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Environmental Organisations and the
EC

Action Options of Environmental Organizations for Improving Environmental Consciousness and Environmental Policy in the European Community

Draft Summary

of the Research Project Nr. 10101080
of the Federal Environmental Agency in
the Framework of the Environmental
Research Program of the Federal Minister of the Environment, Nature Protection and Nuclear Safety

November 1992

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1 Introduction

The environmental movement in Europe is currently experiencing a far-reaching transformation. In many countries, a transition is being completed from a movement to strategically working organizations. This transformation from movement to institution is the reaction to three important developments in the eighties:

- the substantial growth of large organizations, which today can claim a total membership of more than 10 million people in the EC

- the political career of "environmental issues" and the consequent changed requirement profile

- the internationalization of environmental policy, requiring coordinated action on various levels

This process is developing differently and at different rates in the individual European countries. "Alternatives for Action of Environmental Organizations in the EC", an investigation carried out for the Environmental Protection Agency within the framework of the German Environmental Ministry's research program, analyzes these changes. In doing this, it compares the various national conditions for environmental organizations in Germany, Spain, Holland, Great Britain, and on a European level. Environmental organizations have each developed their own national responses to these framework conditions. The investigation puts special emphasis on the different styles of politics and political cultures in the various countries. In an international comparison, it is possible to detect distinct national profiles, which are more important than political differences between different groups (e.g., conservation versus political ecology).

The different national political styles are proving to be a great obstacle to developing common European activities. This could be demonstrated by four thematic case studies (environment and domestic market, energy taxes, eco-labels, FFH). This means that the readiness to learn is a precondition for environmental organizations that want to gain influence on a European level.

Readiness to learn is also required of political institutions. The comparative international study clearly demonstrates that administrative dealings on national and European levels with environmental organizations do not function as smoothly as they might. The insufficient participation of these new interests could be termed a deficiency of democracy. Ten million environmental activists still have largely no formal participation rights in Brussels. Using case studies and a precise analysis of the decision-making procedure in the EC, we show in this report how they try to gain influence in spite of this.

The investigation was intended to provide political and strategic advice to environmental organizations and governmental administrative offices. It is designed to provide environmental organizations the tools for a long overdue discussion of strategy. It challenges the environmental organizations to complete the transition from movement to institution more rigorously than they have done until now (at least in Germany).

It provides government administrative agencies an insight into the complex internal structure

of environmental organizations. They must be understood if the state's participation and cooperation offers are to reap successful results. We can especially learn from the cooperation of the Dutch Environmental Protection Ministry and environmental organizations on national and European levels.

2 Analysis

In the four countries that were compared, the environmental organizations demonstrate clear, national characteristics of political style, strengths and weaknesses, main levels of action, and issues. These national characteristics have at least as much importance for the work of the environmental organizations as do their different political orientations (e.g., conservation groups, political lobbyists, mobilizing organizations). The national characteristics are closely related to the national political system. The organization representatives consider these characteristics "without questioning them", which can lead to differing and contradictory expectations on a European level. The umbrella organizations are affected by this most. Organizers of successful transnational projects in the EC are often familiar with the different cultures and can mediate between them.

2.1 Political Style

On the question of the political style of the organizations, the theory section differentiates between a "value-oriented" and a "success-oriented" political style. "Value-oriented" refers to the portrayal of the one's own position, in other words what is "politically correct", "true", and "necessary". The "identity" of the organization is important. For this reason, questions of principle hold an important place. The internal organizational structure and internal procedure questions - especially inter-organizations! democracy - are considered just as important as the actual material goals of the organization. On the other hand, "success-oriented" organizations place target feasibility and realization in the forefront. This means that it is more a question of the strategic use of various instruments to influence policy, of an activity's "possibility of success". Value and success oriented are different methods of policy employed by environmental organizations.¹ Value-oriented forms of policies can - of course - also be employed within the framework of a strategic overall concept as success-oriented ones (e.g., "pincer movements").

Of the four countries that were investigated, an organizational structure exists in Great Britain and in Holland that is geared to directly influencing policy. On the other hand, the organizational structure in Germany and Spain is more geared to working out and disseminating knowledge of positions on basic principles as well as actions involving concrete projects.

The countries in the examples are differentiated according to the degree of openness of the political systems. In an open political system, the mobilization threshold for environmental concerns is low; both the party system and the government administration take up the issues

¹

The separation into value and success oriented organizations is ideal. In reality, there are mixed forms.

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concerns is low; both the party system and the government administration take up the issues and positions of the environmental movement. The mobilization threshold is high in a closed political system.

Political Opportunity Structure	Policy Style	
	more expressiv	more instrumental
open		UK, NL
closed	FRG, SP	

Tabelle 1 Political Opportunity Structure and Policy Style of Environmental Organisations

A distinction has to be made about the initial thesis of the project with respect to political style. Closed political systems create value-oriented, polarizing political styles, while open political systems foster success-oriented, more conciliatory positions. Apparently, **informal access possibilities** to decision-making bodies are decisive, as the examples of Great Britain and Holland demonstrate.

Although the political system in **Great Britain** is formally closed, it allows for informal access. In Great Britain, environmental organizations do not have a chance to "challenge that powers that be", because the British electoral and party system ("the winner takes all") is not very open to new issues. Therefore they have taken advantage of their one chance of gaining influence: via informal contacts to governmental administrative offices. They make up a part of the British "Policy Communities - political networks between governments and society that work outside of the open political discussions. Environmental organizations have learned to translate their demands and ideas into the "game rules of the feasible within the given distribution of power", to pursue "special interest policies", and raise acceptable individual demands (these are negotiated by delving into the logic of the administrative agencies and making it "palatable"). The political style of the British environmental organizations is a reaction to a political system with a very strong executive and a weak parliament.

The **Dutch political system** demonstrates opposite characteristics. It has a strong parliament with many parties which deal with new issues, an open and integrative political culture, and a relatively weak executive. Policy communities have also been created with the participation of environmental organizations. However, the Dutch political system allows environmental organizations more comprehensive opportunities than the British one. It allows for not only informal links to the government, but also direct and relevant political access to the party system. Seen historically, the political system is characterized by consensus-oriented cooperation of the different social groups on one hand, and on the other hand by the intense conflicts of the post-68 era. These two sides are reflected in the types of actions taken by the environmental organizations, which range from work on very critical basic principles, to public mobilization, all the way to close cooperation with the government administration. In Holland, a functional, political and spacial division of labor has been established between mobilizing (e.g., "Milieudefensie") and policy influencing (e.g., "Stichting Natuur en Mileu") organizations. This division is maintained by close working contact between the employees of the individual organizations.

²

The term "interest" is used here in the sense of special single interest (e.g., protection of one species of bird), not in the sense of general public good (e.g., genus issues).

