of the ENGOs and their networks. The general statements about an establishment of civil society in contemporary Russia are convincingly confirmed by the figures of growing number of the ENGOs, in particular environmental ones, which belong to so called third sector.

In Nizhegorodskaya oblast (region) during 1990-95 were established more than 620 such organizations. It is, without any doubt, evidence of civil society establishment and structuring in an historically very short period of time, and it is the visual evidence of democratization and modernization of regional environmental policy and politics.

Researchers mark several characteristic features of the process. The first observation is that after the rapid growth in the early 1990s the process of civic initiatives development in the region in the last two-three years is slowing down as if it meets with some quantitative barrier. Though new units and organizations of various profile are regularly emerging and registering (in 1992–188, 1993–182, 1994–201, 1995–194), the number of live, actually active ones remains approximately the same (Boriso, 1996: 5).

This seems quite natural for several reasons. To begin with, the corps of real active enthusiastic people who were agreeable to continuing their activity at any cost was not so numerous. Then, resources for these activities became more and more restricted, while the financial cost of establishing (registration) and maintenance (office rent, salary for staff and equipment purchase and service) grew substantially. Besides, the “privatization process of newly emerged social and political niches came to the end, and after that another process—the competition between the ENGOs and the restructuring of the civil society “field”—was put in motion. In other words,(after their powerful) breakthrough civil society’s organizations have exhausted their resources, and some balance between their opportunities and restrictions imposed upon by the state has set in.

The second feature is the professional—branch principle. As a rule, civic initiatives emerge as extensions of their professional activity, and serve their professional interests, be it science, industry or education. It is quite natural and not blameworthy. But it is suspicious that the most prosperous are those organizations, which function actually as structural extension of organizations, belonging to the “first” and “second” sectors: power structures, agents of economic and financial activity, individual high-ranked officials (Boriso, 1996: 6).

It is a principle problem. In Russia with its heavy party-state heritage, where the state and its regional branches are still dominating in the main spheres of
social life and which remains the key resource-holder, it is hard to imagine that newly emerged civil society could be absolutely independent from the state. The majority of the ENGOs are not only dependent in one way or another on the state machinery, but mirror some of its key structures. First of all, I mean the corporate professional principle of organization, the personalization of inter-organizational relations, the latent association of known people, the barter and favoritism. Below I shall try to define to what degree the ENGOs are embedded in regional power and other structures, and when and under what conditions these organizations are able to behave as true partners.

The third phenomenon revealed by S. Borisov and other researchers is that declared and real goals and activities of some ENGOs are diverged. Borisov argued that this "identity crisis" is mostly characteristic of political parties and organizations (Borisov, 1996: 7). In my view, it is the common feature of a majority, if not of all, of the ENGOs. There are several reasons for this phenomenon. In a society which is still rather closed, in some instances more closed than in the past, this closeness is the resource and the means for survival. This phenomenon is also the manifestation of a total deficit of trust. In society pierced by lie, to show one's hand is extremely dangerous.

But there are objective reasons for this emergence phenomenon! In a "transition" society, the situation is changing so fast that it is simply impossible to follow it. Laws and regional instructions which determine the ENGOs' activities and their political opportunities change almost each year. Many ENGOs create their names and charters (regulations) with only one aim: to gain an access to foreign funds and grant-givers. More than that, some ENGOs are established only to meet the requirements of a particular grant-giver.

Now I shift to a more detailed analysis of the regional ENGOs' structure and context. Taking the Nizhegorodoraskaya oblast as the most advanced example, one comes to the following conclusions.

To begin with, after 1991, we see the substantial and steady growth of civil society organizations. It is quite natural that the peak of the growth falls on the years 1992-93, i.e. just after democratic upsurge. But even later, when economic and political conditions of civil society shaping became more and more unfavorable, we see the lasting growth of the various NGOs numbers; first of all the growth of sport and tourism as well as political and professional NGOs, and, in a bit smaller degree, charity ones.

We also see the growing diversity of the emerging civil society. In comparison with pre-reform times, more than half of the above organizations (even by name) are absolutely new. We have no such data related to other regions in question, but gathered in-depth interview, analysis of press and our personal observations allow us to affirm that qualitatively there is a picture similar to that of Nizhegorodoraskaya oblast, though the number of each NGO type is much less.

Environmental NGOs take a rather modest place among others (5%), even less than scientific and educational (7%) and cultural (5.9%) NGOs. But in contrast to the majority of others, which before 1991 were nearly totally absent, the major corps of the ENGOs had emerged before 1991, and as it will be shown later, this corps was very big, diversified and deeply rooted in its engendering milieu, namely in the Student Nature Protection Corps of the USSR, and later on in its successor, the Socio-Ecological Union, which was and still is the largest environmental umbrella NGO in Russia.

The rank of the ENGOs in comparison with their sister -- scientific, education and women’s -- organizations is also different. While five regional, one inter-regional and one trans-regional environmental NGOs in the region in question had already been established before 1991, the growth of scientific, education and women NGOs' had begun mainly after 1992. It points to the fact that the ENGOs represent a continuation of a prior environmental public activity, first and foremost of the Students Nature Protection Corps movement.

The ENGOs’ preoccupation with ecological education and enlightenment together with nature protection (in sum more than 1/3 from total number of activities) tells us two things. First, these NGOs should be relatively homogeneous professionally and, therefore, have advanced networks with their initial engendering milieu, that is, with universities and academic institutes. Second, they now maintain the networks with their professional partners, that is -- teachers and researchers at biological, geographical and soil faculties of universities. If we add to the ENGOs’ activities the “biodiversity conservation” (6.4 %) and the research and developments (7.8 %), it becomes clear that we are dealing with a relatively homogeneous movement of conservationists inclined to creative and didactic forms of social activity of predominantly conventional political character. This conclusion is confirmed by the very low level of political activity (1.6%), on the other hand, and very modest interest in risk prevention (3.2 %), on the other hand, that is the evidence that the group is reluctant to be involved in the struggle with industrial pollution and other risky aspects of environmental movement. The growing percentage of publishing and theoretical activity is one more argument in favor of such a conclusion.

It is important that the above picture resembles the similar preferences which have been revealed in my survey conducted five years before. In that time, the ecological education and enlightenment, applied research and developments, and gathering and processing information took the three first places as well (Yanitsky, 1994:112). It is one more argument that the networks in question are rather stable.
and resistant to ongoing changes. This stability and resistance could be achieved in only one case: when the network of the ENGOs represents a kind of “closed community” which is by all means distanced from other civil society sectors. This observation is confirmed by the analysis of inter-sector ties which are rather rare (Borisov, 1996). In the case of Nizhegorodskaya oblast, only two of 30 ENGOs have inter-sectoral networks.

THE PROCESS OF ENVIRONMENTAL DECISION-MAKING: MAJOR PHASES

I shall start on the analysis of the process with the description of its general model. Our case-studies showed that the process usually passes phases which differ in content and network structure. The main phases are as follows: normal (ex-officio), selection, mobilization, actual decision, and implementation (or follow-up) ones.

Normal phase is indeed the habitual bureaucratic routine inherited from Soviet times. In every region there is a list of official organizations and departments which are obliged to take part in environmental decision-making. The list is extremely long and numbers tens of actors of the state, regional and local level. For example, in the case of the establishment of the State National Park Samarskaya Luka (on the Volga river) about 30 regional and local organizations, and 20 research institutes were involved. I call this list the large bureaucratic circle.

Officially, normal phase is structured as a true circle network, because any suggestion, proposal or project has to be approved (or at least considered) in each of the above bureaucratic circle units. But actually this network structure may have a very complicated appearance. First, it could be modified by the top officials (governor and its deputies) who according to their perception of a problem and individual preferences can substantially change the network structure. Second, since behind every problem is the conflict, each interested group, be it the Department for Nature Protection in regional administration or the division of the Federal Forestry Service, will strive to build the network favored by the particular group interest. There is room for such maneuvering and selection since many organizations responsible for ecology in a region often duplicate each other.

Therefore, when a particular problem emerges, the large bureaucratic circle is transformed into the problem circle. What was the crucial social change? In Soviet times, the decisive role belonged to the closed circle of party-state top officials, and the large bureaucratic departments were either only decorative or subordinate units which implemented the close circle’s resolutions. During democratic upsurge prominent leaders and environmental movements and groups were those who triggered decision-making process from below in a given domain.

Today, we observe the struggle between executive powers and ENGOs for inclusion in the list of problem circle participants. In all cases under question, green organizations were represented in one way or another. More than that, in some cases regional officials were interested in ENGOs and the green party regional divisions as triggers of decision-making process or at least supplying them with necessary information to make an issue public. It is just a case of transition from domination, because it implies not only full subordination of ENGOs to state bodies, but their short-term cooperation as well.

Mobilization phase. Since any environmental problem is simultaneously an economic, political, and social one, the other social organizations, state and civil, who are interested in the environmental problem-solving are also involved and mobilized. Usually, this expansion initially proceeds at the expense of organizations which operate beyond the bureaucratic structures. I call this expanded list as the discussion field (network). At this phase, the decision-making process acquire some specific features.

To begin with, it is rather difficult to separate a mobilization phase from the previous and subsequent ones. Actually, the over-all decision-making process could be seen as permanent mobilization. In other words, mobilization is not single act, but a long-term process. As such, it is a recurrent process comprised of a set of waves. Being dependent on a given alignment of interested groups in the region, mobilization network patterns differ from case to case. That is, mobilizing networks are inherently situational. So long as each competing party strives to take over, mobilization acquire a character of sublimation process.

But the most important, that mobilization brings to light various network types, especially coalition ones, which under normal phase coalitions are usually not visible. But under mobilization, the lines of conflict are clarified and challengers to the dominant coalition emerge into the open. Claimants to power include those outside politics, previously excluded internal groups, and even dissent factions within the dominant coalition itself (Knorr, 1990:105). This regularity was completely confirmed in our case-studies. In the conflict around the cottage construction in the greenbelt of Vladimir city, several departments and ex-members of regional administration united against the department of regional planning which, in their belief, was the major source of harm to the greenbelt.

All in all, in the transition period, a mobilization process may last from two to ten years, but especially striking is the fact that the coalition makers on the side of the greens remain to a large extent the same people!

The very decision process, also has a mobilizing character. This permanent mobilization transpired the overall process under consideration and is deeply rooted in its conflicting character. From the beginning to the end, adversaries have tried to take over using all accessible means – from legal to blackmailing.
The actual decision-making act, if any (it could be symbolic decision, its delay, freezing, etc.), is usually taken by a closed circle, that is small group of known people whose network is represented by a clique pattern. Most stable inter-organizational networks usually have a central core of organizations that dominate the flow of resources. The actors belonging to the core display relatively strong mutual exchange ties, but they develop less frequent and more asymmetric ties to the peripheral organizations. Thus, exchange relations tend to form a hierarchical structure, resembling an inter-organization authority structure... (Knorr, 1990: 109). The development of the ENGOs in Russia repeat this process of inter-organizational core formation, creating inter-ENGO coalitions with a very stable and viable core. This core tends to build hierarchical network patterns in relation with its peripheral organizations.

It is well-known that control within environmental coalitions depends on both internal balance of power (i.e. alignment of a particular green groups), and social and political milieu which widen or restrict the coalition’s opportunity structure. In Russia, the former, that is inner balance of forces, plays much more significant role than the context for two reasons: the population is alienated and atomized, and, therefore, local context is to a large degree shaped by the major interest groups of a region. An ENGOs’ coalition cannot compete with an interest group coalition whereas a social milieu (of lay people).

The last, follow-up phase is rather difficult to define, but it is an important element of the process under consideration since it is what determines the policy outcome in the final analysis. Actually, the follow-up phase may consist of decision implementation or suspension of it. During this phase, as our study showed, initial resolution may be partially or substantially transformed, and even a new round of struggle against the adopted decision may by launched.

In our case-studies we met the following types of the above phase. The final decision in Vladimir case was that the cottages construction in the city greenbelt was banned. Aprotracted, slack conflict with the growing preponderance of regional authorities who insisted on complete realization of projected water-pipe line was observed in the Sudogda-Vladimir case. Another protracted, periodically recommencing conflict, in which each party involved tried to take over using favorable political opportunity was observed in the conflict surrounding the level-raising of the Tcheboksary hydropower station reservoir. In the case of the Volosianka canal pollution, there was no decision taken at all, though all parties involved agreed that the problem existed and had to be resolved, but there were no investments for doing anything. In the Samarskaya Luka National Park project, we see the partial resolution. The park creation project was adopted, but all industrial and other organizations situated within the projected park borders were not closed, and continue their destructive activity. Finally, in the case of old-growth

forest logging in Karelia we observed a sublimated conflict in which both sides gradually mobilized new resources - local residents, federal authorities, international green and other organizations a in order to assert their viewpoint.

Similar to the Soviet times, the transition period of Russian society suffers from weak decisions. It is often as if these decisions will never be implemented in due course or to the extent that a particular problem or risk requires. The causes for these decisions could be numerous, but the lack of necessary resources (investments, know-how, etc.), continuing resistance of one or another interest group involved and the overall hostile social and economic context come to the forefront.

Since the legislative and standard base for environmental policy-making is still uncertain, contradictory and has very substantial gaps (since regions become more and more economically and politically independent from the center, and alignment of political forces in a region changes after each subsequent election), the political opportunity structure for delay, transformation and disregarding of already adopted decisions is widespread.

Therefore, the follow-up stage mostly presents the continuation of the prior stages which are full of conflicts and struggle. In this period, the legal forms of social action are pushed into the background, and the time of red tape, secret talks and latent coalition building is beginning. In particular, we often observed the situation where the ENGOs, in order to weaken the domination of a power’s closed circle, and to make the implementation phase a bit more scientifically sound and socially balanced, cooperated with the scientific organizations, media and those administration members who did not agree with their adopted decision. I call this combination of two alliances the competitive circle or the circle of actual opportunities.

In a long-term perspective, this dual competitive-and-cooperation process leads to the creation of some transition elements which mark the shift of a regional environmental policy toward more civilized forms. There are a variety of such elements, but taken together, they clearly indicate that the above policy gradually has become more modernized. There is, first of all, the growing role of juridical departments which control the conformity of the adopted decision to environmental laws and procedure standards within a regional administration. Then, there is the establishment of environment monitoring systems, and the attempt to organize public monitoring over the most risky projects. Public hearings also should be mentioned. But it seems that the most promising shift is the involvement of European or international organizations in various ways organizing ad hoc groups of ENGOs, scientists, authorities and foreign enterprises representatives, establishing international public advisory councils, and forming joint international research teams. I do not over-estimate this trend, because an invisible back-scratching hand is still very powerful, but in the most advanced regions the above shifts are clearly observed.
A SIMPLE MODEL OF TRIANGLE

The relationship among the ENGOs, executive powers and science (as organized body) plays a key role in regional environmental policy making. Remember, that in Russia regional administration is part of the state, and the ENGOs and scientific organizations who play at the regional stage do not necessarily belong to this or that region.

I shall start with the building of a rather simplified model of this “triangle”, initially illuminating the other forces and the context influence.

Who shapes the triangle? Historically, it was the scientific community, more precisely Russian intelligentsia, who from the late 1950s have systematically raised environmental problems. Today, federal and regional administration play the first violin. But by initiating an environmental conflict, the authorities simultaneously start the triangle construction, since the conflict (as a result of a particular decision) provokes ENGO reaction as well as scientific organization involvement. Looking at the process more generally, we can see which powers dominate, with the ENGOs as the opponent force and the scientific organizations usually representing a subordinate element.

Let us have a closer look at a science position within this “triangle”. Historically, provincial science was much less developed than in major capitals and often did not exist at all. Many recent provincial universities were actually renamed pedagogical institutes which never practiced as authority partners. Another distinguishing feature is that science was and still is mainly attached to the military-industrial complex. When perestroika began, “we thought that we can do something for the bettering of the environment of the region”, - said physicist from Nizhni Novgorod. “But soon we realized, that officials were not interested in our assistance. As to our relations with greens, they are simply clamorous people, non-professionals”.

In Karelia, where science was traditionally bound to the timber industry, the situation was different. Top officials, officers, captains of the timber industry, all spoke in favor of science. “We always relied our business upon scientific recommendations; scientists grew here, in Karelia, and knew the best. It is a pity, that forestry science is collapsed now...” But the more they spoke in this fashion, the more it became clear that what it is going on is about patron-client relations.

In Vladimir region, where local science was the least developed, we observed two trends: the authorities preferred to invite Moscow experts, while local scientists could practice either under the total supervision of regional administration, or were forced out from political arena into the amateur activity sphere. Essentially, their voice as scientists was worth nothing.

The very structure of regional power is not favorable for science. Earlier, the Soviets used to involve scientific organizations in the political process as experts, advisers or in a particular environmental program as developers. Today, regional legislative assemblies have neither the interest, nor see any possibilities in such cooperation. As one environmental official mentioned, “when we see the necessity in some regulations or laws, we draft them by ourselves, or with assistance of known specialists. If any scientist will be against, he will never be invited again.”

Now, I turn to the ENGOs position in the “triangle”, which also has to be seen in historical perspective. Before and just after the beginning of perestroika, the green organizations were in attack on a wide front, whereas regional authorities usually took defensive positions. In those days greens cooperated with power very rarely. Today, the situation is turned upside down. In the best case, the ENGOs are invited as short-term participants at early phases of decision-making process, in the worst they are totally neglected.

Only in such regions as Nizhgorodskaya oblast where traditionally environmental organizations were very strong, and regional administration relatively ecologically oriented (the former governor came to power on the wave of anti-nuclear protest) do we see the exceptional example of ENGO-power cooperation. There, the ENGOs succeeded in keeping the balance between serving and self-organization, cooperation and distance maintaining.

Summarizing the results of our case-studies, we have come to the following conclusions. The relational form of network (intensity or strength) is the highest between the regional administration and the ENGOs, the medium between administration and scientific organizations, and the lowest between the ENGOs and scientific organizations and units. A similar picture exists, when considering another relational form: level of joint involvement in the same activity. It seems quite natural: the higher the joint involvement in policy process is, the more the network intensity has to be. The detailed analysis of such a network pattern will be given in the following sections.

As to relational content, it mainly has two forms: power and communication. Power relations dominate over the whole network pattern which is predominantly instrumental. Later it will be shown that within each “triangle” node, as well as between them, the relational content is rather complex ranging from purely instrumental to corporate and even kinship. The other relational content (communication) is quite natural since within the “triangle” information is both a key resource for exchange and policy making, and an instrument for exerting influence and achieving a dominant position.
ASYMMETRY IN RELATIONAL NETWORKS

A political community, and an environmental one in particular, are emerging under definite conditions. Power is actualized only where word and deed have not parted company, where words are not empty and deeds not brutal, where words are not used to violate and destroy, but to establish relations and create new realities (Arendt, 1958:200).