The difference to German and Spanish organization structures is obvious. **German organizations** are very good at formulating positions of basic principles and acquiring specialized knowledge. value-orientation is held in high esteem. This is mainly supported by a scientific and technically oriented field of research institutes, which is the strongest in Europe and has its roots in the ecological movement. However, the weakness of the lobbying structure on the national level is striking.³ Contacts between public environmental agencies and environmental organizations mainly take place on a representative level and deal less with exchanges of specialist knowledge. The environmental organizations are not a normal component of an environmental policy network. The work of the German environmental organizations is more directed to public opinion. Direct involvement in and influencing of political decisions would contradict the identity of many German organizations insofar as they are connected with "uneasy compromises". The organizational personnel is more concerned with its "internal functions" than direct policy influencing functions. The strong position of voluntary workers and emphasis on the lower levels in organizations also increase the difficulty of creating close working contacts between public administration and organizations.

This political style is the rational reaction to a political system that was closed for a long time, and to the historical experience of unresolvable conflicts between the government and the environmental movement. The mobilization threshold for central issues of the environmental movement was extremely high until the middle of the eighties. Despite the creation of an Environmental Ministry, environmental policy is still largely conceived without the participation of those who demand it. The government has assembled its own circle of advisors (e.g., Committee for Environmental issues, Study Group for Environmental Protection). Environmental organizations are "tolerated" in discussions at the most. Even the slight access of environmental organizations to advisory committees (e.g., Central Office for Controlling Biological Safety) had to be fought for in the political arena. We can speak of a rather closed public administration in Germany; acceptance of ecological issues was "fought for and won" in part through the party system and the public. The lack of trust between the government and environmental organizations adds to the emphasis - typical for Germany - on formal and structural demands (rights to sue, participate, and have access to information). This "strained relationship" between the government and environmental organizations is one of the essential reasons for the "pressure group profile" that German environmental groups have internationally.

The tension between public administration and environmental organizations is even greater in **Spain**. Forty years of Franco dictatorship have left their mark on both public administration and environmental organizations. Environmental organizations were the only permissible cubby hole where leftist political activism was permitted during the Franco dictatorship. The lack of Spanish government interest in environmental concerns and the predominance of social issues have made environmental issues into marginal political issues. Due to the lack of public response to environmental issues, environmental groups still have very few members and a weak financial basis. This means that environmental activism is largely a spare-time activity. Additionally, pronounced anti-institutionalism and individualism act as organizational obstacles in developing a strong environmental movement. This strengthens the value-oriented components of the political style. The groups concentrate on local and regional actions and projects, mainly due to the difficulties of communications, the spare-time aspect of activism, and the tradition of long years of political oppression.

The political culture on the **EC level** is very similar to the British situation. it is characterized by informal contacts with environmental organizations that have no formal rights or power

³

The situation is somewhat different on communal and regional levels. There is discussion between opposing sides there.

potential. With its weak parliamentary control and a "strong" executive⁴, it is somewhat similar to the British political system. Environmental policy ensues as a creeping transition; there is no hope for a decisive break with the past. The administration engages in a selective process, choosing between "constructive" and "destructive" contributions. There is no widespread "European public", which would respond to work on basic principles or polarizing campaigns. For British organizations, therefore, the move to Brussels is only a spatial and not a cultural one. This partly explains the familiarity of British organizations with EC institutions. And it also explains - compared to the strength of the German groups - the slight representation or late appearance of German organizations on the international NGO stage.

2.2 The Importance of Political Levels

Environmental organizations can concentrate their efforts on different political levels. The focussing of their efforts is dependent on the possibilities of gaining influence that they enjoy on the different levels. We can ascertain different national characteristics here too.

The national level is the most important environmental policy level in **Great Britain**. The environmental movement concentrates its efforts accordingly. The headquarters and central power brokers of the organizations are all in the vicinity of London. There are frequent informal contacts between the organizations, and leaders are often rotated from one organization to another.

Because the conservative government displayed little interest in environmental issues till the end of the eighties ("the dirty man of Europe"), organizations saw their greatest possibilities for exercising influence in cooperating with the EC Commission. Environmental protection innovations for Great Britain come from Brussels. The British government's lack of action can be exposed by cooperating and frequently exchanging information with the EC Commission. The British environmental organizations "use" the EC to improve their position nationally. They have relatively little interest in EC politics in themselves.

The EC is the driving force of environmental politics in **Spain** too. However, the role of the EC is more ambivalent for Spanish environmentalists; the massive investments of structure funds also cause substantial ecological damage. Compared to the weakness of their national organizational structure, the international orientation of many Spanish environmentalists is striking. The EC relationship of many activists is especially great, because many hope for "backing" and increased importance being allotted to their own issues. This can perhaps be explained by the affinity to "representation work", that is widespread on the political margins. The weakness of the national structures results in a lack of a national or regional basis for international actions. This results in little response to the sound initiatives of the specialists sent to Brussels. A further difference to Great Britain lies in the regional and local orientation of most environmental groups. This is strongly related to the regionalization of Spanish environmental policy caused by strengthening of the "autonomous" regions.

The Netherlands have also a centralized government with a few decentralized components. The relevant political level for environmental policy is the nation-state. In a few cases, environmental organizations and government consider each other as partners to achieve things in the EC. For this small externally-dependent country, the EC is a political factor that must be taken into consideration in all proposals. Because the EC work often takes place through the

4

Strong in comparison to the European parliament, not with respect to its authority.

national governments, the Dutch environmental organizations often are at a greater distance to the EC institutions than the British, but at a smaller one than the Germans.

Level of politics	Relevance of the Level to environmental organisations	
	high	low
EC	SP, UK	FRG
Nation	NL, UK	FRG
Town/ Region	FRG, SP	NL, UK

Tabelle 2 Relevance of different political levels for the work of environmental organisations

The Federal Republic of Germany is a country with a strong federal structure. Environmental organizations in Germany are somewhat of a reflection of German federalism with their division into three levels: local groups, state organizations and national organizations (with the exception of Greenpeace and the WWF). Because the national level was relatively closed to influence and the European level is culturally strange, environmental organizations decentralized their activities. Chances of success are most feasible at the lowest level in Germany. This also explains why ideas of decentralization and communes as the driving force of ecological politics met with an especially big response. Although the EC is very similar to German federalism in its structure, it strengthens the tendency to centralism and consequently runs contrary to the wishes of the environmental organizations to have decentralized decision-making structures.

2.3 Chances and Limits for European Campaigns

Five exemplary cases were investigated within the framework of the research project:

- the reaction of the environmental organizations to the single European market and the new push for integration
- their work on climate and energy taxes
- their work on directives for preserving flora and fauna habitats (FFH)
- their work on eco-labels
- their work on technical product standards

In the project, we reached the following provisional results:

The large, general issue of **environment and single European market** was only of interest to the German environmental organizations dealing with issues of basic principles. They conducted numerous meetings on this issue. Although the pragmatic British and Dutch organizations regard the single market critically, they do not consider it possible to make

criticism of the single market project as a current political issue. However, they are active in and critical of individual issues. In Spain, the ecological consequences of the Structural Funds are the focal point of numerous activities, because conservation issues are addressed here.

The discussions about the political union and the changes to the EC treaties have a special status. Because this is a current issue at any rate and governments have dedicated themselves to sustainable development, there are certain chances of success here which the organizations are trying to sound out. In all case studies, the issue of the insufficient participation of environmental organizations played a great role. The negotiation of new game rules for the participation of environmental organizations is a central issue for most organizations, which affects all specialist areas. The issue only is less important in Great Britain. Because they are integrated in the informal political networks, they expect little substantial progress from a formalization of their rights.

Both in the case of an **eco-label** and cooperating to formulate **technical standards**, most environmental organizations question whether these instruments of product policy would produce sufficient "substantial"⁵ results to make the work worthwhile. Most environmental organizations are not aware of participation in working out technical standards as an area of their responsibility. They are not the focal point of activities in any of the countries, although the organizations - especially in Germany - "touch" upon it. A realistic role of environmental organizations in this area could rather comprise being "door openers" and "pointing the way" for ecological specialist knowledge from individuals and institutes.

Because conservation is an important issue in all countries and the first outlines of the **FFH directives** promise substantial progress, their development is being intensely scrutinized and commented on. Even though there has been criticism of the kind of coordination exercised between the European habitat campaigns, it is certainly one of the few examples for actions in which the national and European levels were meshed, the demands coordinated, and a sound knowledge basis exists in the organizations about the current state of the discussion.

The issue of **energy taxes** is less suited to an international campaign. Although most environmental organizations are in favor of an energy tax, its importance within the context of a climate protection policy is disputed. Many groups consider it only useful within the framework of a package of measures. Additionally, there are country-specific differences concerning the importance of this issue. Energy taxes are deemed very important in Holland and Germany, because they could indicate initiation of an ecological structural change. In Great Britain and Spain, the issue is not yet ripe given the current state of affairs, or does not fit the political conditions. In spite of this, the Spanish group AEDENAT is actively campaigning for an energy tax, while the support of British groups for a European energy tax is still very reserved. They are counting on other political measures: those being currently discussed in the government and consequently on the British agenda.

From the analysis of these five case studies, we can deduce the following factors that increase the chances for successful transnational cooperation of the organizations with regard to EC environmental policy:

Specific chances of success have to exist to put the **issues on the agenda** of the EC institutions. Without these prospects, many success-oriented organizations will shy away from the work load, unless it is a question of a central issue of the environmental movement (e.g., atomic energy). Timing is important. Work must be begun early enough to allow for the long and involved preparations required. However, if work on a issue is

5

See the explanations in Chapter 1.4.1 for a detailed description of the term "substantial".

begun prematurely, there is little response from many groups.

The issue has to be a **fundamental** one. This means that it should cover a sufficiently far-reaching field of activity to induce organizations to identify with it and make them willing to invest resources in it. This condition was not met in the case of product standardization and the eco-label. In addition, the issue should be one that can easily be conveyed to the public.

The environmental organizations should have some **prospects of successfully** influencing the decision with their resources. In this respect, the "Single European Market and Environment" issue was too "large" and basic for many environmental organizations.

Different national conditions and issue prospects have to be taken into consideration. Different methods on national levels have to be accepted and practiced. For this reason, fostering of an inter-cultural learning process is an important success factor.

The **"locomotive function"** of one or more organizations is valuable. They should be willing to take care of preliminary work concerning contents and organization and provide an infrastructure. Strong national organizations, umbrella organizations, or even networks could take on this function.

2.4 Institutionalizing European Work in Organizations

2.4.1 The European Level

The existence of environmental organizations on the EC level can be traced to the founding of the European Environmental Bureau (EEB) in 1974. The EEB was the only larger amalgamation existing on the EC level until 1986. Networks specializing in individual areas first came into existence end of the seventies (e.g., PAN, Werkgroep, Nordzee). A real boom of new organizations, however, first occurred in the second half of the eighties. One after another in close succession, CEAT (Coordination Europeenne des Amis de la Terre), Greenpeace, the WWF, and others⁶ opened offices in Brussels. Further networks followed⁷, sometimes with offices outside of Brussels. More specialized networks and new umbrella organizations will probably be created in the foreseeable future.

We can now distinguish four typical structures with their own characteristics on the European level:

the EEB as the largest comprehensive umbrella organization, that has had a distinctive, political role oriented externally

⁶ The Climate Action Network Europe and the "Stiftung Europäisches Naturschutzerbe" (Foundation for European Conservation Heritage).

⁷ The European Habitat Forum, the European Union for Coastal Conservation, Transport and Environment, and the Environmental Law Network International.

CEAP as coordinator of the European Friends of the Earth groups, which addresses itself mainly to networking functions for individual organizations concerned with their autonomy and independence

the two EC offices of the international organizations Greenpeace and the WWF, which have hierarchical decision-making structures and great capacity for international actions

the numerous specialist networks and teams

The EEB, the largest European-wide umbrella organization, has grown considerably in the last few years. Both the number of membership organizations and the budget have more than doubled since the beginning of the eighties. In the last few years, however, a few organizations (Greenpeace, the Dutch bird protection society) have dropped out again. The EEB now employs a somewhat smaller number of personnel compared to the other larger organizations in Brussels. In spite of this, the EEB is actively working on almost all important environmental issues on a European level and has organized numerous meetings and seminars.

The growing interest of its members for European policies has presented the EEB with a difficult challenge. The EEB is currently facing the dilemma of insufficient financial resources and increasing demands. With the growing number of environmental organizations devoting themselves to an increasing number of issues on the European level, it also is faced with the task of developing a new functional and issue-related character. Many members have increasing demands for more internally-oriented services (information, networking, discussion possibilities). On the question of issues, the EEB has been developing in the direction of a political "generalist", covering big issues (single market, 5th ecological action program, UNCEB) and issues concerning several policy-fields (democracy, ecological taxes) over the past few years. After over two years of discussions about reforms, a few measures were decided upon to adapt the EEB to the new conditions. The core of the reform attempts is a strengthening of the "internal activities" of the EEB.

With respect to project acquisition and coordination, the structure of **CEAT** has proved to be successful. However, the political work is not done by the office in Brussels, but rather by the national, issue-specific "leader groups". CEAT does not claim to be a structure taking political positions itself. Instead, it is a coordinating office. The rain forest, the biotechnology clearing house, tourism and the Mediterranean are among its most important issues. An eastern European office was opened several years ago for networking eastern European groups.

The EC office of **Greenpeace** was subordinate to its international campaigns until 1991. This meant that it was not sufficiently adapted to peculiarities of the EC institutions in either its style or its methods. Consequently, it was only successful in individual cases (e.g., exports of hazardous waste). This situation was corrected by a structural reform in 1991, which substantially strengthened the capability of the EC office to undertake political actions.