It is an ideal model, and a "transition" society is far behind it. The above statement is based on the precondition that intersected parts are partners who potentially can come to an agreement. Under conditions of tough conflicts inherent to the "transition" society, the relations between adversaries or between chief and subordinate are mainly asymmetrical, that is they perceive each other differently, and construct their behavioral patterns to conform with this perception. The asymmetry character in a "triangle" depends on the types of conflict represented earlier as well as on the relative strength of "triangle" nodes. This strength, as our investigation has shown, depends, in turn, on the general environmental stand of a region, that is alignment of pro- and counter-ecological forces.

This asymmetry could be represented in graphs. Let us mark power node of the "triangle" as "a", the ENGOs node as "b", and the scientific community one as "c". Analyzing these graphs, one can conclude that: The most tense asymmetry is in "ab" networks, that is between the powers and the ENGOs. Except in the Tsebeoksa case where all three nodes were united against the common external threat, the "ab" network has usually influential character, whereas the opposite direction (i.e. "ba") represents various degrees of antagonism, open or latent. The "ac" networks (i.e. the ENGOs-science) oscillate from no visible relation to complete cooperation. But more detailed analysis points at the dual, cooperation-and-conflict character of these ties. It is significant that three of eight cases have shown no visible contacts between nodes "a" and "c" at all.

The "bc" networks, as it has been pointed out, have mostly a domination character, sometimes with symbolic cooperation overtones. The opposite, "cb" direction, is rather diverse. They vary from total subordination to the regional powers to different (but usually neglected) attempts to influence executive powers, to make them more sensible to scientific information and recommendations. In this respect, the Volosyanikha channel conflict is the most indicative where scientists supplied the local powers with absolutely undeniable data which was nevertheless totally neglected by the regional administration. In spite of its subordination position, scientific organizations, as in the conflict around cottage construction in Vladimir and some other cases known to us show latent resistance to bureaucratic pressure from above.

The asymmetry in question has not only relational, i.e. positional, origin, it is also deeply rooted in value pattern differences, and in the final analysis, in Human Exemptionalism/New Environmental Paradigm and their derivatives distinctions (Dunlap, 1980). Even if we observe business-like cooperation between "ab", "bc" and "ac", it doesn't mean that they fully understand each other. Besides, the network analysis gives us only a snapshot whereas asymmetry and its causes can be completely discovered during observation over network form and content dynamics.

NETWORK TYPES

In transition society the basic type of network is a conflicting one. But the underpinnings of conflicting relations may be different. Our case-studies revealed at least five main types of relations. The first one engendered by the opposing world-views held by major conflict participants. In the case of Karelia, it was the conflict between the views of the forest as wood (timber) for human needs and the forest as an ecosystem to be preserved and maintained. In other words, it was a clear manifestation of opposition between Dominant Social and New Ecological paradigms (Catton and Dunlap, 1980; Milbrath, 1994). I name the conflict as fundamental, because it underlies all other types of conflict network.

The second type of conflicting networks in a region is rooted in the (remainders) of administrative-command system of the Soviet past when the "center" totally dominated over the "periphery" (country). Though in the case of the Federal forestry code passing, on the surface we observed the clash between different branches of Federal power (the Parliament and the Presidential Administration), in essence it was a conflict between the state (government administration) and newly emerged powerful economic subjects (actors) in the regions whose interests were lobbied by some political groups to the Federal parliament. It is a "center-vs.-periphery" conflict.

The third, the most currently widespread conflicting networks are the result of the struggle for natural resources or for domination of their distribution. The conflict around the raising of the Tsebeoksa reservoir level that would allow more electric energy to be produced by the hydropower station is a typical example of inter-regional conflict. But this economic-ecological conflict is the manifestation of the fundamental process of total restructuring of a socially developed space triggered by the change of the property form and redistribution of power between the "center" and "periphery" and between regions as well.

The fourth, also rather typical conflict, is that between a branch and a territory, that is between a particular industry and inhabitants of a city/region. This is an ecological conflict inherent to any industrial society, but recently it has become
extremely acute where industrial enterprises stop their financial and other support to towns and cities attached to them. Such is the case of Mogutova mountain at the town of Zhigulevsk (Samarskaya oblast) where the mine for raw materials, which belonged to All-Russian Ministry of Construction Industry, was situated in and seriously destroyed the aforementioned State National Park “Samarskaya Luka”. This type of conflict network emerging can be called long-term and unavoidable, because it was the direct heritage of Soviet policy of industrialization and modernization, which resulted in multi-sided dependence of residential areas, social infrastructure, transportation, etc. on particular industrial plants.

Finally, we have to underline the emergence of a new type of conflict produced by the rapidly going processes of social differentiation and ecological segregation. Though its visible adversaries, as in the case of conflict around the new cottage construction in the greenbelt in Vladimir, were greens and regional administration, actually it was another manifestation of the restructuring of a socially developed space (i.e. suburban areas) which was implemented by “new Russians” in every city of the country. Of course, at the same time, it was a conflict in which scarce resources were at stake. This type of conflict had slow and relapsing character. I name this conflict as a conflict of restructuration of lived-in (habitual) space.

The given typology of conflicts has sense, because each of the above mentioned types are usually manifested in a prevailing network pattern. More than that, in some cases the typology enables one to foresee the development of a particular network pattern. It is especially important to Russia and other NIS in which each type of conflict has its own “circle” of organizations that usually define the course of conflict and ways to resolve it.

ANTAGONISM, COMPETITION, COOPERATION

Western political scientists argue that, in the pursuit of survival, growth, and profits, organizations engage in antagonistic, competitive, and cooperative interactions with one another, and these relations collectively identify a multi-organizational field or sector (Knöke, 1990: 109).

That is correct as a general rule when organizations interact as independent actors within a common organizational field. But in our case, in which organizations are qualitatively different and belong to different sectors of public activity, the more detailed analysis of the content of each of the three basic types of interaction is needed. Besides, under current Russian conditions, the rules of the game for an interest articulation are highly unstable and fluid because of rapidly changing macro-social situations and the dispositions of political forces in situ. Probably one could object, that such detailed analysis means entering into another issue or an action repertoire. But for the transition period, when we permanently encounter the shifts and transformations, the gradations within and between these basic categories of networks are very substantial.

In our investigation we observed three types of antagonistic relations. The highest degree of antagonism, the full negation, means that the dominant actor being acquainted with the existence of another (potential) actor or participant of decision-making process, nevertheless does not want to recognize him in this capacity. A dominant actor uses all efforts (ranging from accusations and blackmailing to violence a repression) in order to remove his counterpart from the political or/and public arena. In this case, the counterparts communicate indirectly via media, top officials and other channels. The antagonist relation occurs when an environmental organization encroaches upon the existential foundations of a power structure, say upon its dominant social paradigm or threatens the well-being of top officials personally. “Greens are agents of foreign capital, they are nonprofessionals whose activity worsen economic situation in the region” are the typical accusations of top officials.

The moderate degree of antagonistic interaction occurs when the dominant actor is forced to recognize the right of existence of the other actor in general, but insists, that in the given case the participation of the latter is unnecessary, or even harmful. Such is the case when the dominant actor (the state, regional administration) accepts the other actor, but cannot accept its goals (i.e. it is only partial recognition). In practice, the prevailing content of such interactions is preemption combined with red taping.

The proper form of antagonistic interactions occurs when adversaries become true partners in the political arena. They are genuine adversaries, but they recognize each other as partners. It does not mean that cooperation networks replace the conflict ones, it only means that the normal process of network building starts. Simultaneously, it is not the case of “full legitimation” (Gamson, 1975: 183), since the dominant world-views of the various parts remain counter-opposed. The particular action repertoire and, therefore, the network pattern in this case fully depends on the given conditions.

As to the competition form of interaction in the course of environmental policy making process, we have to mention the following different variants. Competition-under-control represents interaction between socially and politically equal organizations under supervision of the state or an international organization. Such is the case of Tchboksary reservoir where such conflict was controlled by presidential administration of Russia.

Competition by all means is actually the variant of a “moderate” degree of antagonistic interactions. We have observed such a competition in the case of the radical action at Mogutova mountain (Zhigulevsk, Samarskaya oblast) where
local authorities and the directory of the quarry widely used force and violence to remove the international protest camp of greens. But even in this case of tough confrontation, we observed both full negation and short-term, but efficient cooperation of adversaries as the overtones of the conflict type in question.

Soft competition usually takes place between the ENGOs and scientific organizations and units, that is between organizations which have common professional and institutional roots. Soft competition mostly occurs for a common pool of scarce resources, and predominantly proceeds under established rules of games (application for grants to international and domestic foundations). The problem here is that the very rules often are unjust and give preference to the ENGOs at the expense of scientific organizations.

Finally, about cooperation. Complete cooperation is a long-term interaction between partner organizations which pursue common goals. Full cooperation presupposes a high degree of mutual understanding and trust; the highest level of this type includes the sharing of scarce resources. This interaction mainly proceeds between the ENGOs themselves, and sometimes between them and regional administration when they come out in a united front against common adversaries as in the Theboksky conflict.

Cooperation-and-conflict type of interaction (variants: cooperation-under-control, or subordinated cooperation) represents the most widespread form of dual content network. Such a form often finds the ENGOs used by the regional authorities as an instrument for the initiation of a decision-making process (another irony of our times: even in the case where regional authorities admit an environmental problem, they feel themselves much more comfortable and calm if the problem is initially raised by greens). This type is also characteristic to ENGO-scientific organization relations in which cooperation alters competition, and vice versa.

False cooperation is symbolic partnership at the bottom of which we usually find deep conflict and antagonism. This type is also the result of a split between the declared and latent goals of partners, which will be considered below. I have to mention, that symbolic behavior in environmental decision making is merely a particular case of the common rule. The most explicit of this type of interaction was demonstrated by the Volyosyanikha channel case where local authorities and captain of big industry, who attended the public hearings on the channel pollution, declared their concern and readiness to act, but their only follow up action was the dismissal of two city officials responsible for nature protection.

It should be stressed that the major problem of "transition" society and, therefore, of network analysis is the high degree of reversibility of all types of interaction. If the law is systematically violated, and the rules of the game are established by the participants of decision-making themselves, the particular form of network type depends heavily on a given alignment of forces (local, regional and national).

**OPEN AND LATENT GOALS THAT INFLUENCE NETWORKING**

All the parties involved in an environmental conflict, and in a decision-making process accordingly pursue their own interest. This interest may be inward and outward directed, and for it each organization has to maintain both open (declared) and latent (overt) goals simultaneously. Needless to say, that the maintenance of two types of interest is accomplished by means of two different kinds of networks. Let us consider these interests one by one using the example of the conflict around the old-growth forests in Karelia republic in which republican and local authorities as well as international ENGOs and scientific organizations were involved.

In this case, the open common interest of ENGOs was to protect the old-growth forests along the Finnish-Russian border. The latent one was to acquire more publicity and political weight in both the international and domestic arenas (via media, press-conferences, etc.; to strengthen its own organization's network, and to initiate the establishment of sister organization in situ; to gain more money for continuation of research and development on the issue. Besides, it is impossible to exclude the possibility, that the Russian ENGOs concerned with old-growth logging might have been manipulated by hidden international or domestic forces which pursued their own interest in Karelia.

The open interest of regional authorities was to protect Karelian timber industry, and the economic interests of the republic in general; to reduce unemployment; to continue to maintain social programs which depend on timber selling abroad; and, to stop the interference of strangers in Karelian domestic matters. The latent one was to protect the existing mechanisms of timber industry and foreign trade of wood which brings them a great profit; to maintain some degree of social strain which is profitable for gaining the administration's political processes; to preserve regional administration domination over domestic political and social groups of interest by keeping in their hands the steering wheel over timber industry and trade because timber is the key resource of the republic which brings stable profits. Besides, any examination of the economic and political machinery (making cadastre, audit and the like) is potentially dangerous both for emerging private capital and regional authorities.

In this forestry republic, local authorities which are the closest to key resources play a much more significant role than in industrial regions where population and industry are concentrated in large cities. As we suggest, the open and
latent interests are similar there. The local population wants to preserve their habitual mode of living, and under economic crisis maintain the simplest scheme for their survival: foreign timber companies cut wood and purchase it and local authorities gain financial resources to solve local social problems (build schools, houses, maintaining roads and other infrastructures, etc.)

The open interest of the regional scientific organizations was to protect republican forests from abuse, and to demonstrate the green's non-professionalism. The latent one was to maintain their own status as respectable and responsible professionals; to demonstrate their ability to resolve regional/local problems on their own; and, to be needed both by the timber industry and the regional administration. Besides, the latent interests of the above organizations were to defend their basic concepts and methodology on which the timber industry and republican economy at large rested upon; to gain financial resources for their research and project institutes to survive; to prevent international ENGOs' interference into their professional matters; to preempt some new and fertile ideas and concepts from the ENGOs' arsenal; to hinder the public opinion perception of environmental NGOs as "new professionals"; to maintain the channels of impact on foreign and domestic timber enterprises and companies; and, to restrict the influence of international expert groups which are backed and financially supported from abroad (via Greenpeace, Taiga Rescue Network or another cross-national programs).

Simultaneously with the above differences which, in my view, are mostly the result of current transformations, there is a common view of authorities, local people and scientific community conditioned by deeply rooted cultural peculiarities of a region. In particular, they are as follows: we are the forestry country; for years (since the beginning of the time) timber was our key resource for life; "cutting-selling-money receiving" was, in essence, the mode of living formula; today, when we are deprived from federal support, timber cutting and selling is the only way for survival, for social life stability maintenance, and keeping industry afloat; and, all those who in one way or another interfere in this timber-resource based mode of living are worsening economic crisis and raising social strain.

In my view, it is a clear-cut example of negative solidarity (Yanitsky, 1996: 67) based on the Regional Dominant Social Paradigm (RDSP) which means stabilization at the expense of modernization. Under the term I mean here not only the de-modernization of the timber industry as such, its shrinking and growth of standing trees selling accordingly, but the situation in which all social life, and almost all institutional structures become attached to this "cut-and-sell" process. All regional soil actors profit from this process, and therefore, willingly or unwillingly became the supporters of the RDSP. That is why, when the conflict around old-growth forests has emerged, the networks of negative solidarity were amalgamated and mobilized.

As to the ENGOs, despite all their shortcomings, they are the major carriers of another, Regional Ecological Paradigm (REP) which views forests as ecosystems - regional as well as trans-regional and global. It is obvious, that the shift from the RDSP to the REP needs time, changes in value pattern, and investments. Therefore, the international ENGOs interference in the habitual mode of living is perceived by the RDSP adherents as disturbing to public tranquility. In sum, any sudden penetration of international networks into national "body" gives rise to a defensive reaction.

CONCLUSION

The environmental issues in Russia are still at the very bottom of domestic national policy priorities. "Stabilization" of Russian society and its economy has been recently implemented at the expense of over-exploitation of natural resources and human potential. Actually, the current "stabilization" has been reached at the expense of de-modernization.

During the decade of reforms, a formal structure of regional environmental policy-making became less dependent on the federal center and much more regionalized and diversified. After the mid 1990s, this formal structure became matured and relatively stable. Nevertheless, the permanent changes in its network structure signal the fact that the process of division and redistribution of influence and positions within regional administration is still going on.

In the run of democratization processes, Russian EM, and, later on, the ENGOs became emerging civil society actors who began to actually participate both in federal and regional environmental policy making. In spite of the recession of democratic transformation after 1991, the ENGOs have kept their position as social actors who can influence regional environmental policy by shaping it from the bottom. Nowadays, a regional administration, the ENGOs and scientific organizations represent a "triangle" which plays a substantial role in this policy creation.

In general, the regional administration has dominated and shaped the interrelationships within the above "triangle". Being in a deep crisis, science is not capable of forming politically influential epistemic communities. The ENGOs whose activities are based on the financial assistance of US, European and international organizations remain the major opponent of regional administration, and the only promoter of environmental values in a region.

The study revealed the following phases and network basement of the decision-making process in question: the normal phase (ex-officio bureaucratic circle), the problem phase (extended bureaucratic circle), mobilization phase (with
the emergence of "discussion network"), the actual decision-making process (closed circle of "known" people organized in clique-like pattern), and the phase of follow-up action in which the adopted resolution could be substantially modified or even disregarded.

To reduce the pressure of administrative bodies, and to make environmental policy more scientifically sound and socially balanced, the ENGOs mobilize its backers and sympathizers. I called the emerging alliance the circle of actual political opportunities.

In "transition" Russian society, the basic type of the above policy networks is conflicting one, but the strength of the conflicts is varied. Three main degrees of antagonism were revealed: the full negation of the ENGOs by regional powers, pre-emption and recognition of the latter as partners. A cooperative network within a "triangle" may also have different forms, namely complete cooperation, cooperation-and-conflict, and false cooperation (symbolic partnership).

Finally, each of the above participants of a decision-making process maintain simultaneously both open (declared) and latent interests. Respectively, two different network systems emerge: public and closed aimed at gaining resources for self-maintenance.

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INTERPERSONAL NETWORKS OF RUSSIAN GREENS

Anna Kouzmina and Oleg Yanitsky, Ph.D.¹

INTRODUCTION

The interpersonal network structure is central to the achievement of social stability in Russian society for the foreseeable future. Interpersonal one-to-one networking was a distinguishing feature of everyday life during the Soviet period, and was thus inherent to the Russian environmental movement (EM) from the very beginning of its emergence in the early 1960s. Personal initiatives based on interpersonal ties were and still are the carrying construction of any public action repertoire of Russian Greens.

Today, interpersonal networks play at least two vital functions. They are the main channels for political influence in the environmental policy-making arena. At the same time, these networks are of a paramount importance in the maintenance and reproduction of environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) and the EM as a whole. Just such individual and family ties underlie a set of ecological communes which were established in several regions of Russia. Finally, an interpersonal network analysis assists in understanding of recent Russian EM transformation.

This article employs as core concepts - the notion of a “primary eco-structure” in both its “normal” and “mobilizational” states. We explore the hostile social and political context to Russian EM of the recent past. Then, the formal and informal interpersonal ties of the ENGOs will be analyzed to overcome contextual limits. Finally, we examine the ongoing transformations in the EM’s core focusing on the role of interpersonal networking in maintaining the Russian community of environmentalists.

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The article shares the same case-studies mentioned in Yanitsky’s chapter “Regional Environmental Policy Networks”. Additionally, 100 units of public environmental activity in Russia were analyzed, along with such documents as private correspondence among eco-activists.

THE PRIMARY ECO-STRUCTURE AS A NETWORK SOCIAL ACTOR

To analyze this network structure, we should have in hand certain theoretical instruments, developed by one of the authors, and called a “primary social-ecological structure” of a social actor (further eco-structure, Yanitsky, 1988) and an actor’s “individual resource field” (Yanitsky, 1986).

The conflict between the demands made by the society as a whole on physical and intellectual potentialities of an individual, and his capability to reproduce them, is the main driving force behind the development of the eco-structure in question. The demands imposed on an actor by a modern rapidly changing society by far exceed the individual actor’s reproduction capacity, creating the need for means which would increase these potentialities. An eco-structure serves as a kind of a “booster” (amplifier) for socio-reproductive potentialities of an actor. This “boost” is only achieved when the environment, including the immediate living environment of those actors, becomes a vehicle of universal and most advanced standards of those actors’ vital activities. In other words, from the theoretical viewpoint this conflict is resolved by concentration and accumulation of a global and universal in the local and individual, of a “macro” in “micro”.

Under conditions of initial modernization an urban (i.e. territorial) concentration was usually referred to by sociologists as a basic means of amplifying the socio-reproductive potentialities of a social actor. However, on the one hand, even a fairly well-saturated and well-organized social space of a city cannot be used fully by its inhabitants. As shown by Lynch (Lynch, 1960), a city-dweller regularly uses only a small part of this space. On the other hand, under transition to high modernity, a network structure of individuals and groups becomes a powerful amplifier of their potentials. In essence, a primary eco-structure represents itself as a “network collective actor” which allows to its members to supply themselves with necessary resources, and to be protected from redundant context pressure. Some comments are in order in this respect.

A “norm of the human vital activities” is a stable capability of an actor to systematically reproduce his physical and intellectual potentialities without over-exertion. We certainly mean here reproduction on an enlarged scale enabling the social actor, in particular the EM activists, to pursue their goals, rather than their mere “adaptation” to the changing social and political context.

A “stereotype of the human vital activities” is the activists’ day-to-day network pattern within the aforementioned norm. Just as the process of material production must run its complete course through all its phases, the process of individual actor’s social reproduction is also marked by its own network patterns, the duration of separate acts, their spatial organization, etc. Empirically, the stereotype of the vital human activities is a steady (daily, weekly, etc.) cycle of activities peculiar to different age, social and other groups of society, and rather specific to environmentalists in particular. The “involvement-disengagement” mechanism, that is, the alteration of embodiment into and disembodiment with the context, is the main characteristic of this stereotype (Abulkhanova-Slavskaya, 1974: 79).

Finally, “vital resources of a social individual” is the total sum of resources necessary for maintaining the norm of such human vital activities. A social actor constantly consumes his mental, emotional, and physical energy; hence, he must regularly replenish his energy reserves. Here is the full analogy between individual and collective actors (i.e. social movements) which gradually create the social movement industry (Zald and McCarthy, 1987).

The spectrum of individual actor resources is extremely broad: some are extracted and consumed daily, others are accumulated over the years and are spent in the course of the lives of several generations. Social resources can be represented by individual and collective experience, scientific knowledge, and other information. However, the efficiency of their use and of the entire socio-reproductive process is to a great extent dependent on their organization. The organization of an individual actor eco-structure is a vital resource in its own right.

From this viewpoint, the primary eco-structure can be defined as a necessary form of organization of an actors’ network structure in which they are allowed to take maximum advantage of their vital resources and pursue their goals within the norm of vital human activities. In other words, the above eco-structure represents both the engendering and protective milieu of a social actor.

The principal functions of the primary eco-structure include: mediating the interaction between society and individual actor, ensuring the optimal correlation between the “involvement” and “disengagement” for an individual actor to provide for the greatest effectiveness of his socio-reproductive process, accumulating various vital resources and their integration into a single “reproductive workshop”; and intensifying the reproduction process by cumulating “global” in “local”. The comprehensive discussion of the role of primary eco-structures should not be confined to sociology; it calls for a more integrated interdisciplinary approach (Yanitsky, 1988).
From the viewpoint of social philosophy, this eco-structure is a tool for cumulating and transforming of the universal in the local. In other words, a means of overcoming the dualism of human existence ("macro"-"micro"). Assimilating the universal in the above eco-structure, the individual actor "resolves" the complexity of the world at large on a social plane.

In terms of economy, the primary eco-structure may be interpreted as an element of organization of the process of reproduction of the labor force while also increasing its intellectual potential as an indispensable condition of social production and reproduction. Formation by an individual actor of his own eco-structure is a method of accumulation of resources (be it knowledge, information or consumer goods), which is indispensable today both for the development of the global network patterns, but also for the spiritual reproduction of man himself.

As already mentioned above, from the sociological viewpoint, the primary eco-structure is an organizational form of human vital activities, through which an individual both adapts himself to a context and transforms it according to his goals. If the way of life is an intrinsically unified system of state and repeating types of vital activity, the eco-structure can be defined as a workshop of this activity.

Within the framework of social psychology, this structure serves to lend stability and psychological comfort to an individual actor in the run of his public activity. Such activity requires both contacts between an individual actor and other people, and a certain degree of autonomy with respect to society. This inter-individual conflict is a stimulus for the development of various human needs (Diligensky, 1976: 97).

On a cultural plane, the structure in question is an individualized cultural world created by an eco-activist or his group in conformity with his attitudes and group values. Becoming "involved" in various cultural spheres and diverse cultures, the individual actor constantly shapes a certain cultural space for his activity. It should be noted that under rapidly changing conditions of contemporary social life, an individual conceives this individualized cultural world with an increasing eye towards the future of his children, family and coming generations. We see the eternal process of creation and recreation of this edifice by an actor as the manifestation of the dialectic unity of the two basic values, the brevity and infinity of his existence.

The principal feature of these different functions of the eco-structure is their integration and focus on the personality. The eco-structure network pattern is built on a multi-dimensional criterion. It conforms to the methodological premise of the analysis of living systems, that they are not merely a structured combination of elements, but a dynamically organized evolving entity. It is worthwhile to recall that the term "ecological" stems from the Greek word "Ckos" meaning "home".

A home where its inhabitants and its surroundings are so tightly "fitted" as to form an integral whole.

Now we turn to the issue of an actor's "resource field". The key point of the resource field concept argues that any context of actor activity can be represented as a continuum of resources. At one extreme, there are "internal resources" of a social actor, which are those at his/her disposal, and which could be used almost automatically or with minimal efforts. At the other extreme, there are external conditions resources, which require supreme efforts by the activist or group to mobilize them (Yanitsky, 1986: 41-44). Accordingly, in this resource version an actor's context could be represented as a set of catalysts and obstacles which promote or restrict the actor's activity. Therefore, the structure and function of a primary social-ecological structure are dependent on the structure of the "resource field", which in turn is defined by the given political opportunity structure (Kriesi, 1993).

Finally, we speak very briefly about some necessary operationalizations. For instance, if the norm of human vital activity process could be measured by the number and variety of the permanently renewed ties needed for social reproduction of an actor, a stereotype of the human vital activity process, as it was already argued, could be presented as a typical space-time network pattern. In turn, the shape and margins of this pattern are conditioned by the "resource balance criterion" under which is implied the balance between which resources are needed and the efforts (i.e. personal resource expenses) needed to gain them.

NORMAL AND MOBILIZATION PHASES OF A PRIMARY ECO-STRUCTURE FUNCTIONING

As our investigation of green networking showed, a primary eco-structure similar to inter-organizational "collective actor" functioning has two major conditions: normal and mobilizational. At the same time, there are very substantial differences. To begin with, consider the normal condition. The seven case-studies in different regions of Russia revealed that the ENGOs' leaders usually maintained contacts with about 10 organizations, with 3-5 personal contacts in each of them. It means that the above leaders needed some 30-50 simultaneous and permanent contacts for the maintenance of the norm of their vital activities. If the average size of such a primary eco-structure (the hard core of an ENGO) is usually not more than 5-8 persons, it gives us the figures between 200-300 permanent networks per eco-structure.

The variety of contacts is also indicative. In normal (routine) condition, the eco-structure members maintained, first of all, the permanent contacts with like-minded activists within leading (umbrella) green organization and with those af-
tional know-how, as well as to maintain prestige and established networks, this micro-community and first of all its leaders were forced to overexploit themselves.

That is why it seems reasonable to distinguish between habitual and purposeful mobilization. The former may be understood as the habitual mode of living of Russian (and other) environmentalists under an hostile context, whereas the latter is characterized by the mobilization of all possible resources available to a particular ENGO in order to resolve the given environmental issue or to keep an ENGO afloat.

To begin with, these two types of networks are based on differing resource balance criteria. Habitual mobilization relies upon the relative balance between accumulation and spending of resources (a kind of input-output balance), while purposeful mobilization features the intensive expenditure of resources yet accumulated in an eco-structure as in a micro-container. Our respondents told us that they were usually totally exhausted after each mass protest campaign or involvement with a long-term battle with federal or regional authorities (litigation, environmental laws drafting and the like).

In particular, the purposeful mobilization is featured by: 1) concentration of all yet accumulated eco-structure resources in the hands of an ENGO’s leader; 2) total mobilization of an ENGO’s staff. It means that the members of this micro-community have to put aside all their individual matters and projects, and concentrate on the resolution of the given problem; 3) mobilization of all possible backers and sympathizers, or so called “sleeping resource”.

In the latter case, the clique-like eco-structure is transformed into a short-term hierarchy, and the community leader becomes the commander. The clique-type of networks is transformed into a leader-centered, one-way communication. Depending on the particular aim, this micro-community may preserve the established division of labor within it, or all activists may be concentrated on a single issue where all of them may become information providers, in another, speech writers, in still another, campaign organizers, etc. Time becomes the key resource, and so contacts become more short, intensive and businesslike. Self-exploitation of eco-structure members is growing enormously, of course.

The stereotype pattern (space-time configuration of networks) is also changing. Space pattern of the personal network begins simultaneous restructuring in two opposite directions. On the one hand, this network is tightened around the leader’s and rapid one-to-one contacts in this closed circle are intensified, because they save time and prevent information leakage. On the other hand, the space of a leader’s contacts is widening since the “sleeping resource”, i.e. backers and sympathizers, may be spread all over the world.
A HOSTILE CONTEXT AND CHANGING ECO-STRUCTURE

During the reforms in Russia accompanied by systemic crisis and emission of an “energy of collapse” (Yanitsky, 1987a), an actor’s context became more and more hostile. By emission, we meant a growing influx of uprooted and atomized people who were thrown up from their socio-ecological niches by the collapse of the USSR, privatization, closed enterprises, natural and social disasters. In the respect we are interested in, a context could be defined as totally hostile as when attitudes of all social actors (including local population itself) who shape environmental policy towards an EM and/or its organizations are negative.

The new motto “Only rescuers will escape!” promoted by Russian EM leaders in 1993-94 was the first indicator of the fact that their interpersonal network structure was becoming gradually transformed. In particular, our study showed that the “involvement-disengagement” mechanism was restructured so as to maximize its protective functions and to minimize exposure to risk. In other words, the above mechanism simultaneously provides the eco-activists with living resources, and serves as a safe protective cover against the harmful impact of a hostile and risky milieu.

Generally speaking, there was the only one way out: to escape from this context by means of embedding into trans-national (global) networks, and our investigations showed that Russian greens are partly doing it, or at least are paving the way for it. In comparison with 1991, the 1998 interpersonal contacts of Russian EM leaders with their western counterparts grew by nearly ten times. According our estimates, in 1998 about 75 per cent of the Russian EM financial resources came from the West.

The major means of attaining the above goal were as follows: 1) to become a member of one or more trans-national environmental organizations; 2) to have a safe (stable) resource pool abroad (better in the West or in Japan); 3) to disengage as much as possible from current political battles in Russia, and, therefore; 4) not to be a member of any political party or alliance; 5) to restrict his/her activity by narrowly understood professional matters (usually, be nature protection matters or applied research). In sum, it finally means the substantial self-limitation of an actor’s day-to-day activity patterns.

Family ties and professional networks of Russian environmentalists not only more and more overlap each other, but are simply becoming the same. Such is understandable, since if the professional activity of the ENGOs members provides and protects them, it also attracts under its cover the activists’ wives, children, and close friends. The dynasty law was and still is widely spread among environmentalists. It is again quite natural since in the hostile and risky context reproductive processes within the above eco-structures workshops could be carried out only under conditions of full trust and mutual understanding. At the same time, this ‘extended family’ protects itself from the intrusion of newcomers. Wives’ and friends’ opinions and estimates become the filters which prevent such intrusion. In the end, a few such family nodes and networks constitute a green corporate structure. The two major resource pools of foreign foundations and state and regional administration become the two poles of this ‘big families’ attraction.

The emission of energy of collapse exerts dual effect on a primary eco-structure. On the one hand, the flow of redundant professionals (mainly scientists, then students) created an extra pressure on the eco-structure network pattern making it even more closed. On the other hand, environmental activists and their ‘big families’ often used this human material for their needs, because these ‘throw-away’ people were a ready-to-use resource, and the activists had naturally no obligations to maintain these people.

INTERPERSONAL CONTACTS AND POLICY-MAKING

Based on the above concepts, the detailed analysis of the ENGOs’ leaders networks gave the following results. To begin with, the leaders’ interpersonal networks are rather similar to the inter-organizational ones. More precisely, the latter are initiated by and built on the former. There are several explanations to this phenomenon. First, the close interpersonal communication is a long-standing tradition of Russian greens rooted in the Students’ Nature Protection Corps Movement of 1960-1980s. Second, today the ENGOs’ behavior is to a large degree the organizational repetition of the behavior of its leader. Third, the odd coexistence of authoritarian leadership and intimate friendly ties are also inherent not only to Russian greens, but to other social movements in Russia as well. Fourth, interpersonal, often latent contacts, are widely used political instruments of greens, and a realization of their motto: “Nature must have its own people everywhere!” And last, but not least, the recent intimate contacts are always much more efficient and produce quicker and more definite results.

It is interesting to trace the changes in interpersonal networks aimed at environmental policy making. Compare the network pattern in two cases: of the state expertise of the gas-condensate deposit developmental plan in Ya-Mal peninsula (1988-89), and that of Tcheboksary water reservoir (1997).

What was peculiar to the networks in question at the time of democratic upsurge in Russia? There were not yet clear-cut formed primary eco-structures then. It was the initial stage of a particular environmental community shaping which began as a result of the social order of the newly established Ministry of
Environment of the USSR (Goskompriroda). The top officials of the Ministry for the first time decided to carry out the state expertise of the above deposit developmental plan.

However, the top-down order played there the role of a trigger only. As our respondents reported, actually the expertise was initiated by and established through interpersonal contacts exclusively. Though all those who were involved in the enterprise were members of the state and ENGO organizations, they united only in a personal capacity. Environmental values and solidarity of environmentally concerned people was the base of this informal community establishment.

This base conditioned two major characteristics of this particular eco-structure (community of like-minded people): its functional diversity and a maximum of partnership networks. The community are comprised of scientists (both academics and applied researchers), practitioners, enlighteners, teachers, eco-activists and public figures.

As to partnership, we fixed two-way contacts between scientists and practitioners, officials and volunteers, between members of state and public organizations, of central and local as well as of old and newly established organizations. And above all, were the ties of a mutual trust and respect among young, middle-aged and elderly professionals.

This joining up of free people who shared common values and spoke common language was a lucky opportunity. Within such a community neither social nor political interpretation were needed.

In this case characteristic to the period of the environmental policy emergence in Russia (the late 1980s), we distinguished the following types of interpersonal contacts: 1) cooperation with like-minded people such as academics and eco-activists; 2) cooperation with or pressure on media makers; 3) cooperation and conflict with the Ministry of Environment officials; 4) severe conflict with representatives of the state extractive industry who made the developmental plan of the deposit, and (not surprisingly) no contacts at all with local population (indigenous people).

Again we can ascertain that the pattern of interpersonal networks was very similar to an inter-organizational one: in the case in question, we revealed the partnership, distanced, twisted, adversarial and neutral relations.

Apparently, ten years later the picture became different. If we consider the case of Tchebokskary water reservoir and other similar socio-ecological conflicts, we see that the initial community of environmentalists with dispersed and loosely structured ties has been gradually restructured into the clear-cut, eco-structure organization with a hard core. The core member contacts were differentiated in accordance with the “involvement-disengagement” (embedment-isolation) and the “resource balance” principles. More than that, each contact began to fulfill a dual function: embedment (for a resource accumulation) and isolation (for resource processing and the maintenance of an organization).

Resource mobilization became the basic function of each eco-structure. Therefore, its members, as in the times of Russian environmental movement emergence, purposefully and persistently created their own “network milieu” which began to function as a resource-supplying pool. In the case of the Tchebokskary reservoir conflict, the ENGOs resource-supplying milieu comprised: the Department for nature protection of the regional administration; the Socio-Ecological Union (international); the biology and zoology faculties of regional university; the Nature Protection Corps of the same university, the Education center for ecology, and other ENGOs affiliated to the “Dront” Ecological Center which was main umbrella organization of the region.

Judging from the interviews and human documents on hand, the “hard core” consists of several closely knitted persons having both a long-standing friendship and shared interests rooted in their Student Nature Protection Corps (druzhina) past an analogue of the “old school tie” principle. This group holds key positions in the main spheres of environmental policy making, say, in the above Department of a regional administration, in the regional branch of the State committee for environment as well as in international ENGOs like the Socio-Ecological Union or Biodiversity Center.

FORMAL AND INFORMAL CONTACTS

As to the informal and formal interpersonal contacts ratio, the figures obtained during our study showed that the number of informal contacts is four times greater than the formal (i.e. when an ENGO’s member acts as its official representative) ones. That is nothing surprising, because informal networks of greens are networks of well acquainted people who reach high levels of mutual trust and understanding, and therefore, the probability of a risk (deception, breach of treaties, information leakage) is rather low. Then, informal contacts are inherent to clan-corporate character of the green community, because these contacts are mutually beneficial. Finally, the above ratio points out the mere fact that it includes the full number of persons who in one way or another involved in the ENGOs “field” (activists, backers, sympathizers as well as those who depend on greens’ benevolence).

Consider, then, the interpersonal ties from the viewpoint of resource supply. Our respondents have mentioned the ENGOs as resource sources two times more often than that of state organizations. It is also quite natural for the above mentioned reasons. In other words, for activists, the sister and even “neutral” ENGOs
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represent the most reliable and quick source for resource mobilization. The other reasons are of no less importance. The main resource for any activist is information. An eco-activist’s latent infiltration into official organizations can supply him/her with current information (what is going on in this or that ministry, administration, etc.) suitable for the development of tactics only, whereas strategic information (say, about environmental laws drafting and decision making), could be gained via informal channels exclusively. Our interviews with activists showed that the information gained by them through official organizations often is absolutely irrelevant, and can be converted into social action in no way. The database accumulated in Russian ENGOs, in personal computers of their members, and above all information concentrated in the hands of their foreign counterparts is much more detailed, reliable and easy to get.

Resources-for-myself and resources-for-organization are hard to distinguish. Resource accumulation for myself mostly means their accumulation for an organization, that is why in about 30 cases we could not separate these two flows of resources. A certain predominance of personal resource accumulation is well understandable since our respondents were mainly ENGO leaders who were obliged to know more and to see further. Besides, the leaders need more resources to be able to govern his/her ENGO. Generally speaking, a computer-armed activist, and the more so an ENGO’s leader are the best holders of relevant information. It should be stressed that the ratio between the above two resource flows is very mobile which reflects an ENGO’s flexibility as the collective actor. In one case, the resource accumulation in a leader’s hands is more efficient, while in another the resource influx into an ENGO’s itself as a repository appears to be more necessary.