The **WWF** is currently represented in eight EC countries (Belgium, Germany, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Spain and Holland). The EC office of the **WWF** enjoys a relatively large amount of autonomy. It can deal with issues it wants to and take action on them. The international character of the organizations is well suited to produce action-oriented networking between the national and European levels. The **WWF** has evolved to be one of the leading environmental organizations on the EC level with respect to agricultural policy and structure fund activities.

The founding of **issue-oriented networks** directed towards EC institutions is a very important development. Networks are currently looked upon very favorably by members as an organization form with a good democratic character, information flow, and quality work.

2.4.2 The Integration of the Environmental Dimension in the Countries Examined

In all the countries examined, there is at least one organization that established an EC department. In spite of this, we can note differences in the integration of the EC dimension in the organizational work.

The integration has progressed most in Great Britain. In the large organizations, there are both EC experts and specialists, who take the EC dimension into account in their work. In Holland, the EC work was delegated to Stichting Natuur en Milieu within the framework of the environmental organizations' division of labor. However, it is also partially integrated in specialist fields. It is not as important as in Great Britain, however, because the most effective channel of influence is via the government and not via the EC Commission.

German organizations only created EC departments in the last few years. Work on the EC is increasing, although this is still insufficiently integrated into daily specialist work. In Spain, there is more of a de-integrated structure. There are many activities on the European level, but weaker structures on a national level to put these into practice domestically.

2.5 Conclusion

A European-wide awakening of environmental organizations began in the middle of the eighties, about the same time as the political push for EC integration. The European work of the environmental organizations is at a turning point almost everywhere. Most organizations made important structural decisions in the last few years, and the speed of the changes has been fast. The landscape of environment organizations is becoming more complex and certainly more politically important on a European level. This push for internationalization will certainly entail an inter-cultural learning process, which could lead to a "European" identity in the mid-term.

Perspectives

The following proved to be central questions in the investigation of the EC work of the environmental organizations:

What role do the environmental umbrella organizations play?

What instruments can they use to exercise influence, and which strategies can and should environmental organizations apply?

How can the relationship between government and environmental organizations be structured?

The answers provided below should facilitate necessary internal clarifications in organizations. They are based on a consideration of historically grown organizational structures and the political identities of the organisations. It is largely a question of making prerequisites and results of various courses of action clear.

The starting point of this discussion is that environmental organizations have to become more "success-oriented", more professional, and more capable of developing strategy given the increasing importance of the environmental protection issue. They must satisfy the growing demands placed on their political abilities. At the same time, governments have to not only recognize the increasing social importance of environmental issues, but also be willing to deal with their most important representatives.

3.1 The Role of Umbrella Organizations

The role of umbrella organizations in all the countries examined and on the EC level is controversial. There is above all no clarity about what functions the umbrella organizations should assume.

They have the function of bestowing a **seal of quality**. Their members recognize each other as members of an amalgamation of organizations that have similar goals, values, and identities. This consequently differentiates them from other organizations (business interest groups, front organizations). They consider themselves as "legitimate representatives" of the environmental movement in dealing with governments and others.

They can take on important internal functions, for example making information available, networking, coordinating organizational activities, providing an infrastructure for external partners of the umbrella organization (e.g., public administration, those in the political arena, groups in society).

They can take care of **general issues not confined to one organization**. Individual organizations deal with specific areas. In addition, there are issues that can be most successfully dealt with independent of individual organizations (general political issues, consensus issues, important niche issues).

They can increase the **potential for accomplishment and strategic capability** by linking interests, activating a great number of people, coordinating political actions, etc.

Umbrella organizations **reduce complexity** for governmental and societal protagonists by "legitimately" representing interests. Decision-makers are no longer confronted with numerous representatives, but rather with representatives who **"link"** a great number of **interests** or who have a common position arrived at by way of internal deliberations.

This role, however, runs into danger when its representative status is self-defined, and when the umbrella organization does not make its relationship to supporting organizations clear or not clear enough. A prerequisite for successful execution of its function is a high degree of identification between members and "their" umbrella organization. This must be supported by granting internal decision-making processes and other internal functions high priority.

The transfer of political decision-making processes to the European level leads to an increase of responsibilities for national as well as European umbrella organizations. On a European level, the necessity to link interests and reduce complexity in contacts with the EC Commis-

sion is substantially greater. The EC Commission is not able to deal with numerous representatives whose political affiliation they cannot judge. The complicated decision-making process in the EC requires close cooperation between national and European political levels. Umbrella organizations can create important "nodal points" for this.

On a national level, there is an increasing need for information about and possibilities to influence the European level. Individual organizations, however, are not able to take on these tasks alone given their slight resources. The case studies demonstrated that the coordination and information requirements have increased substantially.

To make work more effective, umbrella organizations should take over specific (service) responsibilities. This would prevent having things done twice and free individual organizations from paralyzing themselves. At the same time, it would strengthen the relationship between umbrella and membership organizations.

However, the case studies have demonstrated that organizations on the national and European umbrella organization level (EEB, CODA, DNR) are faced with similar dilemmas. Environmental umbrella organizations face legitimization difficulties when the individual organizations tend to articulate and push through their own interests. This can be a result of discontentment with the existing umbrella organization or be based on different conceptions about the necessary functions of an umbrella organization.

The reasons for strained relationships in umbrella organizations arise from several areas of conflict:

Umbrella organizations are faced with conflicting goals and difficulties that are partly the result of their structure. They compete functionally and on issues with large organizations, although they do not dispose of the latter's resources. They must mediate between very heterogeneous interests comprising a very large number of members. The small organizations need the service functions of the umbrella organization the most, but the umbrella organization needs the support of the larger, financially sound organizations. The larger organizations have less need of the umbrella organizations, and the smaller organizations cannot provide the umbrella organizations the necessary political weight alone. The umbrella organization presents general issues to the public, for which less resources can be mobilized normally than for dealing with specific issues. It practically produces a public good (for both environmental organizations and the government) for which there is little inclination to pay. In times of change, umbrella organizations' profiles, which developed over a period of time, are quickly thrown into question. The umbrella organizations have to continually be flexible and adjust to a changing world, on which they are extremely dependent.

Members require umbrella organizations to adjust quickly to changed conditions and demands they make. Because dynamics in the area of environmental organizations were vigorous up until a few years ago, the umbrella organization environment changed constantly. However, the landscape of environmental organizations has probably entered a stage of institutional consolidation, and there will probably be no more essential changes in the number and importance of environmental protection organizations in the next few years. This means that there can now be a meaningful differentiation and determination of functions.

The basis for the differentiation should be an analysis of the structure-specific strengths (broad social basis, rights to political representation) and weaknesses (heterogeneous interests, difficulties in making agreements) of umbrella organizations.

The process of determining functions should, however, take place "from the bottom up". This would increase the legitimization and acceptance of umbrella organizations and consequently their organizing and mobilizing capability. This means that members must not practice

"passive criticism of fundamentals", but instead should develop an "active and constructive" understanding of the role of umbrella organizations.