Our case-studies show that the majority of recent eco-activists were past members of different branches of Russian environmental movement. At the same time, the figures support our conclusion concerning the predominance of informal contacts in the milieu of the ENGOs’ members, which has an historical explanation.

Finally, if we turn to the analysis of network structure within the “triangle” (regional administration, scientific community and ENGOs) we can see the same picture: the number of interactions of ENGO members with other similar organizations are two and a half folds more often than with the staff of a regional administration, and four times more than with scientists. It is again quite natural because in the first case it is interactions of a mutual support and resource exchange, whereas in two other cases it is conflicting networks, which are built for gaining some extra resources, mostly financial.

THE CORE OR ELITE?

This section ends the discussion on interpersonal relations. It is focuses on the issue of domestic policy networks in Russian EM, that is, the policy which the movement’s core executed in relation to the rest of the EM.

Superficially today, the EM presents a loosely structured network of the ENGOs and other independent units. But actually within this structure there is a kind of bureaucratized apparatus or invisible college that enjoys a privileged position in relation to the rest of the movement. By privilege we mean here that political and financial resources are concentrated in hands of activist-turned-bureaucrats who occupy strategic positions in Russian environmental community.

To reveal this core we have to leave an issue-network approach, and turn to the analysis of overlapping and/or joint membership in the range of organizations which together, in our view, represent a “social movement industry” (McCarthy, McAdam and Zald, 1988).

Joint membership allows members of a given “network subject” to interact regularly, to communicate their ENGO’s interests, and to develop common political strategy.

Considering eco-activists as units of analysis and using secondary data sources such as lists of elected councils of the movement, public councils, and management directorates, ENGOs’ annual reports, lists of advisory boards in domestic and international foundations, task forces, supervising, and other councils (100 units of analysis in total), we have made an attempt to identify persons comprising the national ENGO elite in Russia.

The survey results were the following. Five persons took the top positions being members of a more than 80% of the listed units; 10 persons were members of about 50% and 15 persons were members of about 25% of the listed organizations respectively. This inner circle of the movement holds the dominant or at least a very influential position in the major segments of the movement’s industry such as fundraising, resource distribution, informal ties with representative and executive powers, media makers, and in recruitment of the ENGOs’ permanent staff. The core consists of highly-educated (mainly biologists) activists, mostly male, 35-45 aged, with experience of prior activism, mainly in Student Nature Protection Movement.

Simultaneously, this inner circle can act as a vanguard of the movement which defines its foreign and domestic policy, in particular due to the fact that the EM core members three times more often than others were or still are simultaneously officers in the state or municipal environmental organizations. This core is not necessarily clearly bounded, it has an unofficial leader, and is relatively invisible to the movement at large. Finally, it is remarkable that the ex-members of the core were almost never dropped out of the above 100 units.
IN THEIR OWN WORDS

It may seem that we used our in-depth interviews for the aim of structural analysis only. Therefore, in the end we shall try to change this impression, and give voice to the activists themselves.

First, about the roots of interpersonal contacts and the role of prior communication: “The basement of long-term interpersonal contacts maintenance is the spirit of Student Nature Protection Movement of 1970-80s. It is the spirit of young rescues who were ready to defend nature at any cost” (V.B., activist, Kiev, 02.03.97); “My interpersonal contacts in the state and local organizations are again contacts with my prior and recent colleagues and friends, that is with biologist and hydrologists with whom I was taught in university” (A.B., an NGO director, Nizhni Novgorod, 24.02.97); “I became a member of a regional branch of the Botanical Society to make pleasure to my good fellows only” (N.S., activist, Nizhni Novgorod, 21.03.97).

Second, about motives of informal contacts preferences: “I am deeply convinced that the success of any our business totally depends on persons and interpersonal ties involved” (A.N., activist, Nizhni Novgorod, 21.02.97). Due to the long-term pressure of official propaganda and respective organizations (The Young Communist League and others) young activists escaped to small unofficial groups and teams: “In pre-reform times the informal parties were very attractive for the reason of their privacy. I entered the Socio-Ecological Union in the times when it was a closed elitist circle of university graduating students” (N.S., activist, Nizhni Novgorod, 21.03.97).

Our respondents indicate that in such communication, expressive and instrumental goals coincide: “On the one hand. We have to identify and defend ourselves, to feel us in our own friendly milieu. On the other hand, we perceive ourselves as the main counter-balance to environmental bureaucracy” (D.A., program coordinator, Moscow, 21.05.97); “The sense and content of my interpersonal contacts is to create favorable atmosphere, to assist to any activist in developing of his/her feeling of complicity to environmental matters. I create a kind of “river-bed” to them, which they follow then by themselves” (A.Gr., program coordinator, Moscow, 13.05.97).

Interpersonal contacts and joint pro-ecological activity were seen by some activists as the best “school of life” which can substitute, for a while, a regular higher education: “I have no university education at all, it was my conscious decision. May be now, ten years later, when I accumulate a lot of scientific information and gain practical experience as professional journalist, editor and organizer of a dozen of mass campaigns, I will make the step...” (A.Ga., activist, Moscow, 22.05.97); “I consider extended interpersonal contacts as the education of the semi-professionals of a broad profile (outlook), which are so needed in environmental movement” (R.N., activist, Moscow, 11.02.97).

The feeling that they live and practice in a hostile context never leaves Russian environmentalists: “We permanently feel pressure, we are constantly looking for allies, and we could find them only by means of one-to-one contacts. They are the most quick and efficient” (D.R., eco-leader, Petrozavodsk, Karelian Republic, 21.07.97); “The state environmental service as a whole works bad. But within it there are some environmentally concerned persons, and only with them we can cooperate our efforts” (M.K., activist-turned-bureaucrat, Moscow, 02.01.97).

Third, about the transformation of a small party into official organization, and vice versa: “The Public Ecological Council attached to the governor had also emerged from a small group of friends-activists. Initially, the Council consists of 5-6 persons who worked together since the time of our activity in Student Nature Protection Corps. Now, became matured we supervise and assist to the new generation of this movement” (A.B., an ENGO director, Nizhni Novgorod, 24.07.97).

Finally, family division of labor was well developed among environmentalists. For instance, a husband worked in the state office, while his wife practice as an ENGO leader. Here is an example of a direct speech of a wife addressed to her husband: “Dear, I realized, it is horrible to say, a mere manager. But if I escape, you cannot finish your thesis and will be lost as a scientist!” We can only add that more than two thirds of our respondents twice changed their place of work, going from state organization to public one, and the other way around.

CONCLUSION

In this article, we have tried to present the main structural elements of interpersonal contacts that characterize the behavior of ENGO leaders when they participate in policy making. In the analysis, we relied upon the concept of a primary eco-structure which represent itself as a “network collective actor” which allows to its members to supply themselves with necessary resources and be protected from the redundant context pressure. The “involvement-disengagement” mechanism is the main characteristic of the social reproduction process of this collective actor. To operationalize the “network collective actor” concept, a set of notions such as the “norm of the human vital activities”, the “stereotype of the human vital activities”, and the “vital resources of a social individual” were introduced. Another theoretical premise is the concept of a personal resource field. Hence, the context of the above actor was represented as a set of catalysts and blockaders which promote or restrict the actor’s activity. Therefore, the structure and function of a primary social-ecological structure are dependent on the structure of the resource field.
The norm of human vital activity process was measured by the number and variety of the permanently recommended ties (contacts) needed for social reproduction of a personality. The stereotype of the human vital activity process was operationalized as a routine space-time network pattern of the above reproduction process. The shape and margins of this pattern were seen as conditioned by the "resource balance criterion" under which we implied the balance between resources which are needed and efforts (i.e., personal resource expenses) to gain them.

Similar to inter-organizational collective actor functioning, a primary eco-structure has two major conditions: normal and mobilizational. At the same time, a primary eco-structure is internally a much more integrated entity. It is a true closed micro-community (or a big family) bound up from within by numerous very stable and flexible networks simultaneously. In terms of network analysis, an eco-structure is a clique.

Under the hostile context, the "network collective actor" and its leaders are forced to overexploit themselves. That is why it seemed reasonable to distinguish between habitual and purposeful mobilization. The former was understood as the habitual mode of living of Russian environmentalists under the hostile context, whereas the latter was characterized by the mobilization of all possible resources available to the "actor" in order to resolve the given environmental issue.

To reveal the changes in interpersonal contacts aimed at policy making, we have compared the network pattern in two cases: the former belonged to the times of democratic upsurge (1988), and the latter to its recession (1997). In the former case, it was the community of like-minded partners who completely trusted each other where were two-way contacts of people who shared values and spoke the common language. In the latter case, we saw the well elaborated eco-structure with the clear-cut hard core. Its contacts were strictly differentiated in conformance to the "involvement-disengagement" principle, and resource mobilization became its basic aim. Hence, some of former partners turned out transformed into the resource-supplying milieu.

To overcome the hostile context resistance and resource deficit, the eco-structure members used informal contacts widely and extensively. Under given conditions, these contacts guarantee high levels of mutual trust and understanding as well as prevent the leakage of information and other resources. Besides, the information gained in official organizations is often absolutely irrelevant and can be converted into social action in no way.

Finally, analyzing the overlapping and joint membership of a given "network subject", we come to the conclusion that the movement in question has its dominant segment or inner circle. This circle holds the dominant or at least a very influential position in the major segments of the environmental movement's influence in fundraising, resource distribution, informal ties with representative and executive powers, media makers, and in the recruitment of the ENGOs' permanent staff.

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REFERENCES


ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISM IN THE ST. PETERSBURG REGION

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INTRODUCTION

Russian environmental movement is highly differentiated and exists almost totally within environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs). The institutional development of ENGOs in Russia has been conceptualized by sociologists in the frame of resource mobilization theory. Within resource mobilization theory ENGOs are viewed as political actors, which strive for funding, volunteers support, and increasing membership in order to be efficient in influencing decision making (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988). Russian researchers used "resource mobilization" perspectives (Yanitsky, 1996a; Tsepilova, 1996) which were dominant in the West, especially in the United States, in order to analyze the strategy of mobilization and action which ENGOs employ to achieve certain fixed goals. Emphasis was made on how organizations gather and utilize resources to achieve their goals.

In Russia much less attention was given to the analysis of cultural dimensions of collective actions. These questions were mostly addressed by the European school of thought in the frame of the new social movements paradigm, developed by A. Touraine (1981, 1985), C. Offe (1985), D. Rucht (1988), A. Melucci (1989), et al. Lifestyle, autonomy, and new identity are among the foci of these movements.

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Most researchers premised that new social movements based on post-materialist values are useful in explaining environmentalism almost exclusively in wealthy societies and cannot explain grassroots movements in poor nations (Dunlap and Mertig, 1996: 156). It can be supposed that these Western new movement values are contradictory to the values of the population of the Russian crises-based society. In addition, Russian ENGOs are experiencing many lingering effects of their “Soviet” past. They remain dependent on charismatic leaders, governmental structures, and foreign funds (Yanitsky 1995, 1996a). That is why many aspects of the ENGO’s development in Russia might have a completely different meaning than in Western societies. Nevertheless, we believe that attempts to apply even pure Western models to the Russian context can promote the further development of theories appropriate to Russia. These attempts can show the limitations inherent in the usage of Western models, and drive the readaptation of original theories of political participation that are embedded in sociological classics.

The first attempt to look at Russian environmental movements from the perspective of the new social movement was made during the Russian-French project “New Social Movements in Russia” conducted by Yanitsky and Touraine in 1991-1993 (Yanitsky 1996a). This paper is the second attempt to apply the new social movement paradigm to the Russian context. We will focus on the St. Petersburg Regional ENGOs case study. We will classify and characterize the whole range of ENGOs in the St. Petersburg region, and compare our classification to that made by Yanitsky (1996a) for other parts of Russia. We will also compare our findings with those made by other researchers of the Third Sector in Russia. Finally, we will attempt to analyze these ENGOs from the perspective of the new social movement paradigm.

The research for this paper has been conducted by survey technique, by semi-structured interviews, and participatory observation.

**BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT**

During socialist history since the 1960s the All Russian Society for Nature Protection branch and Youth Nature Protection Corps were actively working in the St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) region and assisted State institutions in the protection of nature. The All Russia Society for Nature Protection consisted of hunters, fishermen, berry collectors — people somehow connected with forests. They helped catch poachers, illegal hunters, and all other kinds of violators of forest management regulations. For these activities, they themselves received some benefits and hunting permits. The Youth Nature Protection Corps existed in the 1960s-1980s within universities and operated under the supervision of the Youth Communist Union. During Perestroika many free thinking young people with huge protest potential joined the Youth Nature Protection Corps. This was one of the organizations where they could realize their civil initiative and willingness for democratic action. In 1985, when an opportunity for political participation from members of these organizations appeared, the first Green Party was formed. The peak of the environmental movement occurred in 1987-1988. It was promoted by Gorbachev’s Perestroika and Glasnost, which fostered such public awareness in resource conservation in the hope that it would reduce other types of social and political protests. After this flash of environmental activism in 1985-1987, many new ENGOs appeared.

In St. Petersburg a grass roots movement coordinated by Delta concentrated efforts against the construction of the St. Petersburg Dam (unfortunately it was still built). The other focus of the movement was the biochemical plant in the town of Kurishi. A group of residents founded a club “Movement against the Protein -Vitamin Concentrate”. This movement arose because of allergic reactions and the increase in child mortality rate caused by pollution from the plant (Tsepilova, 1996: 5). This local protest peaked in 1987-1991. Under pressure from the movement, the plant has been reconstructed and the environmental situation improved.

In the Post-perestroika years, the movement has declined as economic concerns have become priorities. Therefore, today, in St. Petersburg region, there are very few ENGOs with strong and efficient action programs. However, the environmental movement organizations are numerous and diverse. The number of ENGOs increases every year, as does the variety of their repertoire. Most of the ENGOs focused on nature protection of the St. Petersburg region originate from Soviet organizations such as: All Russian Society for Nature Protection (St. Petersburg branch), All Russia Geographical Society, and Youth Nature Protection Corps.

Scientific research institutions are the other source for ENGOs. Until recently, Russian ecologists in research institutions studied narrow biological questions. They were devoted to preserving their research without being politically active. However, applied ecologists were assessing state projects and monitoring environmental quality. Until recently, they were dependent on State policies of command and control. Today, many professional ecologists form ENGOs in order to be able to receive foreign grants after governmental institutions ceased to finance them. A large number of research and consulting ENGOs were formed in this way.

The source for ENGOs focusing on environmental education were schools and youth biological centers existed within the former Pioneer houses during the Soviet period (present Houses of Youth Creativity). Today, these centers form non-governmental youth educational organizations. They are developing youth environmental education programs and are able to be funded by the grants. Youth
environmental education centers also appeared at schools, within universities, within national organizations, and as independent units.

Many interest groups and associations registered their ENGOs just to have a social space for their own self-development and realization. These types of organizations usually do not have predecessors in the Soviet past. The number of these organizations is increasing and they find their niche within the Russian Third Sector. Below we intend to classify and characterize the spectrum of ENGOs in the St. Petersburg region.

**CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGOs IN THE ST. PETERSBURG REGION**

We classified the whole range of ENGOs into seven groups based on the direction of their activities. Each of the groups has its own political leanings and specific relations to governmental and societal institutions. However, we had difficulty placing some of the organizations in a group, because they have multi-focused activities. In these cases, we tried to determine the priorities in their repertoire and consult our "placement" decisions with the members and leaders of these organizations. To some extent this makes our classification multifaceted. However, we hope that it can be useful for understanding the development of the ENGOs sector in Russia. Below we will give the brief characteristics of each of the groups.

**Nature Conservationists (11 organizations)**

We placed in this group the ENGOs which defend wildlife from violators in natural preserved territories of the region. As was mentioned above, the All Russian Society for Nature Protection (St. Petersburg branch), All Russian Geographical Society (St. Petersburg branch), and Youth Nature Protection Corps were [using Yanitsky's term (Yanitsky, 1996)] the engendering milieu for these type of organizations. Presently, conservationists' organizations represent a network focused on the protection of forests and red book flowers. Before the New Year and Christmas they patrol all the railway stations around St. Petersburg and catch those who illegally cut fir trees in the forest. In the spring they patrol the markets in the city and catch those who collect and sell red book flowers. Some groups can be considered marginal. The Green Hippies consist of radical environmentalists, former "difficult teenagers" [many of them were taking drugs and were registered at the police department] with a strong willingness to fight. Another ENGO, Myrkwood, introduces environmental ideas into role-play games in the forests. Myrkwood and the Green Hippies both participate in radical actions for nature protection.

There is some specialization in the activities of these groups. For example, the Group of Special Control and Green Hippies monitor and protect the nature monument Uroishche Donski. Green Union is suing those who violate regulations for nature preserve territories and is actively involved in getting publicity and working with the media. The initiative Group for Saving Sablinsky Nature Monument (originating from the All Russia Geographical Society) is developing a tourist trail in a cave in Sablino and fights against unregulated cave visitors who pollute and destroy the caves. Nature Protection Corps and Greenpeace (St. Petersburg branch) are mainly concerned with saving Karelian forests in the region and helping the Forest ENGOs Club to protect the Karelian Isthmus.

As we can see, most of these groups represent some continuity with the organizations from the Soviet period of Russian history. Leadership is very important for these organizations. As it was during socialism, a strong leader coordinates several organizations. For example, the same leader is guiding the Green Union (St. Petersburg branch of the All Russia Society for Nature Protection), Leningradsky regional and St. Petersburg Urban Council of All Russian Society for Nature Protection, and the Group of Special Control (Russian Academy of Sciences). ENGOs with the same profile usually cooperate with each other. However, disagreements occur because of the differences in ethical attitudes. This makes the network rather conflictive. Conflicts appear because of disagreements between the leaders and differences in the level of radicalism accepted by the organizations. As they were during socialism, all these organizations are financially dependent on the State institutions and in many cases cooperate with them. Contrary to the Soviet past, they interact with state institutions, not only in a cooperative manner, but sometimes through conflict and cooptation.

**Research, Expert-Consulting, and Monitoring Organizations (15 organizations)**

This group of organizations originate from scientific research institutions and try to implement scientific knowledge in nature conservation, environmental impact assessment, and development of environmentally friendly technology.

There are six research and nine expert-consulting ENGOs in the St. Petersburg Region. Research groups are registered as ENGOs, however, they still exist on the basis of St. Petersburg State University and other state research institutions and use university space and facilities. Most of them now represent ENGOs which are actually sections of the two oldest Russian scientific Societies: St. Petersburg Society of Naturalists and All Russia Mineralogical Society. Most of them—as during the Soviet period—continue to be dedicated to ecological field research in the region. The St. Petersburg Society of Naturalists, its section Valaam expedi-
agriculture. They perform consulting and coordinate efforts to use the most effective and environmentally safe methods of agriculture.