3.2 Scheme for Achieving a Mixture of Political instruments

3.2.1 instruments

The strategic ability and effectiveness of environmental organizations depends on their use of the "tight" instrument at the right time in the various stages of the political process. They have to find the "right" mixture of instruments and employ the correct nuances. Publicity-bringing radical politics or specialist dialogs about technical details are not always the appropriate course of action. The appropriateness of conflict or cooperation strategies depends on the issue and the situation. Which instruments offers the best chances for success also depends on the organizational profile.

To achieve the goals of environmental protection, organizations have several instruments at their disposal. Each of these instruments is connected to the specific structural and cultural qualities of the organizations. Decisions about which instrument to employ should be made against this background of the organizational profile.

a) Environmental organizations can **mobilize** the public via the mass media, grass-roots work, and disseminating information (meetings, publications). Prerequisite for this is an effective "pressure group" function.

Environmental organizations with a strongly decentralized structure (strong grass-roots groups) and a high degree of active members have much better chances here compared to highly centralized organizations with a largely passive membership.

b) Environmental organizations are a moral authority. They can formulate fundamental ethical positions and **outline models for social development**. In a time when the importance of a sound environmental policy is generally recognized, it is more a question of a definition of the right kind of environmental protection. The preconditions for success are credibility, moral integrity, and/or strong public support (large membership).

c) They can try to achieve their goals by **directly influencing governmental and political decision-makers**. While lobbying on the level of representation (managing director, executive board, president) serves to influence political moving forces globally, lobby work on the specialist level requires a high degree of specialist knowledge and continuity. Lobbyists work within the game rules of the public administration and have to know and accept them. A certain personality profile of a lobbyist is necessary for this.

To successfully exercise influence, the organizations must:

- have professional employees who are externally oriented

- have precise knowledge about who makes decisions in public administration, when which course of exercising influence makes sense, and which demands have chances of success at the moment

- realize that for lobbyists to exercise influence certain game rules must be abided by up to a certain extent. Exercising influence is complex work that entails acceptance

of the negotiating limits of public administration and politics.

provide their lobbyists with an attractive "exchange potential" to be successful (e.g., politically important information, specialist knowledge, etc.)

d) Participation in Expert and Decision-Making Committees: Possibilities for environmental organizations to participate in expert and consulting committees have increased dramatically in the last few years. This has enabled environmental organizations to achieve formal chances of exercising influence. Taking advantage of this instrument is, however, linked to two essential prerequisites. On the side of the environmental organizations⁸, they must dispose of the necessary specialist knowledge to be able to take sides in highly specialized questions. Furthermore, sufficient financial resources must be made available to enable experts to take part in the process of arriving at a decision.

e) Educational work is an important instrument for effecting changes in society. This could help to change individual behavior on one hand, and on the other hand it could create political sensibility.

3.2.2 Strategic Capability and Mixture of Instruments

The effectiveness of environmental organizations depends on the degree of strategic capability they achieve. Strategic capability presupposes that there is some reflection about the process of creating a political will and making decisions for specific issues. There also have to be considerations about which instruments the environmental organizations will employ, when they will do it, and what shape they will take.

The case studies demonstrate that many environmental organizations tend to start activities "spontaneously", based on their previous experiences. They do not engage in any **structured process of reflection** in which strategic and tactical considerations are involved. Lack of strategy (including a mixture of instruments) can mainly be seen in organizations with decentralized and voluntary structures, while organizations with a high degree of professionalism are more likely to employ a targeted mixture of different instruments.

In three of the four case studies, the instrument of "classical" lobbying had a rather subordinate significance among organizational activities.

The question arises of the possibilities an organization has to employ several instruments. A strong emphasis on the "pressure group" function (through radical positions) can lead to conflicts with classical lobbying. Lobbying is "Realpolitik", and can mean comprising one's own positions. The credibility of environmental organizations, however, depend on the radicalness and independence of positions as regards content. This could lead to a conflict between behavior favoring consensus in negotiating processes and the radical image of an organization.

The studies of the organizations demonstrated that this is not inexorably the case. An environmental organization presupposes essentially two instruments: on one hand there are the actions directed towards the public (blockades, squatting, media work), and on the other hand lobbying of public administration and government to influence decision-makers, whereby representatives of these organizations command a substantial amount of specialist knowledge. A strong public presence combined with specialist knowledge can obviously be a "door

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Both environmental organizations and ecological research institutes are meant here.

opener" for effective lobbying.

A success-oriented environmental organization should take into account the mutual dependency and complementary effects of different instruments. Consequently it should strive for coordinated use of different instruments above the level of organizations instead of getting involved in a argument about principles and the "correct" amount of radicalness. The goal has to be a **cooperative division of labor** instead of competition of many organizations in one spot of the political spectrum.

Especially given the increasing complexity of the responsibilities of environmental organizations brought about by the European dimension, targeted use of activities is imperative in view of the limited resources available.

Environmental organizations could increasingly take advantage of ecological science to make use of the growing demands for specialist knowledge caused by increased amount of participation offers. In doing this, there should be a more clearly defined division of labor between "fact-producing" science and "policy-making" environmental organizations. However, the question of financing participation still has to be clarified here.

3.2.3 Changing Organizational Structure

There is a complex structure of organizations with various organizational profiles on the European level. These are heading towards a cooperative division of labor. The creation of unnecessary, costly double-structures is to be avoided.

For the existing organizational structures, the increased importance of the EC level connotes specific challenges for each:

The **EEB** has to get out of the umbrella organization dilemma (cf. Chapter 3.1).⁹ It should further develop its original role as manager and mediator between organizations and between organizations and the EC Commission. Regarding contents, it will have to limit itself to supporting the work of networks and large, general issues. It will have the responsibility of taking on important political issues that have not been dealt with yet. intensification of these functions requires a great deal of work and increased financial support.

FOEI/CEAT should become more than a coordinator of membership organizations and campaigns. It will have to take a political position. The first step in this direction is the creation of a position for an information officer.

Greenpeace should adapt its decision-making and information structures to the peculiarities of the EC level. Current structural modifications raise hopes that Greenpeace will become capable of conducting EC campaigns in the next few years, campaigns addressed equally to EC organs and membership countries.

There is coordination between national and EC levels at the **WWF**. It is capable of cooperating both with other environmental organizations as well as with the public administration.

Issue-oriented networks are in a better position to fulfill the expectations of their members than umbrella organizations. This can be explained by the fact that members in a issue-oriented network have a high degree of homogeneity of interests. Issue-oriented networks have specialists at their disposal and are very flexible due to their limited area of responsibili-

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For example, in the group acting as a liaison between organizations in Brussels established at the beginning of 1992.

ty (among other reasons).

3.2.4 Financing

Financial support of environmental organizations' work by the government is very different in the countries examined. The focal point of financing is support of projects. The only country with a high degree of institutional support for environmental organizations is Holland. Due to various reasons, the setting of focal points in the other countries should be reconsidered.

Environmental organizations fulfill important social functions:

- they provide a way of transmitting growing social needs

- with sufficient participation in political decision-making, they increase the legitimacy of governmental actions. In a way, they mediate between individual and state.