There are two international expert organizations in the region. The International Academy of Ecological Security of People and Nature is a council of scientists and engineers which work together to solve anthropogenic problems and natural disasters. The International Association for Ecological Security is working on regional industrial security as well as promoting educational programs.

Research and expert ENGOs have many academic links. The majority of the members of these organizations combine their work in ENGOs with a job in a state research institution. However, both researchers and experts consultants do not network with the other types of ENGOs, but instead remain separated from the activism of the scientific community.

### Informational Organizations (9 organizations)

Informational organizations include producers of e-mail bulletins (Econews), providers of e-mail for other environmental ENGOs (Transboundary Environmental Information Agency), and discussion list managers. There are three main Internet informational units in St. Petersburg. First, is Econews, a journal developed by ENGOs representatives for themselves and distributed through an e-mail list. The journal includes a review of Internet articles and articles written by ENGOs representatives. A second source of communication is the Environmental Network of North-Western Russia. Last is Agenda 21 for Sustainable Development which recently began a mailing list.

The Center for Independent Social Research represents the other type of informational organization. The Department of Environmental Sociology of the Center for Independent Social Research identifies local environmental initiatives and examples of the best practice across the region. It monitors activities of ENGOs in the region and extensively publishes the results of its research, participates in the organization of workshops on “Local Agenda 21” in order to involve other St. Petersburg ENGOs in this process, and tries to promote sustainability programs in the region using sociological intervention (organizing focus groups, workshops, and community visioning meetings).

We also placed in this group environmental journalists’ organizations, such as the Association of Environmental Journalists, Ecocronics, Radio station Open City, and the eco-policy journal Posev. The Association of Environmental Journalists brings together professional environmental journalists and organizes press conferences on environmental issues. Ecocronics is a journal which is published in both English and Russian. Its main focus is on problems with drinking water in St. Petersburg and radiological security. Correspondents increase public environmental awareness by highlighting different environmental problems in
Northwest Russia. The Journal Posev highlights the process of chemical disarmament, problems with radiological pollution, and reports on different environmental accidents. They also fight for free access to the information and human rights for a clean environment.

Radiostation Open City highlights information on the problems with waste disposal, dioxins, disposal of nuclear waste, and development of alternative technologies through production of a series of radio shows.

The last organization is the Environmental Agency for Sustainable Development which consists of one person, who actively produces videos, television and radio shows, writes scenarios, and gives informational support to environmental actions, for example, against construction of harbors.

The Informational group communicates and cooperates with the range of ENGOs in the area. Many informational organizations work on the international level as well as cooperate with governmental and business institutions.

Environmental Educational Organizations (50 organizations)

St. Petersburg has a strong environmental ENGO sector which is promoting environmental education. There are approximately fifty ENGOs based in schools, houses of youth creativity, and in universities. The most of the organizations conduct educational research projects with high school students. Almost all organizations organize summer ecological camps and research expeditions for youth. Almost all organizations monitor water quality or analyze wildlife ecosystems as well as create educational environmental trails, organize nature schools, conduct coast watch activities, engage in preservation and cleaning of coastal territories, organize environmental games and competitions, and conduct conferences and workshops. One characteristic of this type of organization is that they conduct environmental education almost always through field research methods. Only four organizations collect and distribute information regarding environmental issues.

The majority of the educational organizations are very successful. However, according to the opinion of our respondents Neva River Clearwater is the leader of youth outdoor educational programs. Its rating is the highest of all ENGOs in the region. Originally The Neva Clearwater organization was inspired by the U.S. Hudson River Sloop Clearwater organization. In the five years of its existence, Neva Clearwater has become a member of the Coalition of Clean Baltic and an umbrella for many other "friends of rivers" youth organizations.

The environmental educational groups which we studied cooperate intensively with each other and state institutions such as schools, universities, public environmental agencies, museums, preserved territories, and national parks. One third of the organizations have international contacts— most of them are with countries of the Baltic Sea region.

City Ecology Organizations (9 organizations)

We placed in this group nine ENGOs concerned with different aspects of the city environment. This group includes several ENGOs in St. Petersburg which are interested in implementation of the regional and local Agenda 21. We would like to provide several examples.

Green World was one of the first organizations which began working on regional Agenda 21. The main focus of Green World is to promote awareness of nuclear energy and the situation on the nuclear power plant in Sosnovyi Bor. It is also concerned with preservation of Baltic marine ecosystems. Green World is the only organization which gives timely and detailed information on nuclear units on the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland. It advocates safe energy and suggests sustainable energy solutions in Northwest Russia.

Keep St. Petersburg Tidy is a member of an international association, Keep Baltic Tidy, and a member of the Nordic Council. Its particular interest is on recycling, decreasing the amount of garbage, and promoting eco-tourism. It not only conducts workshops on city environmental issues, but also organizes campaigns on cleaning the coastal zone, actions of “Less Garbage” and “Collecting of aluminum cans and plastic bottles”.

The Clean City Association also can be considered as an NGO working for sustainability. It works intensively with mass media, tries to improve waste disposal, and makes efforts to reorganize communal utility structure in St. Petersburg.

Other sustainability advocates belong to the Eco-team movement. This movement has been initiated through the TIAS Environmental Awareness program. This is a pilot project of the Global Action Plan in Russia, where the Swedish model has been used. This movement represents an experiment on exporting the Western Eco-team environmental movement to Russia. Ecoteams in St. Petersburg work with the public to promote a environmentally friendly lifestyle in households based on reducing the amount of garbage, recycling, and conserving gas, energy and water.

Gardens on the Roof also belong to the sustainability network in St. Petersburg. It promotes the organization of vegetable organic gardens on city roofs as well as organizes workshops on topics such as "Household gardening", "Soil" and "City and Flowers".

The group "Ecology for Architecture" tries to correct both city development, new construction, and environmental policies in St. Petersburg and the surrounding region. They participated in saving books in the Library of Academy of
The Christian Ecological Union Delta is one of the oldest ENGOs, and was founded during Perestroika. As with the Anarchists League during Perestroika, they used radical methods to fight against the construction of the St. Petersburg Dam, against building of Disneyland in Lisiy Nos and actively participated in the Deputies elections in 1980s-1990s. Although they have slowed down their activities in recent years, they continue to organize discussions, conferences, and workshops.

The Eco-political group interacts with informational ENGOs, with city administration and legislative bodies, with green parties, trade unions, charity organizations, and political movements. However, in the opinion of the most of our respondents, eco-politicians in St. Petersburg work inefficiently and the political wing of the environmental movement is weak.

Environmental Ethics and Health Philosophy Organizations (25 organizations)

It is questionable whether Russian New Age organizations and clubs interested in environmental ethics and health philosophy can be considered environmental. We included such organizations in our analysis because many of them work with the public to develop environmental consciousness, are involved in environmental education, and promote an environmentally friendly lifestyle. The range of organizations can be sub-classified according to their activities primarily on: 1) Spiritual enlightenment and environmental ethics (17 organizations); 2) Human health and untraditional medicine (3 organizations) and 3) Alternative lifestyle (Building eco-villages) (5 organizations). Many of the organizations combine all these issues in their repertoire, some, however, emphasize one issue, even though they are concerned with the other issues as well.

Spiritual enlightenment associations

They are philosophically based on different doctrines and understand both spirituality and environmental ethics differently according to their teachings. For example, “Community of Ecological Consciousness Krina” understands spirituality as the opening of opportunities of consciousness and psyche of people in their interaction with the environment according to space cycles. People can advance their consciousness if they behave according to Slavic traditions and rituals. They argue for reestablishing harmony and holism of spirit, soul, and body. “Rerich Society” and “Banner of Culture” are based on the doctrine of Live Ethics and publications of E. I. Rerich and N. K. Rerich. The focus of their teaching is cultural and spiritual enlightenment through promoting “clean” positive thoughts. They publish papers in ecological ethics and theology as well as
organize meetings, lectures, slide shows, concerts, and excursions. “Community of Spiritual Revival” is also driven by ideas of Live Ethics. However, they have a wider range of activity and focus on cultural enlightenment, education, and environmental health issues. They also promote a system of health conditioning and training. Some organizations, “Gerberus”, for example, are oriented toward eastern theology and try to achieve harmony by practicing meditation and healing the body by using herbs which they collect themselves and distribute throughout the organization. They organize training workshops on nature, and promote a healthy lifestyle including running with special breathing.

There are several marginal organizations in this group. For example, Holy Nature combines maintaining nudist association with promotion of the ideas of environmental ethics. Driven by the idea of the unity of the body, spirit, and nature they create a web page with pictures of pretty nude girls in a natural landscape. Their goal is to raise environmental consciousness by demonstrating the beauty of unity of the body and nature.

Human health and untraditional medicine

They focus their activity primarily on health issues with an emphasis on special nutrition. The Macrobiotic Society is the most popular promoter of healthy nutrition. As in the West, the Macrobiotic Society in St. Petersburg is driven by the ideas of George Osawa and Michio Kushi. The society presents public lectures and seminars and focuses on the propaganda of Macrobiotics, creating a healthy lifestyle based on the harmonious relations of people with nature, and using environmentally safe, organic food.

Some organizations connect human health with the health of the environment. For example, Club Hello works on both health and environmental programs. Activists of this club try to create a community of healthy people in a preserved territory “Osanovskaya Roscha” near Vologda. They conduct research, help to preserve and restore the territory, plant trees, and organize environmental field trips. Their theoretical approach is based on a system of health conditioning and the training of Portifir Ivanov which includes adaptation of the body to extreme situations, such as swimming in cold water (through holes in the ice in winter), fasting, and many other types of physical training.

Another organization, Healthy Family, combines a system of health conditioning and training of Portifir Ivanov, the ideas of Live Ethics, and the doctrines of George Osawa and Michio Kushi. Their focus is on promoting new models of childbirth, motherhood, and non-standard models of child development. One of the outcomes was the film “Birth with Nature” produced for educational purposes. They also work with schoolchildren and organize summer health and educational camps.

Alternative lifestyle organizations

They includes organizations which build Eco-villages. We also placed in this group the Center for Alternative Agricultural Technologies for North-Western Russia because it creates alternative technologies which can be used in eco-villages.

There are four organizations with offices in St. Petersburg, which try to build Eco-villages in the region, which are some kind of “intelligentsia” villages, based on ecological principles. Operation of these organizations differs very much from one to the other. For example, Nevo Ecolive tries to build a sustainable community combining maintenance of local businesses (tourism, environmental education, building of houses, and gardening) with living in harmony with nature. Another eco-village, Reuskala, is less business oriented, more idealistic, and less successful. Almost all families which originally participated in this project refused to live in the village and returned to the city. Nevertheless, they organize summer environmental camps for children, workshops in permaculture, organic agriculture, and waste disposal. Other eco-villages originally operated only on a seasonal basis by organizing summer camps for both children and adults.

Most of these organizations are not familiar with the direction of the activities of the other types of ENGOs in the St. Petersburg Region. Their interactions with state institutions and businesses are limited. All interactions are concentrated within the community of these groups. However, many of these associations try to work with the public and promote their teaching to society.

DISCUSSION

The classification of ENGOs in our case study for the St. Petersburg Region has both similarities and differences with the classification previously made by Yantsky (1996a: 68-71) for ENGOs throughout Russia. Yantsky (1996a: 68-71) determined seven main directions in the movement based on value orientations and existing ideologies. These directions are: conservationists, alternativists, traditionalists, grass roots environmental advocates, ecopoliticians, ecopatriots, and ecotechnocrats.

Yantsky included in Conservationists those groups which conduct research and participate in decision making by infiltration into executive power bodies. These ENGOs interact with the government through cooperation, conflict, and cooptation. In our case study we separated the nature Conservationist wing (fighters against violators of forest management) from those who conduct ecological research, consulting, and monitoring. In St. Petersburg, these radical conservationists differ very much from researchers and experts. They use different methods of interaction with state institutions. St. Petersburg Conservation-
ists use similar methods of interaction as described by Yanitsky (protest and conflict), while researchers and experts never confront the government.

Yanitsky's Alternativists are those who became members of green parties, participate in socio-political movements, in the anarcho-sindicalist movement, and in building agricultural communities based on environmentally safe technologies. They can be both confrontational and cooperative towards the state. In our case study, we included organizations which promote an alternative lifestyle as a sub-group of the wider range of Environmental Ethics and Health Philosophy Organizations. We included ENGOs participating in any kind of politics in the Eco-politicians group. We find it reasonable to separate identity oriented and instrumental-goal oriented organizations.

Yanitsky's Traditionalists belong to the Russian intelligentsia (scientists, writers, professors, and journalists). These people are inspired by the culture of the 19th century, strive to raise environmental consciousness, and try to find ways for humanity and nature to coexist. They can be critical or neutral towards governmental structures. In our case study we created a separate unit of Environmental Educational Organizations which include both pragmatic organizations and those similar to Yanitsky's Traditionalists. We included Environmental journalists' ENGOs into the Informational Organizations unit.

We find very few grass roots environmental advocates in St. Petersburg which are similar to those described by Yanitsky. We also did not distinguish Yanitsky's Ecopatriots who are oriented towards socialist values (the right wing of the environmental movement). However, we determined that Yanitsky's Ecotechnocrats—concerned by the development of environmentally safe technologies and producing of different kinds of innovations—should be included in the Researchers and Experts group.

The group of Ecopoliticians in our case study is very similar to that described by Yanitsky. They represent a very diverse group which combines the role of professional politicians with membership in the environmental movement.

In our case study we found very few "mature" ENGOs, which are well managed, self-financed, and are able to lobby their own ideas and interests of the population. ENGOs in the region do not yet play the role of mediators between government and businesses. The results of our study correspond with those obtained by other researchers of the third sector (Yakimetz, 1997; Alexceva, 1997).

It is very hard to measure both outcomes and impacts on society of the ENGOs in our case study. Some Western researchers also argue that it is difficult to access the consequences of the new social movements on the political system or society. Few researchers access the links between the political opportunity structure and the outcomes of the new social movements (Kriesi et al., 1995: 207). Kriesi et al. suggest distinguishing internal and external impacts of the new social movements. In the instance of internal impacts, researchers mean outcomes which influence the movement itself, impacts on identity (authors mean reinforcement of identity of participants), and impacts on the organization (authors mean structure of the movement). Identity oriented movements, for example, subcultural and countercultural, pursue internal goals to a greater extent than external (Kriesi et al., 1995: 209). On the contrary, instrumental movements almost always try to achieve external goals, such as changing the political agenda, or public attitudes (Kriesi et al., 1995: 211). It was demonstrated that instrumental movements outcomes are very much influenced by the structure of political opportunities, but identity oriented movements can produce outcomes even if the political conditions are not favorable for these movements (Kriesi et al., 1995: 236). We will attempt to analyze our case study ENGOs from this perspective.

Today, the political opportunities in Russia for new social movements are controversial. On the one hand, there are no formal barriers for development of ENGOs and participation in decision making. On the other hand, ENGOs do not always take advantage of their formal opportunities. They often struggle from the lack of financial support and are unable to encourage public participation in the decision making. This social context determines the socio-psychological aspects of activities at the grass roots level. Before Perestroika, there was considerable apathy and skepticism. After Perestroika, there is pessimism and escapism. Only for a short time during Perestroika was there a strong belief that positive changes can occur. In such a situation it is extremely difficult for the ENGOs to achieve goals such as changing the political agenda or mass public attitudes.

We can see that in the St. Petersburg region, environmental consulting and the policy oriented branch are as poorly developed as the eco-political wing. Such organizations in the West are shown to be most dependent on the political opportunities structure. The lack of the appropriate political opportunity structure in Russia can explain the underdevelopment of the eco-policy wing of ENGOs in our case study.

In our case study we can see that identity-oriented groups of ENGOs (Environmental Ethics and Health Philosophy organizations) represent a growing diverse group with increasing membership. Within-group interactions play a crucial role in their mobilization. As with similar organizations in the West, these organizations are relatively independent from the political opportunity structure.

In St. Petersburg, the most numerous ENGOs are those focused on environmental education. These organizations work very effectively to develop environmental consciousness of the youth. Informational organizations as well as research organizations can also be considered as successfully functioning in the region today. Mobilization, action repertoire, and outcomes of all these types of organizations— as with Environmental Ethics and Health Philosophy organiza-
tions—are less dependent on the political opportunities structure in Russia. Thus, the results of our case study support those of the Western researchers obtained on Western examples.

We find many other similarities in our case study with new social movements in the West. It is characteristic for new Western environmental social movements (for example, the anti-nuclear movement in Europe and animal rights movement in the U.S.) to transcend a class and structural base and to exhibit post-materialistic values. To a greater extent, their grievances focus on ethical, identity, and symbolic issues rather than on economic ones. They are always seeking "new social space", new individual, and new collective identity (Johnston et al., 1994: 7-8). In Russia, as in the West, there is a large number of ENGOs (in our case study environmental ethics and health philosophy organizations [the Russian version of Western New Age organizations] which have neither a class, nor a structural base and which exhibit a vast pluralism of ideas and values. Even under the context of a difficult economic situation, members of this kind of movement do not emphasize economic concerns. Similar to organizations in the West such as health movements, alternative medicine, antismoking, and New Age organizations, organizations in St. Petersburg (human health and untraditional medicine organizations, spiritual enlightened organizations, as well as eco-teams and alternative lifestyle organizations) tend to change bodily behavior and cope with trends such as what we eat, how we live, what we believe, preserve, and enjoy. Melucci's classical words: "the freedom to have [for the members of these movements]... has been replaced by the freedom to be" (Melucci, 1989: 177-78) can be applied to Russian organizations as well as to those in the West.

Melucci studied the organizational structure of the new movements as a factor of mobilization. He described a movement as a multilevel system for social action. In contrast to centralized bureaucracies or mass parties, the new social movements consist of small groups which interact with each other and exchange information and resources. The members of the small groups do not have determined roles or well-established ideas. There is no clear border between the outsider and the member of the movement or between the leader and the ordinary member (Melucci 1988, 1989).

All these statements made by Melucci can be applied to the our St. Petersburg case study except for the characteristics of leadership (Melucci, 1988, 1989). ENGOs in St. Petersburg are almost all known by the name of their leader and none operate without strong leadership. Very often conflicts occur between the informal leaders and as a result the large organization usually fragments into several smaller organizations. The large number of organizations in St. Petersburg with the same goals—such as conservationists’ organizations or Rerich Societies—originate from such fragmentation.

It has been demonstrated that for the Western new social movements, the considerable autonomy of the local groups from national organizations usually limits large scale debates and discussions (Johnston et al., 1994). In our case study, organizations also very rarely interact with national organizations. However, many of them have permanent contact with Western partners, which usually serve as a source of funding for them. Russian ENGOs, like those in the West, are segmented, decentralized, diffuse and are characterized by horizontal communication networks. They are oriented towards the creation of small informal groups with horizontal informational and coordination networks. However, this communication is also limited by access to the Internet and electronic mail. Those who have this access achieve some kind of “e-mail” community.

The opinion of some western researchers is that the development, diversity, and proliferation of new social movements is determined by the credibility crisis of Western Democracies. This crisis motivates new social movements to mobilize themselves to find an alternative way of decision making (Johnston et al., 1994: 8). The credibility crisis of young Russian democracy is much harder than in the West and certainly shapes the environmental movement in this country. However, Western grant support has an even greater impact on the ENGOs development, resource mobilization, and the directions of activities. Some of the movements, such as eco-teams movement, the Agenda 21 movement, Macrobotics movement, Rerich’s societies, and untraditional medicine movements can be considered imports from the West. Western cooperation and support helps to preserve the movement and enforces the political opportunity structure for their development.

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A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT THE INFLUENCE OF
RUSSIAN HEALTH PHILOSOPHY AND
ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS ORGANIZATIONS ON
FOOD PREFERENCES

Maria Tysiachniouk, Ph.D.¹ and Antonina Kuliasova²

INTRODUCTION

The formation of food preferences in Russia since 1992 occurred under conditions of developing market reforms. As more and more diverse food products became available in the market, the opportunity for the realization of food preferences also became available to the population in recent years. Along with the processes of political and economic transformation, Russian society has become more and more open and democratic. The process of democratization promoted the distribution of new ideas, which before Perestroika would not have been allowed. Democratization has also supported the development of new social movements which mobilized the population to new initiatives in many areas. Ideas about both healthy lifestyle and new environmentally friendly consciousness penetrated into peoples’ minds. Today these ideas, distributed by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), are playing a tremendous role, filling the vacuum which appeared when the former Socialist public ideology was destroyed.

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Today, the amount of NGOs and number of people participating grows constantly. For example, in St. Petersburg in the period from 1991 until 1995, 2905 NGOs were registered (The Directory, 1997: 5).

Our research group determined that, among the NGOs, in the St. Petersburg region there are around 150 organizations whose activities can be considered as environmental. Around 25 of these organizations are unusual in that they focus their activities on biospheric ethics, spirituality and wholistic understanding of the planet and universe. They are grounded on three main topics: cultural enlightenment, non-standard ideas of child development and education, and environment and health aspects (including nutrition). Each type of association is based on certain theoretical backgrounds, which determine the attitudes of its members. These organizations originally formed as an interest groups. However, presently they are interested in spreading their ideas into society. This paper will focus on how the theoretical backgrounds of these organizations influence the nutritional behavior of their members and how these ideas influence food preferences in the society.

Previous studies of food preferences have focused on certain ethnic groups or on certain territories in the former Soviet Union. The main directions of available research were: the influence of nutrition on the human physiology, scientifically-based nutrient rations, health and nutrition, food as a part of healing the body and healthy lifestyle (Collection of papers, 1982, 1987; Grigulevich, 1996; Aphanasenko, 1988; Tsignor, 1996). There are many works of foreign authors translated into Russian which are devoted to macrobiotics, vegetarianism, and historical nutritional traditions (Acharia, 1995; Eddar Arr, 1993; Martinus, 1994; Aichvanov, 1993). These papers analyze the connections of peoples’ attitudes to their nutritional behavior, as well as historical traditions, which determines food preferences to some extent. However, the direct influence of the theories on nutritional behavior has not yet been highlighted in these papers. The nutritional behavior of the members of these newly established organizations have not been studied yet by Russian sociologists. Therefore, we decided to study the food preferences of the participants of eight organizations, located in St. Petersburg and Vologda, in which include nutrition plays an important role. We studied the social structure of participants of organizations, analyzed motivations for food preferences and how ideology, doctrines, and beliefs influence nutritional behavior. We also analyzed how nutritional recommendations based on theory correlate with actual diets. Special attention was given to study the extent that ideas of organizations influenced food behavior of the population.

METHODOLOGY

We studied five organizations in St. Petersburg, three in Vologda and five from other cities (which participated in the meeting of the Ivan’s Hundred Thousand Brothers [Ivan’s Stoutichaich] (see Attachment 1).

Each of these organizations is guided by certain doctrines and operates according to a specific teacher’s learning. Therefore, we studied the literature on which organizations base their activity (see Attachment 2). The research was carried out in a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The following methods were used: survey, in-depth interview, focus group, participatory observation, and a study of the doctrines. The survey was carried out with the leaders, activists and ordinary participants of all studied organizations. Questionnaire responses of all the participants were analyzed together. The questionnaire was given to 100 people, with a response rate of 45. The survey consisted of 22 questions (see Attachment 3). The questionnaire responses were analyzed in several stages, according to the goals of research.

At the first stage social structure of the participants of organizations, years of arrival to the organizations, gender, age, education, and income were analyzed. Respondents assessed their income themselves as low, high, or intermediate.

During the second stage of research, the motivation for food choices of the participants of organizations was studied. Respondents were asked to choose several of five motivations, and put them in order of importance, they also were encouraged to add other motivations (Attachment 3, question 6). The way in which their food was procured has been assessed. The respondents were asked whether they buy food, grow food themselves, if they cook food themselves, or have others prepare their meals (with or without supervision) (Attachment 3, question 7).

To assess which ideas respondents were guided by when choosing food, we formulated 8 main categories arising from readings and oral recollections of the basic doctrines of the organizations. The respondents had to emphasize which of these categories they are guided by when designing their diet. They could also offer their own categories.

The main grounds for food preference are distinguished by different values and attitudes to life, health, and spiritual matters. The 8 categories contain elements of these values.

1) A belief in healthy food. Food choices are selected based on perceptions that they are healthy. These “healthy” foods are considered to be an integral part of a healthy lifestyle.
2) A balanced diet using organic food. A balanced food diet implies a balance in proteins, fats, carbohydrates, vitamins and micronutrients as well as balanced in energy, according to yin-yang principles (Osawa, 1991; Kushi, 1996). According to the theory of macrobiotics, all food contains two types of energy, yin - female and yang - male. In some meals, one energy dominates and the other is deficient. The goal is to put them in balance. Organic food, grown at home (in dachas) is preferred to food that has been grown with pesticides (especially imported food) or was exposed to nuclear radiation.

3) A lifestyle based on the main ideas of the teacher Ivanov (Ivanov, 1993). These ideas are formulated into a culture of health and human existence, and are put into practice as a notion of how to be healthy. The practices, based on Ivanov’s teachings, extend the other beliefs that health is important to one in which health is essential to anyone’s life. Some of the writings of Ivanov exemplify this notion. For example, “health is your understanding of life,” “[health] is the most important thing in life,” “thoughts should be integrated with actions... you’ve been reading - it’s good, but the main thing is to act for your health.” (Bikova and Bikova, 1994: 71, 151; Orlit, 1997: 133, 201; Orlit, 1998).

4) A belief in human evolution, based on the Doctrine of Live Ethics. According to this doctrine, everything in the universe evolves and eating meat slows down the evolution. “If mankind could avoid eating corpses, universal evolution could be speeded up” (Doctrine of Live Ethics, 1993: 21).

5) A belief in transformation. According to this belief, people have, in addition to a physical body, astral and mental bodies, each of which are called conductors. A person might gradually be transformed and evolved over time. According to this theory, it is not recommended that people eat meat (Sandrova and Dimirov, 1995, 1996: 44).

6) Alignment with the universe. According to this idea, certain food elements can help to correspond with the “whole”, universe because they influence the energy of the chakras and can influence perceptions of the inside and outside worlds (Marchenko, 1993).

7) A belief that food is a source of knowledge. Food is a way of understanding the world; through food people receive information about the world. Food is an instrument for knowing the universe (Marchenko, 1993).

8) Animal rights. Animals, in nature eat each other. But it is not natural for humans to kill and eat animals.

The next step in the questionnaire was devoted to highlighting the foods of each belief system. We asked what is actually recommended to the respondents to eat according to the theory they believe and then we compare that with what they actually eat (see Attachment 3, questions 8-11, 14-19.) The last step was designed to find out how the. food preferences of the members of organizations are perceived by others. How are these food preferences received by members’ families? Do their beliefs influence food preferences of their families? Do their food preferences influence people outside the organizations? (see Attachment 3, questions 13 and 20).

We undertook an in-depth interview from nine leaders and activists of the organizations (six women and three men). The interview were taped, transcribed and coded. A focus group was conducted with seven members of the Ivan’s Hundred Thousand Brothers (one man and six women). The meeting was taped, transcribed and coded.

Ongoing participant observation was conducted in the Banner of Culture society and the Macrobiotics association during the period of three years; and in Ivan’s Hundred Thousand Brothers, and in the Earth Planet of Love, also known as “Cathedral Agreement,” during one year. In the organization Radostea, participant observation was only conducted during two meetings, held in the Club Zdavstvuite (“Hello”). Participant observation of the Center for Healthy Family in Vologda was conducted periodically during three years; in the Community for Spiritual Revival during the current year. In addition, participant observation was held during the tenth meeting of Ivan’s Hundred Thousand Brothers in a village called New Jerusalem. Field notes were taken during participant observation.

**THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF STUDIED ORGANIZATIONS**

For a better understanding of the survey, an analysis of the data of the social structure of the participants of organizations was carried out. We assessed limited population data of each member of an organization who responded to our survey. These data, the number of years in the association, gender, age, education, and wealth, were analyzed. Some of our respondents joined the organization in 1987, at the time when Perestroika started. At that time the organizations represented already-formed social groups called “Informal Groups.” The organizations received the opportunity to be registered according to the law only in 1991. The registration procedure was rather difficult at that time, because of the post-Soviet bureaucracy. Between 1987 and 1991, 1/10 of our survey respondents joined their organizations. Since 1991, the number of organizations has continued to grow. Between 1992 and 1995, 1/5 of the respondents joined organizations. In 1995, a new law simplifying the procedure for registration was enacted. Between 1994 and 1998, 2/3 of the respondents came to the organizations. Thirty-six women and 9 men answered the survey questions. The majority of the respondents are of middle age, around 46 years old. Three quarters of all women respon-
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dents were from 37 to 72 years old. Most of the men are in the 25-36 age category. Contrary to the women, there were no men in the age brackets of 13-24 or 73-84.

Most of the respondents have had a higher education. Only 1/3 have no university degree. The level of wealth of the respondents is relatively low. Half of the respondents assess their level of wealth as low, the other half as average. Only one respondent said that he is rather wealthy.

Analysis of the nutritional behavior of participants of organizations

As we already mentioned above, members of the organizations are under the influence of certain theoretical concepts. Each of the organizations studied encourages their participants to reorient themselves primarily to live on the basis of spiritual values. The integrity and unity of people with their environment and the universe is one of the main focuses of the participants' value systems. The members of the organizations are concerned about how the whole of humanity and the planet will survive in the future. The theoretical concepts emphasize people's harmony with themselves, balancing their physical, psychological, and spiritual feelings. They emphasize healing the body, methods of maintaining health, promoting a healthy lifestyle and a healthy diet. Most of the members of these organizations, after participating for a long time, usually conform themselves to these attitudes regarding their physical and spiritual condition. They forgo smoking, drinking and other unhealthy habits. They understand their own individuality and develop a new love for themselves as a part of the planet and universe.

Collective actions in these organizations are usually educational and enlightening. They organize talks, meetings, workshops, seminars, conferences, environmental camps, outdoor schools, and organize eco-villages. They never use protest as a form of action to achieve their goals. On the contrary to the other types of environmental organizations, these "spiritual" organizations are focused not around a certain environmental problem, but rather around certain ethical ideas.

The peculiarity of this type of organization is the existence of the world view system, which is usually written by a teacher and published in special books. Books and journals serve the guidelines for members of these organizations in changing their lifestyle, in maintaining health, and choosing nutrition.

This grounding in a world view is why beliefs and theories play an important role in food preferences of our respondents. The survey demonstrated that the "ideas" are the most important factor in food preferences. The weakest motivations for food preferences are traditions. Members of the organizations usually follow the recommendations of their organizations and prefer food other than ordinary traditional Russian food.

However, theoretical background is not the only thing that motivates the members of organizations when they choose their diet. Food choice is also influenced by the conditions of the participant's health and determined by prices. The respondents added to the proposed answers eight more motivations: wishes, minimum time for preparing food, food habits, mood, obstacles, needs of the organism, low calories, rationality.

One of the interviewed respondents indicated "senses and thoughts" (activist, female, 21, "Radostina"). She connected food preferences with her psyche and signals inside the body. The majority of the respondents actively participate in design of their food diet.

Most participants of the organizations grow food, buy food, and prepare food themselves. Ninety percent of respondents are actively involved in one or more stages of their food procurement and preparation. Only 1/10 of the respondents were passive with the design of their diet.

Health is a big motivation for most of the respondents. Members of the organizations value health, trying to maintain it and practicing different ways of improving it. Almost 4/5 of the respondents indicate that their food choices are motivated by their understanding of taking care of their health; 56% believe in a healthy lifestyle, 22% believe in culture of health and human existence. Many of the respondents connect the health of their body with the health of the environment. The second and third most common reasons for food choices, each at 27%, were the doctrine of transformation and a belief in human evolution.

Many believe that the vegetarian diet is essential for the right way of human spiritual evolution. In the interviews many respondents indicate the necessity of vegetarian diet for the further spiritual life (after physical death). Many believe that the vegetarian diet makes spiritual evolution easier.

Sixteen percent indicated that the most important reason for making a food choice is the balanced food diet, where environmentally safe products are used. Sixteen per cent of them emphasize animal rights and indicate these rights as the motivation for using vegetarian food. Four per cent indicate the importance of corresponding nutrients with alliance of the universal rhythms for food.

Within other ideas that guided food choices, respondents indicated additional concepts, such as the "influence of the quality of food on the energy centers and chakras." "Food can influence the co-feelings with the planet, it can determine changes in consciousness, can change person's perceptions of inside and outside world." Some respondents indicate that food can help in "becoming saint and space body", which, according to an esoteric doctrine, is the next stage of human evolution. A respondent mentioned "Eating fresh, raw food according to God's commandments," given to people and written in Bible (Exodus), Chapter 1-29 "I gave you different grasses, which gives seeds, and each tree, which gives seeds."
It is noteworthy that the respondents added three doctrines to the eight main ones formulated by us, so in general we have eleven theoretical motivations, based on human values for food preferences.

The same ideas brought forth in the doctrines were expressed in the interviews in a wider and more complete form. Here, we provide some examples and citations from the interviews. The main emphasis and motivation for nutritional choice in the interviews the same that is also in the survey was the doctrine of healthy lifestyle. Healthy nutrition has been understood in different ways: The most frequent opinion was that “It is better to use plant food which is grown locally by your own hands” (organization leader, male, 40 years old, Club Hello). People are adapted to the local conditions, which is why it is better to use locally grown food. Many respondents connect the idea of balanced diet with using the environmentally safe, clean organic (pesticide-free) food. Those who are members of the Macrobiotic Society find that important to follow the required macrobiotic diet, based on yin-yang principles: “The most important for the organism is to have yin-yang balance” (leader, woman, 50 years old, Macrobiotics).

The idea of health culture and human existence was formulated as “I prefer the live food, and I am rejecting all dead” (leader, female, 38 years old, Healthy Family) [the woman means vegetarian food].

The idea of human evolution was expressed as: “To the best of my understanding the main principles, which are written in Life Ethics and which we are recommended to follow, is the increasing of the quality of vibrations. The more high vibrations are in the product, the better it is for human health” (leader, male, 48 years old, Banner of Culture). Those who follow the Life Ethics believe that light vibrations are good and heavy vibrations are bad. A vegetarian diet is provides special light vibrations which people need for their health; heavy vibrations originate with meat.

The idea of alliance with the whole through food was expressed in a story about food as a special work of people with their body. It was noticed that in order for a person to achieve some concrete goals, one should choose a certain food which corresponds with his or her goals, special products, special preparation, even special colors. When the person eats, he should understand food as signal system for what you want to achieve and understand the consequences which it will bring to him. Those people who prefer vegetarian food sometimes make the excuse for themselves based on the assumption that “We live in the environment, we need to be heard by our environment, that is why we need sometimes to eat eggs and fish” (activist, female, 42 years old, Radostea). In this case eggs and fish are understood as the most heavy food in terms of the energetic vibrations, but they still can be used sometimes, contrary to the meat, which should not be used in any time. “Food is a way of learning about the world, a way of understanding the universe, a signal system, it gives a clue to how to proceed with activities” (activist, woman, 42 years old, Radostea). “I do not look at food as a way of health, for myself, I do not try to make it maximum useful for my organism, I look at it as the influence of the world on me, and how I absorb the world for myself” (activist, woman, 21 years old, Radostea).

During the focus group of Ivan’s Thousand Brothers, there was a consensus between the women participating regarding why it is not acceptable to eat meat. “Animals are going through their own evolution, of which we have no understanding, animals should deal with themselves [sad people should not intervene]” (women activists, Ivan’s Hundred Thousand Brothers). In their understanding, animals can eat each other, but people are on a higher stage of evolution and do not have the right to eat animals.

Despite the difference in doctrines, there are more commonalities than differences in nutritional recommendations of different organizations. The organizations usually divide products into those that are recommended and not recommended. We analyzed both the literature recommendations and the recommendations suggested by the leaders of organizations we interviewed. All organizations except Club Hello reject eating meat. Club Hello accepts eating meat in limited amounts. Banner of Culture and Ivan’s Hundred Thousand Brothers recommend milk and milk products. They do not recommend eating fish, but accept raw eggs. On the contrary, the Macrobiotic Society and Radostea recommend eating dairy food, but only in very limited amounts. The Macrobiotic Society accepts fish, does not recommend eggs, but pays special attention to sea food, different kinds of beans, and grains.

In the survey respondents most frequently mention vegetarian food as recommended. These are seeds, beans, fruit, vegetables, juices, herbal infusions. In the second place is soft vegetarian food which accepts dairy products, honey, and eggs. The foods that were indicated as not recommended by respondents are: meat, eggs, alcohol, coffee, sugar, salt, chocolate, white bread, pasta, cakes, potatoes, and imported products. The respondents also indicated as not recommended food with preservatives, or that was sterilized, or smoked, or grilled, or products with hot spices.

Almost all the respondents are familiar with the recommendations of their organizations. However, some of them take into account not only the recommendations of their organizations, but listen the recommendations of their medical doctors, healers, information picked up from the mass media and personal communication.

The results of the survey mostly correspond with those obtained in the interviews. “Strongly against meat, we say NO to meat, and alcohol” (activist, woman, 21 years old, Radostea). “Plants are recommended to us as a main food. Milk is important while it brings most of the life energy, some kind of a life
energy giver" (leader, male 48 years old, Banner of Culture). Many respondents emphasize the importance of fruit in the diet, the importance of seeds, grains, wheat, rye, oats, honey and nuts as well as different kinds of beans (lima, navy, lentils, kidney, pinto, peas). We can conclude that the organizations recommend an almost vegetarian diet and environmentally safe products for their members.

Let us try to analyze the recommendations given by the organizations and the real food preferences of the members of organizations. In the survey question “What kind of products are you using the most frequently?”, respondents indicated: grains, vegetables, fruit, berries, and dairy products. Ninety-three percent of the products belong to soft vegetarian and 78% to the strict vegetarian (only plant food). Meat was indicated only by 7% of the respondents. In the organizations studied, people who make their transition to vegetarian food often use soy products as meat substitutes.