- they provide specialist knowledge for committees and can become "partners" in certain cases for public environmental agencies

- they filter and link interests and consequently reduce the complexity of societal demands

- they present a credible and influential instrument for disseminating information to the society at large

- they actively participate in creating political opinions and educating the public, without having previously received support similar to that of political parties

Environmental organizations can play an important, supporting role in EC integration by actively informing and educating the public. Additionally, environmental organizations can support single-nation initiatives for progressive environmental regulations through transnational cooperation.

The transfer of political responsibility to the European level increases the work for successfully influencing political decisions (eco-label, technical standards, etc.) for public environmental experts (in Germany, for example, in the Federal Environmental Protection Ministry). Experts from environmental organizations could be "natural" partners on certain points for achieving common interests. Environmental organizations could use their international contacts to help achieve this.

The responsibilities of environmental organizations have increased substantially with the additional political decision-making level of the EC. The additional responsibilities (information and educational work in EC matters) require elaboration of the working structures in the organizations to improve international exchanges of information, transnational cooperation, acquiring specialist knowledge, etc. At the same time, the resources of the environmental organizations are limited. Adequate awareness of their semi-official responsibilities could be increasingly supported by national budgets. Because a great deal of the tasks cannot be realized within the scope of short term projects, basic institutional funding is preferable to ensure continuity in medium and long term work.

Finally, appropriate financing of expert knowledge from the environmental protection movement commands much respect. The ecological research institutes enjoy a high degree of respect in society. Specialist knowledge from the ecology sector is also very important for making important antagonistic information available to public officials so they can make

decisions and for realization of the principle of pluralistic representation. When bestowing public research grants, this aspect should be given increased consideration. We can imagine, for example, part of the national budget being set aside for supporting ecologically-oriented science. If ecological specialist knowledge is to sufficiently support governmental measures for environmental protection on a European level, sufficient financial means have to be made available.

3.3 The Strategic Dilemma of Accepting or Criticizing the Rules

Formal and informal political decision-making processes are carried out according to game rules. Environmental organizations are increasingly being granted formal participation rights in Germany and on the European level (currently in standardization, genetic technology [Central Agency for Biological Safety], and eco-labels). This increases demands on their political capability.

The acceptance of game rules can lead to "participation traps". One's own position loses its radical aspect during the participation process. When environmental organizations do not accept the game rules on the other hand (especially when their participation is requested), they are threatened with being excluded from decision-making circles (e.g., the standardization issue). Consequently, environmental organizations have to make "strategic" decisions about when participation would be rewarded politically and when they should employ their scarce resources for campaigns and public relations work. Deciding to participate requires large investments in specialist knowledge by environmental organizations. Whether it is worth it depends on the organizational profile. In organizations that place emphasis on a value-oriented "movement", accepting the rules could lead to problems with the membership. The issue of environmental protection is not regarded as suitable for compromises. However, if an organization is more pragmatically oriented, participation in decision-making processes should pose no problems.

Environmental policy, however, is not one dimensional. There are issues where compromises can be made, and others where they cannot (e.g., atomic energy, genetic technology).

The logical result of these considerations is that environmental organizations have to intensely debate their own organizational cultures, political decision-making processes (e.g., game rules of the democratic process including compromises and a balancing of interests), and strategic capability. This would further increase their own work effectiveness and efficiency. What is "suitable" for working on a national level could be unsuitable for the European level.

The dilemma for environmental organizations of accepting or criticizing the game rules is especially pronounced on the European level. Radical criticism of the game rules and the selective filtering of interests by the EC Commission and the council of ministers is necessary and regularly expressed. Good informal working relationships are based, however, on tacit "exchanges", the basis of which has to be "feasible for the Commission". Environmental organizations provide "technical knowledge", perform public relations work, disseminate information, serve as mediators, and make political pressure for an issue. The Commission provides money and makes corrections of content within the framework of its political possibilities. As on the national level, it is especially important for German organizations to focus on the public administration and to differentiate their picture concerning it. There also are employees and people in the General Directorate on the European level who/which can act as "partners" and those that cannot. Criticism should be more expressly directed at those who deserve it. There should be an issue-oriented discussion of strategy based on a

sound analysis of the power relationships within EC institutions. Given the complexity of the decision-making processes on the European level, central issues of environmental organizations should be pursued by lobbying directed at regulatory matters and monitored in all stages of the decision-making process. This lobbying should be aimed at the Commission, Council of Ministers, parliament, and the ESC. The conditions for success of this lobbying is a meshing of European and national levels that does justice to the different importance of these levels in the stages of the decision-making process.

3.4 *Bridgeheads for Public Administration or Demanding Discussion Partners*

Environmental organizations articulate some aspects of social interests. Political decision-makers should take this into consideration and acknowledge them as interest groups with equal rights along with others. A close relationship between an interest group and the public administration (e.g., as in agriculture) does not exist in the field of environmental protection in Germany, however. Public administrative agencies create their "own" advisory committees as in the past, for example, the Committee of Experts for Environmental Issues ("SRU" in German) and the Working Committee for Environmental Protection ("AGU" in German). Environmental organizations are poorly or not at all represented in these committees. On the European level, the legal position of the environmental organizations does not correspond to the importance of their issues. Their exclusion from most advisory committees to EC organs (in which, on the other hand, other organizational representatives are included) has to be considered an anachronism.

The EC Commission expects help from the environmental organizations, as it is accustomed to receive help from industrial lobbies. This has a **paternalistic character**, which only accepts the environmental organizations as discussion partners when they can be used in a way the Commission finds suitable.

Both positions are based on a misunderstanding about what environmental organizations are. "Technical cooperation" from environmental organizations is not based on economic self-interests as private companies in the business world practice. It is an expensive "service", which must be paid for accordingly. Environmental organizations are very well capable of providing such services or arranging them. The paternalistic character underestimates the environmental organizations as legitimate representatives of a growing social need and redirection of values (see above). When environmental organizations articulate issues, they should not be dismissed as being "not constructive".

Political decision-makers should learn to accept the "**antagonistic cooperation**" of environmental organizations. Environmental organizations have to walk the thin line of maintaining their identity and achieving the politically "feasible". In doing this, conflicts are a necessary part of the negotiations between public administration and organizations.

On the level of the EC, it is important that the Commission practice a **more open information policy**. The increasing importance of environmental issues requires granting equal rights of **participation** to representatives from environmental organizations in the numerous advisory committees of the Commission. The first timid attempts at including participants from environmental organizations should be expanded. The planned committee for environmental issues should be an **effective** working committee and not only an organ of representation. The **research community** should be opened to ecological research institutes with a more

offensive granting of report work to them. Participation rights for environmental organizations should become a natural component in formulating environmental guidelines. The existing implementation gap could be reduced substantially by **granting organizations the right of access to courts.**

4 Recommendations for Action

The recommendations for action presented below are addressed to various parties. They are addressed specifically to:

the national environmental organizations in the EC

the umbrella organizations in the EC

the German environmental organizations

governmental administrative agencies, especially the German Environmental Protection Ministry

the German parliament

the EC institutions

All these parties can do something to improve the influence of the environmental organizations on European environmental policy. The following list is mainly based on general recommendations for a wide audience with a few representative examples. For several reasons, it is not possible to develop concrete recommendations for action for individual parties here; we are therefore limiting ourselves to developing central demands for the respective parties.