Although it is recommended to eat locally grown food, most of the people in the interviews use a lot of products which are grown outside their local area. This became possible because of the development of market economies and studying the lifestyle of other cultures. The rebirth of old Russian kitchen takes place today. From the category of foods which are new for Russia, the most frequently used is soya. Many people prefer tropical and subtropical fruit and vegetables, marine cabbage, wild grasses, products of wheat grain.

From the question about the list of drinks, the most often used are black tea, herb tea, juice and coffee. Milk and water are also often used. The list of herbs used as tea expands and many people began using herb teas from different kinds of leaves and berries, which they make themselves from local plants that they gather. The list of plants used in food in Russia is gradually increasing.

The representatives of the organizations are vegetarians (most of them soft) or try to become vegetarians. However, the most of them do not follow the recommendations exactly. The most of the respondents explain that they do not always follow the recommendations because of different psychological circumstances such as “There are too many psychological pressures from the outside world that get in the way of spiritual enlightening;” “I eat junk food (meat) sometimes to ground myself, to get in balance with low matters and consciousness.” Other respondents indicate: laziness, self weaknesses, skepticism, low self-discipline, lost motivation due to the lack of imagination, temptation, old habits, lack of appropriate products in the market, lack of time. It is interesting to note that the respondents are almost all very short in money, however no one indicated that they do not follow the diet recommendations because they do not have enough money for that.

The focus group indicated the process of how people were rejecting meat and accepting the new way of nutrition. For some people it was hard to reject meat.

For example, one of the respondents describes: “It was very hard for me. I decided not to eat meat three years ago. For the first year I was suffering, can’t go buy favorite chicken meal...Now I already do not eat either chicken or meat, only sometimes let myself a small joy and eat fish, after I eat it, I always feel guilty and suffer.” For other people it was easy and simple, “It was natural for me. Many years ago I began to dislike meat. First meat, then sausages, then chicken, then fish. After some time I give up with all the rest.” “I never had a goal to reject eating something. We do not eat meat any more because we do not have money for it...naturally. But nobody suffers. Nobody asks: Mother, why do we not have meat? Everybody is happy, nobody is hungry.”

When people join the association, they go through changes in their diet. Everybody individually goes through the same phases, but over different time periods and with differing degrees of difficulty or ease. They start with soft and later to go to hard vegetarianism. Almost all the respondents indicate that they began to feel much better because of this. They feel better both spiritually and physically. In general, they are becoming healthier as they change their lifestyle (by giving up smoking and drinking), and improve their relationships with the surrounding people.

In the survey, 33 people (from a total of 45 total) indicated that their spiritual health has been improved, 20 of them indicated that their physical health also has been improved. It was a pleasure for the respondents to indicate these changes (participant observation). Here are some examples from the survey: “I got rid of my illnesses—[problems with the] pancreatic gland [disappeared], kidney stones, osteochondrosis. I do not take any medication any more;” “I always have a hope that I will keep my nutrition in a right way, sometimes I managed to do this for 3-6 months, then I feel myself light, I loose weight;” “My health became restored, I feel wonderful;” “Spiritual life including the recommended nutrition improved my health;” “I do not have heart disease any more, despite my age (I am 48 years old);” “I feel that my body is not heavy any more, willingness to move (hyperactive) despite the fact that I do not do any physical training, even the morning exercises;” “Now my endurance increased and it is much more now then when I was young;” “I have some kind of correction of my inside comfort, lack of diseases, but increased sensitivity to nature, energy, and space things;” “I became less nervous, more patient, more thoughtful, try to understand the absolute truth, and deeply understand nature;” “Emotionally, I became more balanced;” “I have many positive changes, I got rid of depression, became a happy person, but I do not connect this with food. On the contrary, first I began to recover from the long illness (heart surgery), got out of psychological crises, and then noticed that I do not want meat and potatoes any more, but more dairy and vegetables;”
"I am more in harmony with everything, more quiet, less ill;" "When I changed the diet, I became more quiet, less eager to get material things, I do not worry when do not receive something, I do not take medicines anymore, I think more, I give up watching TV, I do not listen to any more to crazy music, do not run to visit people, do not go to the theater, do not watch sports, do not read newspapers, do not read books, I love to be alone, do not talk too much on the phone;" "Feeling of happiness, wideness of the world view, interest to learning and to creativity, no longer running a treadmill at home, away from rushing around food, food now takes less time and thought, I look at food as the necessity to feel good, and that's all."

Improvement of social life: "I became much more self-confident, I changed myself and my relations with the others changed;" "It is very hard to say it with one meaning, I went through some kind of a spiritual jump, and a social jump as well, maybe a short stop and one more jump, for one year this is too fast, my consciousness is changing every month;" "I would like to be and I try to be better then I am, it goes not always successfully, but there are positive changes;" "I became more patient with people, anger disappeared."

Improvement of the perceptions: "Not only bread makes our living, but right approach to the food you choose helps with the harmonization, and the right perceptions of the world." Most of the respondents who were interviewed notice improvements in the physical, psychological, and social interaction with people.

Members of the organizations who changed their diet to vegetarian try to insert their new approach into society. People outside the organizations look at these ideas differently: they range from rejecting these ideas to following them.

How the Ideology of the Organizations Influence Food Preferences of the Population.

More then 2/3 of the respondents spread the ideas of their new diet in individual talks with relatives and friends. Many converse about themselves and their cases, others suggest books to read and give out copies to of the books. Some give talks and lectures to a larger audience. The interviews highlighted some other ways of spreading the information. Community of Spiritual Revival opened a vegetarian cafeteria. The respondents retells:

"Not only members of our communities come to us, people come from other organizations, we have discounts, plus we give free coupons to those who helps us, those who are active. We continually have participants from other organizations. People like how we cook. People became familiar with the vegetarian food...We have recipes on display windows, many people became interested, we give recipes to people who are interested" (woman, activist, 25 years old, Community of Spiritual Revival).

Members of Ivan's Hundred Thousand Brothers distribute soya products to the people of the town of Vritsa, to different companies, and to the population. "We bring 4 to 10 sacks of soya food, and people buy soya fast" (activist, female, Ivan's Hundred Thousand Brothers).

The Macrobiotic Society is conducting three seminars per month on macrobiotic nutrition. Different kinds of macrobiotic food is available to purchase. Many of the St. Petersburg's vegetarians buy food there. Ivan's Hundred Thousand Brothers, the Macrobiotics Society, and the Community of Spiritual Revival publish papers regarding nutrition.

We consider the influence of the organizations' members on their own family as a part of its influence on society. Food preferences of the members of organizations are received differently by their own family members. We can see the opposite cases. "There is no family, that I know, where the problems do not occur. The nicest, most well brought up, the most cultural, intelligent, and educated people do not find common language with those, who changed their ordinary diet" (chair, male 48 years, Banner of Culture). In other cases, there are no problems, "In our family we set it in such a way that who ever has prepared food has the opportunity of a choice, others should just eat. What I prepare everybody eats. Father, mother, and I have the same principles regarding food, so there is no tensions in the family because of food" (activist, female, 21 years old, Radostka). Some respondents said that there was no influence of their food preferences on their families. These people either live alone, or prepare food separately, or the family is accepts everyone's the right to choose their own food. We allocated several types of influences: 1) the skeptical attitude; 2) the ironical attitude: "They are laughing at me but do not prevent me from eating what I want," "My family is teasing me, when I do not feel well they say that this is because I do not eat meat;" 3) misunderstanding: "My family can not understand why I am doing this;" 4) soft rejection: "My family does not confront me directly, but there are some internal wishes, and suggestions. My relatives are concerned and look negatively on my vegetarianism. Each time all conversations at our meetings are reduced to that sore question [Why are you a vegetarian?], they suggest, "Maybe today you would eat some meat?" My relatives and friends love meat, but I hate it!;" 5) negative: "Differences in food preferences lead to my separation with my mother, we even separated our finances;" or, "We have two camps in the family - my wife and I do not eat meat, our children eat meat - but not too much. Some relatives followed our example and stop eating meat."
DISCUSSION

In the authors' opinion, the organizations which we studied can be related to a special category of environmental organizations, which are mostly involved in the propaganda of environmental ethics and consciousness. Such movement towards alternative lifestyles has not been incorporated into sociological theory in Russia. However, this movement exists and is realized through interest clubs and organizations. We assume that this kind of movement can be conceptualized in the frame of new social movements. The new social movement paradigm was developed by A. Melucci, A. Cohen, E. Zdravomyslova (et al. Melucci, 1985, 1989; Cohen, 1985; Zdravomyslova, 1993). Almost all new movements including environmental, are oriented towards post-industrial values, establishing a new identity and new relationship with the self and the environment. It seems that these Western new values are contradictory to the values of the population of a society in transition and have different meaning in Russia. Nevertheless, the type of organizations we studied, contrary to the other Russian environmental NGOs, have many similarities with those in the West. Both Russian organizations which we studied and most of the Western new social movements try to promote the new relationship of humans with nature, with themselves and their social environment. In the new Russia, new relationships are controversial to the values of utilitarian society which are characteristic for both pure market economies and socialist planned economies.

However, the historical and cultural context of these new movements differs very much. If Western social movements are based on the post-industrial values, organizations in Russia are developing under conditions of the destruction of the industrial society. If, for the Western societies the most important thing is the lifestyle of individuals, their autonomy and independence, for the Russian, the collective mentality still dominates. That is why many of the representatives of the studied organizations have difficulties with their diet when they live in the family structure, which does not allow too much independence. Russian families do not accept special nutrition or a different lifestyle within it. However, new nutritional attitudes are spreading in the society and are already influencing the food market. Our study demonstrated that there is an increasing tendency in the number of people who follow the recommendations of the organizations and choose a non-conventional diet. More and more vegetarian food products including soya appear in the market. We can notice that participants in the organizations, who are almost all poor people, influence the food preferences of the people of higher income. They are interested in improving their health and became consumers of beans, soya products, and natural tea, both in St. Petersburg and Vologda. In our future research, we are planning to study these changes in the demand for green, environmentally safe products.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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REFERENCES


ATTACHMENT 1.
LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS STUDIED IN THIS RESEARCH

The research was carried out among the participants of the following organizations:
Banner of Culture (regional public organization)
Radostea (international public organization)
Macrobiotics Society (St. Petersburg chapter)
Ivan's Hundred Thousand Brothers (public association)
Earth: A Planet of Love (Cathedral Agreement)
Community of Spiritual Revival (Vologda public organization)
Club Hello (Vologda club)
Healthy Family (Vologda center for parental culture)
Party of the Northern Star (Leningrad regional public organization)
Uimonskii Centre (ecological village)
Center of Knowledge about Transmutations and Fire Transformations (Simphep hull organization)
Orenburg Centre (Orenburg organization)
Live Christianity (public movement of Spiritual Creativity)

ATTACHMENT 2.
DOCTRINES GUIDING THE ORGANIZATIONS AND FOCUS OF THEIR ACTIVITIES

Banner of Culture

Doctrine of Live Ethics and publications of E.I. Rerich and N.K. Rerich
Around 50 members, 6 on the board
The focus of activity is on cultural and spiritual enlightenment, education, human ecology (movement for "clean," positive thoughts).
They organize meetings, lectures, slide shows, concerts, and excursions. They also work with schoolchildren and organize Days of Culture.

Radostea

Papers of E.D. Marchenko, system of health training and training of Porfiry Ivanov and ideas of Live Ethics
Macrobiotics Society
Doctrines of George Osawa and Michio Kushi
1000 members, 7 on board

The focus is on propaganda of Macrobiotics, creating a healthy lifestyle based on the harmonious relations of people with nature, using environmentally safe, organic food.
The society presents lectures and seminars.

Ivan's Hundred Thousand Brothers

System of health conditioning and the training of Porfiry Ivanov, papers of M. Aichvanov, I. Ivanov, A. Sandrova, V. Domirov, and the doctrine of Live Ethics

Earth, A Planet of Love

Based on the teaching of the sources mentioned above (except those of the Rerichs) and many other sources.

Community of Spiritual Revival

Driven by ideas of Live Ethics, a system of health conditioning, and the training of Porfiry Ivanov and many others
100 members, 7 on board
They focus on cultural enlightenment, education, environmental health, organize summer health and educational camps.

Club Hello

A system of health conditioning and training of Porfiry Ivanov and many others
A charitable organization, working in the areas of health, the environment, peace and other issues. They create a community of healthy people in a research preserve near Vologda.
They maintain a collection of information on new, environmentally safe technologies, publish books on making people and nature healthier, plant trees, and organize environmental field trips.

Healthy Family

A system of health conditioning and training of Porfiry Ivanov, the papers of Aichvanov, the ideas of Live Ethics and the doctrines of George Osawa and Michio Kushi.
100 members, 3 on the board
The focus is on promoting new models of childbirth, motherhood, and non-standard models of child development. Producer of the film "Birth with nature."
TRANSBOUNDARY MOVEMENT
TOWARD THE SAVING OF THE KARELIAN FORESTS

Dimitry Vorobiov

INTRODUCTION

With the beginning of reformation in Russia, numerous public movements and an independent media appeared, and, connected with this, new problems arose that have not yet been investigated. The development of informal movements is a index of civil society. That is why the development of the third sector attracts sociologists. The study of social movements is a very young scientific trend in Russia, but it has its own specialists and well-formed discourse (Yanitsky, 1991; Dawson and Tsepliova, 1993). Investigations and case studies of popular movements were carried out earlier by Khalyi (Khalyi, 1995). Some works were popularized and written as practical guides to be used in the third sector (Actions of the Ecological Movement, 1995). But there are only a few works on the analysis of contemporary ecological movements and their interactions at the international level. This work is devoted to the investigation of a case study of the ecological movement - the international movement in defense of the Karellian forests. The special feature of this movement is that it represents a Russian organization which successfully joined with international cooperation and took firm action.

The goal of the study was to examine dynamics and mobilization of resources for taking part in actions in the defense of the Karellian forests. In this study, I took the period from 1994 to 1997. The emphasis has been in finding out the reasons for the success of the movement. The analysis of the movement was done within the framework of a paradigm of the mobilization of resources. The following aspects were investigated: the problem which initiated the movement

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1 Researcher of the Center for Independent Social Research; student of the Center of Liberal Arts and Sciences at St. Petersburg State University and Ph.D. student of the St. Petersburg State University.
and the mechanisms for solving that problem; the influence of outside circumstances on the movement; the actors involved and their interaction. The author of the article shares the position of the participants of the movement.

In the work, the grounds of the theoretical approach are presented along with materials on the basis of the investigation. The material of the movement’s development is represented in chronological order and in descriptive form. The actions which guaranteed the success of the movement are singled out in the general chronology of the movement. In the analytical section, an analysis is given of the process of the movement’s mobilizing resources and a study of the situational context in which the movement was developed.

**MOTIVATION OF THE THEORETICAL APPROACH**

Most of the investigators used either a paradigm of resource-mobilization (Zald and McCarty, 1987) for an analysis of Western movements or a paradigm of new movements. The other investigators studied East-European movements, applying a Western paradigm, and remarked on the limited possibility of using this paradigm in conditions of the East-European context (Yanitsky, 1991, 1993). In the movement which we are analyzing here, both Western and Eastern actors take part.

For analyzing Russian social movements, the paradigm of resource-mobilization is used (Dawson and Tsepilova, 1993; Yanitsky, 1993). The authors point to the limited possibilities of using it for analyzing social movements in post-Soviet Russia in connection with the particulars of the Russian context. In spite of that, I consider it rational to use this paradigm, taking into consideration the Russian context in analyzing modern Russian movements, because the Russian movements have become similar to Western movements since the development of democracy and civil society in Russia.

The paradigm of resource-mobilization was developed by McCarty and Zald (Zald and McCarty, 1979). The authors considered the social movements as conscious, rational actions directed toward the achievement of their purposes by means of mobilizing the possibilities (resources) that they have at their disposal (Zald and McCarty, 1987). The theory of the political process is also used for analysis of the social movements. To show the course of the movement’s development, I considered agents of the movement and their resources, their interaction and the political structure in which the agents of the movement acted.

**METHODS**

The investigation was carried out as an analysis of the movement’s documents which include: correspondence of the activists via electronic mail, materials from the Internet (home pages of the Taiga Rescue Network, WWF Finland; Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and GAIA Forest Conservation Archives: European Forest Conservation Documents, Russian Forest Conservation Documents) and in the press (the electronic newspaper Forest News (No. 1, June 1997 - No. 17 March 1998 and EcoNews (vol. 2, No. 17, 20 April 1996 - vol. 4, No. 106, 3 January 1997). In order to clarify the chronology in the documents, I used data obtained with the help of focused interviews and participatory observation. Participatory observation was carried out at the seminar “The Sustainable Development of the Karelian Isthmus” on (8 December 1997, St. Petersburg) and at the seminar devoted to training environmental-protection movement participants in the work of defending forests (12 January 1998, St. Petersburg). I learned who the movement’s leaders were by analyzing the information received from the electronic informational system. The focused interviews were conducted with 3 leaders of the movement (out of 5) and one participant of the movement (an employee of the press-center of the Social Ecological Union).

The main respondents were the leaders of the Forest Club of the Russian Non Governmental Organization who are also activists in the organizations Greenpeace Russia and Environmental Defense Brigade, the Press-Center and the “Forest Project” of the Social Ecological Union. The observational report on the history of the forest defense movement, by member of the Biodiversity Conservation Center of Russia (BCCR), was also used.

**DEPICTION OF THE MOVEMENT IN DEFENSE OF BOREAL FORESTS (CHRONOLOGY OF THE MOVEMENT)**

**Earlier History**

The Movement in Northern and Western Europe

In 1992, at a conference in Jokkmokk, Sweden, a trans-national movement for the protection of boreal (Northern) forests was organized - Taiga Rescue Network (TRN). As a result of the movement’s successful actions in Western Europe, a wave of public protest arose against the use of paper from wood obtained by clear-cutting methods and from old-growth forests. The public protest was addressed to the main European consumers of paper - the publishing houses of England, Holland and Germany. Under pressure from the public, the wood production consumers and environmental, non-governmental organizations (ENGOs), producers in Sweden and Finland made the change to environmentally-friendly methods of lumbering.
The Movement in Russia

After successful actions in Norway and Sweden, the movement transferred its forces to Karelia. TRN held a conference in 1995 in Kostomuksha, where it was suggested to the representatives of Russia’s ecological NGOs that they join the movement. It is essential to note that even before that, the Russian NGOs had been working to defend the forests of Karelia. However, the actions of the NGOs had not achieved major results before 1995. At the beginning of 1996 the NGOs of Russia created the Russian Forest Club, an ENGO which empowered the existing movement.

The purposes of the movement were modified by taking into account the special peculiarities of silviculture in Russia. The basic goal of the movement in defense of Karelian forests was not a struggle against clear-cutting, but protection against the cutting down of old-growth plots of the forest, which are potentially valuable from the biodiversity point of view. Environmental protection organizations suggested that plots where the old-growth forests were to be found should be set aside as forest-reserves (to give protected status to those especially valuable plots of old-growth forests). For the rest of the territories of the Karelian forests, the movement sought to introduce sustainable forest use.

It was decided which regions would be given priority for protection. The ENGOs carried out an inventory (discovering the regions where old-growth forests were prevalent). The ENGOs also determined the real state of affairs in the plan for forest use in Karelia - lumbering companies, regions of lumbering work and methods used in wood-processing were discovered. On the basis of the information obtained, the mechanism worked out when the movement began was applied again, and action was carried out, based on analogy with the Western European action. Lumber companies were obligated to declare a moratorium on cutting old-growth forests in Karelia.

The Final Stage of the Movement

One of the aims of the movement had been accomplished. The clear-cutting of the old-growth forests was ended. In order to solve the other problems, the movement directed their forces to work with state structures - with the government of Karelia and the Forest Committee. After those state structures began to take into consideration the opinions of the ecologists in the ENGOs, conditions arose for a constructive dialogue among ENGOs, representatives of Karelia’s administrative structures, and timber industry workers. Conferences, meetings and working sessions have been held with the representatives of the Karelian leadership and lumber firms.

During meetings between the lumber firms and ENGOs, the question arose of performing a detailed inventory of the forests to clearly mark the old-growth forests on maps. This inventory was soon initiated by the Enso lumber company. However, ENGOs were prevented from participation in the work of the official commission on the forest inventory. Nevertheless, they made inventories of the forests independently. After completing the inventory work, the movement’s activists, on the basis of their own data, contested the commission’s data.

On the basis of the field research of Karelian forests, the ENGOs’ forces compiled a map of the territories occupied by largely intact old-growth forests. Timber industry firms consulted this map before harvesting, avoiding timbering in regions of old-growth forests, and the ENGOs were able to control the cutting and lobby the forest reserve organization. By joint efforts, in 1997, the movement succeeded in having the Karelian government adopt a resolution about the organization of the Kalevala national park.

After the resolution about the creation of the national park was passed, an inventory was made of the territories which were planned for the forest-reserves in order to make the parks’ boundaries more precise. This work was done by several commissions working independently - both official and non-official. At a meeting in Kuhmo (Finland) in March 1998, one of the official projects was adopted.

THE MAIN ACTIONS OF THE MOVEMENT

Western European Action

The movement held its first large-scale action in Western Europe. At the initial stage, with the help of numerous publications and video films, the movement succeeded in exercising a strong propaganda influence on the Western European public by clarifying the real ecological costs of wood products, especially paper. After that, through the mass media, it was suggested to readers of newspapers and magazines that they direct inquiries to the editorial offices about where the paper was obtained from and what methods were used by the lumber companies in felling timber. The large publishing houses of England, Holland and Germany were flooded with readers’ inquiries, and in turn they asked their paper suppliers, mainly based in Sweden and Finland, for information on the sources of the wood. The information received by publishing houses was handed over to Western European ENGOs, who in turn passed it on to the ENGOs of Sweden and Finland. Those ENGOs pointed out that the environmentally-friendly methods of forest claimed by the lumber companies differed drastically from the methods which they applied in practice. A counter-flow of information back to England and Germany was organized by the ENGOs, and as a result many of the lumber companies gained the reputation of being environmentally-unfriendly firms.
The movement succeeded in persuading the public that the forests are really under threat. First of all, clear-cutting was subjected to criticism. Second, the movement stood up for saving old-growth forest areas and introducing sustainable forestry. The production of those lumber companies that were “non-environmental” became less popular in comparison with the production of the companies that could show that they use environmentally sound methods of conducting forest management. Lumber companies were worked out for evaluating the wood production quality and a system was adopted for certifying and stamping. As a result, lumber and wood-processing companies in the Scandinavian countries (mainly in Sweden) gave up clear-cutting.

**Karelian Action**

In the first stage, a preliminary study of the Karelian forests was carried out through the efforts of the movement participants. Some old-growth tracts were discovered and information was collected about the regions and companies involved in wood cutting. It was shown that the plots for harvesting were chosen without taking into consideration whether or not there were old-growth forests in them. Hence, practically any lumber company could do felling in old-growth forests. This information was given to the allied Western European ecological organizations. The efforts of European NGOs revealed which products were manufactured from Karelian timber from forest-reserve regions. Publication of that information would threaten the ecological reputation of the lumber companies and might lead to serious economic conflicts.

As a result, at the end of October 1996, Enso, the largest Finnish lumber company, declared a one-year moratorium on buying wood from the plots of old-growth forests, as determined by Russian NGOs in Karelia and the Murmansk Oblast. In an interview with the Finnish newspaper “Helsingin Sanomat” (from 9.10.96) Enso’s vice-president Juhani Pohjolainen declared that Enso does not intend to clear-cut or buy wood from the Karelian regions, where “there is a conflict between the environmental protection NGOs and Russian authorities”.

In June 1997 UPM-Kymmene, one of the largest Finnish lumber companies, joined the moratorium on cutting old-growth forests. The moratorium on cutting, accepted by these lumber companies, was supported by other firms. The Russian company Ladensa as well as the Finnish lumber companies MoDo, Vano, Kuhmo, Pokki and others also joined the moratorium. A group of lumber companies that continued non-sanctioned wood cutting was neutralized. NGOs of Russia and Finland held a series of protest actions directly in the regions of cutting, with the purpose of attracting attention to the problem and damaging the image of the firms which continued “stealing” the forests of Karelia. Even the banks refused to cooperate with those firms when they learned about their ecological reputation. When the company Vainiopaa planned to take out a loan from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) for the construction of a wood processing plant, the TRN composed a letter to Randa Smine, Coordinator of the Ecological Committee of the EBRD program. In the letter the policy of the Vainiopaa company was described and it was shown that this organization’s loan project was in contradiction to Article 1 of the Founding Agreement of the EBRD: “The Bank’s activity is directed to environmentally sound and sustainable development”. The letter was signed by the representatives of the ecological organizations of Finland, Russia and Latvia. As a result, the loan was refused.

**MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES**

I consider the process of mobilizing organizational, information, professional and time resources to be significant for the movement at present. I dwell on these resource categories because they are important for a description of the repertoire of the movement’s actions.

**Financial Resources**

The movement for the defense of Karelian forests didn’t have a centralized system for receiving and distributing of financial resources. All the movement’s participants sought out their own methods of obtaining material support. As a rule, foreign foundations and the organizations’ own resources financed the work. For example, some of the programs of the Forest Club were implemented by the support of foreign foundations together with the Swedish Society for the Protection of Nature. Some of the projects of the Association of Karelian Greens were conducted with the financial support of the ISAR USAID foundation. The organization Greenpeace Russia was financed thanks to a redistribution of money (private donations) from the branches of Greenpeace in other countries. In spite of the fact that in Russia the system of voluntary donations is only starting to develop, BCCR made use of such support while organizing “March of the Parks”.

State and federal financial support of the movement was insignificant, at the time when the majority of the Finnish NGOs had financial support from the state and actively cooperated with the Ministry of Environmental Protection of Finland.

**Material and Technical Resources**

The movement’s participants were provided with the material-technical support of their organizations. The work was done by the support of the member-organizations of the Forest Club. Each organization used its own premises and office equipment. Carrying out field research did not demand a great amount of
material-technical resources. Modern computer software (for example, for decoding photographs taken from space) was used in statistical analysis and compiling maps of old-growth forest area.

Information Resources

The distribution of information took place at three levels: a) among the public; b) among ecological NGOs and c) among movement activists in the TRN network.

For the distribution of information among the Russian public, the movement activists used contacts with journalists, primarily the newspaper press. With the efforts of Greenpeace Russia and the Forest Club, press conferences were held on the problems of Karelia’s forests.

In order to attract new participants to the movement and in order to exchange information conferences were held in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Karelia through the efforts of the leaders of the movement for ecologists and ENGO participants. Also, in order to extend experience in environmental protection work, the movement leaders held seminars, and compiled and published guides for the work of protecting the forests. Sending information and coordinating the actions of the movement was done with the active use of electronic mail. Information on the current state of affairs in the Karelian region was disseminated by the electronic newspapers “Forest News” and “EcoNews” and the bulletin “Green Leaf”. To coordinate the movement’s actions and exchange information within TRN, a closed electronic network was created, which could be accessed only by the movement participants.

Computer networks became accessible to ecological NGOs comparatively recently. In Russia, the first network structures appeared in 1992. The most effective is the use of electronic mail (lists of addresses for local and global networks); the WWW is less effective. The Forest Club was formed in 1996, when the possibilities for the use of computer networks accessible to ENGOs were realized.

Organizational Resources

The spectrum of organizations which took part in the peak period of the movement was very wide. It included: a) environmental NGOs, b) scientific organizations, c) state organizations and, what is particularly important, some lumber firms (d).

Environmental NGOs.

The movement was initiated by TRN. Those NGOs that joined the movement were numerous. Beginning from 1995, the most active were the Association of Karelian Greens, Greenpeace Russia, BCCR, the Voluntary Association for the Preservation of Nature, and the Movement of Student Associations for the Preservation of Nature. Besides those, some activists interested in preserving the environment of the Karelian region joined the movement. In the beginning of 1996, some experts from Russian environmental NGOs united in the Russian Forest Club.

Not only were Russian environmental NGOs mobilized; from the Finnish side there were the environmental organizations Finnish Nature League, Friends of the Earth, the Finnish Association for Nature Conservation, Greenpeace Finland, and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) Finland. Among the supporting European organizations were international organizations such as Green Peace and WWF. In the movement, both moderate-conservative and radical organizations (such as Greenpeace and Earth First!) were mobilized. A great selection of organizations entered TRN.

With the positive support of these organizations, the real work was done by the forces of the Forest Club and the Karelian environmental organizations. The Russian Forest Club effectively became the steering committee, uniting experts from Moscow organizations, forest programs of the various organizations and some separate activists. Signally, or more rarely, several representatives of SEU, the Russian branch of TRN, Greenpeace Russia, BCCR, the Movement of Student Associations, and the Movement to Save Pechora joined the Forest Club. Their joining together in the Forest Club happened during work on introducing changes and additions to the Forest Code of Russia (the document regulating the rules of using the forests). Priority areas of the work of the Forest Club were forest legislation, preservation of old-growth forests, creation of specially guarded nature territories, control of the protection of these territories, and participation in commissions and inspections conducted on the state level. The Forest Club was not registered as an NGO, and did not have leading organs and bank accounts. As the group of the leaders were few in number, there was no need to create complex organizational structures. Since the work of Forest Club proceeded in close contact with TRN, we can affirm that the Forest Club used international resources for solving local problems.

State Administrative, Scientific and Industrial Organizations.

The environmental organizations succeeded in involving the state structures in the movement - the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources of the Republic of Karelia and Ministry of the Environment of Finland. The representa-
tives of state departments and scientific organizations of Russia (State Environment Committee of Russia, Center on Problems of the Environment and Forest Productivity of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), Institute of Forestry of RAS, Institute of the Forest of the Karelian Scientific Center of RAS, the St. Petersburg Forestry Academy, Committee on Forests of the Leningrad Oblast area, the Kostomuksha Reserve and Vodlozersky National Park) took part in the work. The scientific organizations of Finland, Sweden and Germany were also involved, but it is necessary to note their dependence on the regional authorities, which influenced their research. The often contradictory and dubious character of such studies was pointed out by independent experts from the NGOs.

The culmination of the mobilization process was reorientation of the opponents of the movement into supporters. So, for example, the lumber organization Enso and UPM-Kymmene (Finland), and Ledenso (Russia), having joined the moratorium on cutting especially valuable forests, initiated and supported inventory work of forest plots, which were then assigned as forest-reserves.

Professional Resources

Professionals formed the heart of environmental organizations such as TRN and the Forest Club. They displayed their qualification in silviculture science and attracted forestry specialists to the work. Professionalism and the forestry expertise of the participants of the movement played a positive role in interaction with the timber industry and administrative structures. This helped the movement to do independent work, with low expenditures, in mapping old-growth forest areas. The maps made by them served as additional resources for the movement. In this case, we can observe the creation of new resources during mobilization of the existing ones.

REPERTOIRE OF THE MOVEMENT'S ACTIONS

The strategy chosen by the movement proposed acquiring information about cutting the old-growth forests in the countries manufacturing lumber products and then distributing that information in consumer countries with strict coordination of the movement’s actions inside the TRN. Emphasis was put on making a scandal of the situation with the support of the Western public. The repertoire of actions created by the strategy of the movement included: a) actions aimed at acquiring information (conducting scientific research in the forests of Karelia and gathering information about the lumber companies and their forestry methods); b) interaction with the public of Western countries, workers of the timber industry and state structures and c) protest actions.

In the last decade in the Russian ecological movement, scientific and operative information is the main resource (Yanitsky, 1996). In a case study, the movement reveals its scientific-information character. The information obtained by the movement was used to lobby (for action aimed at protecting the existing forestry system). Thus, a new form of protest actions - “information protest” - appeared in the repertoire of the movement’s collective actions. The information protest was the main strategic method in the repertoire. Mobilization of the information resources and their subsequent broad distribution let them put public pressure on the firms that are consumers of wood products in the Western countries. As a result, under pressure from consumers, the lumber companies refused to cut wood in old growth forests (West European action).

Moreover, leaders of the movement, possessing scientific information and knowledge of jurisprudence, appealed to the legislative bodies. The lawyers from the institute Ecojursis worked on refining the existing forestry laws. In their statements, the participants of the movement also stressed the moral side of the problem, using the emotional component of the problem in press releases and publications. In the course of interviewing movement leaders, I discovered a high level of motivation behind their actions and devotion to environmental ideas.

The movement also held actions in the regions where lumbering companies work. Carrying out actions was made more difficult by the remoteness of the territories from big cities and the difficult access to these territories near boundaries. The activists of environmental NGOs of Finland, Nature League and Friends of the Earth, and representatives of Greenpeace from different European countries, including Russia, took part in the actions. The actions aimed to attract attention to the problem of cutting old-growth forests. During one action, logging operations were blocked in a region of the old-growth forests. During a second action, the logs cut in the old-growth plot were labeled creating difficulties for firms that did old-growth forest logging.

The movement’s protest actions included: information protest, appeal to legislative bodies and radical methods of protest (picketing and making a scandal of the situation).

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Specifics of the Political Context in Russia

Before the era of perestroika, environmental NGOs existed only within the state apparatus (for example, the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Nature). Russian environmental movements that were not sanctioned by the state organs would be suppressed. The political reforms of 1988-1992 removed state
control over the social organizations and NGOs formally (legislatively) became independent, but continued to use state resources. Those reforms removed the obstacles to interaction with international organizations; that is why TRN could support the activity of Russian NGOs in the Karelian region and associate with them. That was a very positive factor for the development of the movement in Russia - it broadened the social-political possibilities of the movement and created a new resource basis for mobilization. Besides the local resources, it became possible to use international resources and even the Western European public. The development of a market economy in Russia also made it possible to use market mechanisms to pressure the timber industry companies.

In spite of the fact that it was an informational movement, it cannot be considered as without conflict. As in the Scandinavian countries, the conflict of NGOs with the state and business structures served as the movement's main development mechanism. At the initial stage of the movement there was conflict between the ENGOs and the timber industry. In the final stage, when the industrial organizations were neutralized (a moratorium on cutting in old-growth forests areas was declared) conflict continued with the state. City and regional administrations in Karelia periodically opposed the movement. In spite of the fact that the territory occupied by the old-growth forests takes up only a small part of all Karelian forests, the authorities of Karelia followed a policy of cutting forests without taking into consideration their uniqueness. Additionally, the Karelian authorities directed many accusations against ENGOs. The main accusation was that because of the NGO actions, Finnish timber industries refused to buy Karelia timber, destroying the economy of Karelia and causing unemployment among the population of Karelia. The environmental movement, opposing that, criticized the Karelian authorities who followed the system of exhaustive forest use instead of sustainable forest use and creation of forest-reserves.

In circumstances of transitional periods, the opportunity appears for NGOs to counteract not only development projects (production structures) but also state structures. The third sector succeeded in balancing interests between business and state sectors.

Transnational Interaction Among NGOs

The process of democratization in Russia coincided with the formation of networks. In the modern world, international interaction develops between organizations united in a network. Within the scope of the network there is an exchange of information and mobilization of that information for action. TRN is a network structure, the development of which became possible thanks to global computerization. The integration of Internet movement reflects the general direction of the globalization process. New technologies are one of the means to create new structures. New technologies conquer the market, and the more modern the movement, the more powerful are the new technologies used in it. In the modern world, thanks to the Internet and network structures, a small number of people can organize a movement.

The problem of cutting the boreal forests was discussed within the scope of existing local structures, yet hotbeds of similar conflicts are spread all over the world. After the creation of the TRN, the question of saving boreal forests was raised on a global scale. It became evident to the movement that the actions of NGOs in different countries should be coordinated. So, TRN was created precisely as a trans-national association of environmental protection ENGOs. ENGO cooperation within that association constituted the real opposition to international industry and forestry companies. It was possible to achieve this thanks to joint actions of the movement in consumer countries (Great Britain, Holland and Germany), where an intensive campaign was mounted around revealing the real ecological cost of wood production, and in producer countries (Sweden and Finland), where the information about lumbering was collected. Also, the local problem of defending the Karelian forests was transformed into the global problem of rescuing forests.

The movement in defense of Karelian forests developed after actions in defense of old-growth forests in Scandinavian countries. Using the experience of the movement to make lumber companies join a moratorium, the movement needed only to show the possibility of making a scandal of the situation, menacing the image of the lumber firms, as in the case of the movement's work in Scandinavian countries. Only a few people did the work in Russia. It is important to note that the movement in Russia acted with very few resources, but the trans-national character of the movement, in cooperation with European ENGOs and use of their experience, made it possible for the Russian ENGOs, like the Scandinavian one, to achieve the goals that they set.

Transnational Interaction between NGOs and the Public

In analyzing the movement in defense of Karelian forests it was found that the mobilization of resources from the Western countries played a main role in the movement's successful actions. Anxiety about the problems of protecting the environment in the West, unlike in Russia, has a global nature (Yanitsky, 1993). However, the Russian ecological movement succeeded in mobilizing the Western public as a resource for defending the Karelian forest. Western commercial (publishing and lumber) firms influenced the Russian companies and administrative structures into adopting environmental protection measures. Mobilizing the re-
sources of foreign societies is trans-national only in extreme situations (in this case, the defense of the Karelian forests). Now, when the main aims of the movement have been reached (the cutting of the old-growth forests has been stopped), the movement is faced with the task of mobilizing the resources of Russian society.

Our work shows that in spite of different contexts, cooperation and international interaction between Western and Eastern NGOs is possible. Moreover, there are no strong differences in the movement’s repertoire of actions between Russia and the West.

REFERENCES