...for the German Environmental Organizations

1. Environmental organizations should strive to achieve cooperative competition amongst themselves to use their scarce resources as efficiently as possible. The cooperative element can include creating common (European) infrastructures, coordinating activities, avoiding unnecessary double structures, and developing common demands. They should strive to achieve healthy competition with respect to working methods (e.g., media, specialist areas, or grass roots), political style (confrontation or cooperation), and organizational character. This would allow an expansion of the range of actions and the filling of more niches in the political arena. The meeting of the managing directors of German environmental organizations is an important step in this direction.
2. There should be a more distinctive division of labor between environmental organizations and ecological, private research institutes. It would be desirable for environmental organizations to take care of "politics" and ecologi-

cal institutes to produce the "knowledge" and "fundamental arguments".

3. The environmental organizations were successful in the last few years insofar as they helped to enhance the status of environmental issues politically and establish an environmental consciousness in the general public. With this "success", however, their character changed. It was no longer a question of pointing out problems, but of showing alternatives. They moved from making the public aware to directly influencing policies. Environmental organizations should reflect on their organizational structure, working methods, and personnel policies against the background of this new character and the organization's identity.
4. These new challenges and the changed framework conditions require sophisticated organizational action. A discussion of strategy (i.e., a case study analysis of the decision-making processes, influence and coalition options) is needed more than ever to decide whether strategies to confront or cooperate are appropriate. The political range of the environmental organization landscape should be comprised of both conflict and cooperation (whereby there can be a division of labor among the organizations). However, partnership constellations with public environmental agencies should be systematically sounded out and used.
5. The German environmental organizations should use the knowledge that the EC is increasingly gaining in importance in their institutions and act on this. Devoting attention to the European level does not necessarily mean to invest all resources in European lobbying, but rather to deal and think on several levels simultaneously. The establishment of the EC dimension should ideally be carried out both horizontally and vertically.
6. Horizontal integration means that the EC dimension is integrated into all specialist contexts with respect to both demands as well as actions.
7. Vertical integration means that there are EC coordination offices, which transmit information and activities from above (Brussels) to below (national levels) and vice versa. They would have to take care of organizational policy on various levels and serve as nodal point between specialist departments, political departments, and the different levels.
8. As long as such a double solution cannot be achieved, establishment of EC departments should be given priority. These departments should be able to mobilize specialists. EC departments should organize and filter needed information for the lower levels and the specialist levels.
9. The EC departments should ensure with regular EC sections in the member newsletters that the quality of information improves. Additionally, they should be responsible for their organizations' policy on the European level and organize the core of the "European lobby" in their own organizations. A lot of this has already been achieved with the EC coordination office of the DNR ("German Conversation Group"), EC offices in several environmental organizations, and the regular reports in the relevant environmental information services.
10. European work also means trying to make one's own government a partner in individual cases to achieve stricter environmental standards on a European level. However, this attempt presupposes a working relationship

between public environmental administration and environmental organizations.

...for the Environmental Organizations in the EC

11. Successful cooperation on a European level requires an inter-cultural learning process. This can only be achieved through close working relationships and numerous contacts (including informal ones). These usually result in consideration of one's own national background. Consequently, environmental organizations should be actively involved in exchanging personnel and internships on a European level, having meetings with time allotted for personal working contacts, and devote less time to representative elements.
12. Environmental organizations often strive to achieve the same goals, even though their means, instruments, and style of argumentation are very different. If they are to avoid misunderstandings, we have to understand the background of certain political styles (e.g., British politeness or German attention to fundamental principles).
13. The political culture of the European level is - excluding the case of Great Britain - different from that at the national level. National political strategies cannot simply be carried over to the European level. Understanding manners on a European level is a prerequisite for successful exercising of influence. The European challenge consequently requires other ways of acting than one recognizes as successful within a national context. The manners, processes, political culture, and limitations to action on a European level are described in detail in Chapter 6.
14. The experience with the FFH work (but also the influence on the energy tax debate) have demonstrated the importance of one or more organizations, which have taken on the function of a driving force for dealing with a specific issue. Because the decision-making process in the EC is very complicated, it would seem to make sense to employ one person for monitoring very important issues for a few years. This person can then inform other organizations and experts via a regular newsletter, and consequently ensure effective networking between national and European levels. Additionally, this person would be more familiar with procedures and would be able to deal with the public agencies more effectively than an outsider. If several environmental organizations pool financial resources or take on a leadership role, employing one person to deal with an especially explosive issue would be realistic and affordable, especially since it would be a question of a medium term, limited project.
15. To ensure successful European work that already presupposes the use of informal channels of influence, a permanent office in Brussels is necessary. This can be in the shape of a network, a national representative, or a European umbrella organization. All three types of lobbies - national, specialist, and comprehensive - will probably be established analog to economic interest groups. Even though specialist work in a network of experts is more satisfactory than an umbrella organization, the latter is necessary for linking, coordinating, and networking specialized groups, for general policy issues, and for arranging contacts to the EC Commission.

16. The strength of umbrella organizations lies in their service and coordination functions. They are a platform for exchange between individual organizations and can function as a go-between. Above all, they function as mediators and offer services, for example, among the individual organizations themselves and to public administration. They establish their political character in active and visible support of membership organizations. Their political mandate is only secondary in nature. Misplaced demands for leadership roles only weaken umbrella organizations rather than strengthen them. The political strength of umbrella organizations can lie in the articulation of general (environmental) policy issues, which have a comprehensive or cross-sectional character, and which are not dealt with by specialized organizations, networks, etc.
17. Decision-making processes in umbrella organizations should be as clear as possible to achieve active support and participation of members. Umbrella organizations are only strong as long as they are actively supported by members.
18. Information from the EC level should first be screened several times. On a European level, there should be general and specialist monitoring of EC issues (e.g., critical analyses and remarks). On a national level, there should be linguistic and political translations by EC coordination offices. The more specialized networks created, the more communication will be effected via them. Consequently, the EC-coordination offices will increasingly take on the function of go-betweens. Regarding the organization of information flow, we should strive for the greatest possible amount of cooperation between the various organizational structures. Otherwise costly and time-consuming double structures will arise. This especially applies to a shared mailbox system. Before setting it up, a concept for information filtering in tune with needs should be developed to prevent it from becoming an ineffective instrument through an uncontrolled flood of information.

...For National Administrative Agencies, especially the German Environmental Protection Ministry

19. Environmental organizations are relevant and legitimate representatives of interests that have a great deal of social value. They contribute innovative concepts and ideas to political discussions concerning a central issue of future society. For this reason, they should at least be accorded the same rights as other societal interest groups. They should be regularly consulted in hearings, consultations, specialist committees, and even on the level of informal contacts and be accepted as a part of an environmental policy network.
20. Environmental organizations should be included in policy decision-making processes (elaborating laws, programs, etc.) at the earliest possible stage. The following examples demonstrate possibilities of action with respect to European environmental policy:

National governments can send external specialists to advisory committees. It is a political decision whether a government delegates specialists from an ecological research institute or not.

The national governments also have the option of sending a representative from environmental organizations to the Economic and Social Council. The German government did this with a representative from the AGU ("Working Group for Environmental Protection"). However, he does not represent the environmental organizations joined in the DNR. The German government should grant the DNR - as the umbrella organization of German environmental organizations - the right to propose a representative for sending to the ESC ("Economic and Social Council"). Given the complexity and increasing importance of environmental issues, one should consider sending a second German representative from the environmental organization landscape (possibly one conversation representative and one environmental protection representative) to the WSA.

In negotiating European directives, the government could agree explicitly to include representatives from environmental organizations if advisory committees are established.

The permanent national delegation in Brussels could create a clearer picture of the decision-making processes of the EC organs by maintaining more intensive contacts with the environmental organizations.

21. The expertise from the environmental organizations should be considered as a service that is paid according to the normal fees for such services. Because the participation in decision-making processes does not produce any direct financial benefits for the environmental organizations (as it does for lobbies representing business interests), it must be paid for - contrary to the expertise of other lobbies. Environmental organizations have achieved a substantial degree of competency in certain fields, which are becoming increasingly important for public decision makers too.
22. There is a gap between the financial means allocated to environmental organizations by the society (mainly from membership fees) and the sum of their tasks (cf. Chapter 14). Environmental organizations represent "general interests" of great importance, for which there is little inclination to support financially for reasons which are easy to understand (too many people who want a free ride). The articulation of these interests should be supported by public funds to compensate for the initial disadvantages experienced by environmental interests compared to special business interests. Support of projects should often take on a medium term and structural character to enable continual organizational work on a specific issue. Basic financing should be increased, especially with respect to strengthening cooperation and conflict relationships between environmental organizations and public administration. In doing this, however, independence of the environmental organizations from the government and control of their success by the public and members should be maintained.
23. Umbrella organizations should be supported financially in particular. They fulfill pivotal tasks, even for public administration (cf. Chapter 15). They are especially faced with the dilemma of a lack of resources and the demands

made on them by government and members alike.

24. Environmental protection agencies should sound out strategic partnerships with environmental organizations systematically. Environmental organizations have a high degree of moral authority; their support is often a prerequisite for social acceptance of governmental environmental policy. Cooperation with environmental organizations can sometimes reduce ecological damage resulting from government actions and strengthen preventative environmental policy. Environmental organizations are potential partners in competition among ministries. They can also be important partners in communicating the importance of European and international environmental policy.
25. Successful governmental offers of participation to environmental organizations presuppose an understanding of the "internal complexity" of environmental organizations and tolerance towards another culture. Most environmental organizations have a marked democratic character, which have to take their identity and the inclinations of their members into consideration. They can not mobilize available resources in the short term. Consequently, they cannot be used for specific purposes, even when cooperation with public administration is well-established.
26. There should be a fixed part of the budget set aside for independent, research institutes not connected to universities and which work in the field of environmental protection. This should enable them to carry on basic research in this field. Furthermore, allocating research projects to these institutes would be an important contribution to expanding and consolidating the spectrum of options for dealing with environmental policy.
23. International exchanges and the further training of specialists and employees from environmental organizations are particularly worthy of support. Given the complexity of the decision-making process and the division of responsibilities on the European level, and the different political methods in other countries, inter-cultural learning processes and informal contacts abroad are indispensable for effective European cooperation between environmental organizations. Influential people who are familiar with organizations' identities should take part in programs for further training.
28. Within the framework of political decision-making processes, committees like the Board of Experts for Environmental Issues play an important role. Given their high degree of competency and social importance, representatives from environmental organizations and experts in ecological science should be included in these advisory and specialist institutions much more often than in the past. The institutional obstacles to the representation of these environmental interests should be reduced in this way. This will achieve a more intensive and balanced process for the public and for political decision-makers to deal with environmental problems. The legitimization of decision-making process can be increased by this, and resulting political and ecological costs can be reduced.
29. Other boards of experts, for example the Radiation Protection Commission, Reactor Safety Commission, or "private" decision-making boards like the German Industrial Standards Board, should be so structured that experts from environmental organizations have sufficient access to them. In this

way, the latter could also make evaluations, guaranteeing that all aspects of society participate in the same measure.

...for the German Parliament

- 30 The German parliament should make more use of its right to discuss every proposal of the commission and to grant the federal government a corresponding mandate to act. A hearing should be possible for important questions, as is normal for important proposed legislation. This hearing could expand the influencing possibilities of environmental organizations. Such a debate on a national level could partially compensate for the lack of democracy on the European level, because it enables the national parliament to have a certain say in matters in the preliminary stages and consequently serves as a check against the predominance of the executive. Such a procedure is common in both the Danish parliament and the British House of Lords. According to Article 93 of the parliamentary bylaws, the committee in charge can recommend a decision concerning EC motions. According to Article 75 of the bylaws, this recommendation has to be discussed in the full session. According to Article 70 of the parliamentary bylaws, even a minority in a committee can demand a hearing with specialists. Discussing a matter in public at an early stage is also an option for compensating the lack of democracy on the European level. And finally, 25% of parliament members is a sufficient percentage for establishing an investigative commission for complex issues (Article 56 GO). The effects of the single European market on the environment or the discussion about revising the EC treaties (catchwords: Greening the Treaty; Increasing Democracy) are undoubtedly examples of such complex and very important issues that could be dealt with.

...for Council of Ministers

31. The discussion about a political union will continue after the ratification of the Maastricht treaties. Besides the establishment of ecological basic principles in the section articles of the EC treaty, opening the EC advisory committees to organizational representatives is also necessary. When doing this, the most open form possible should be chosen: delegation rights for environmental organizations and the right to state positions and make proposals in these committees.
32. The negotiations of the ministers should be made public to make responsibility for specific events clear. This would substantially increase the influence of the environmental organizations, because they can only offer praise and criticize if there is clarity about who is responsible.
33. The EC Commission should open its informal and selective acceptance of environmental organizations and grant legal rights to them in addition to the informal contacts. Important components of formalizing such a relationship are:

The right to examine files in reports, information and programs of EC institutions. The present regulation is too restrictive for making matters clear in this respect (cf. Chapter 6).

Besides freedom of information, there should be an commitment to make information available. Besides the publication of EC regulations, there should be preliminary reports about planned actions and commission proposals. In addition, the commission could start an offensive information policy about current investigations relevant to the environment.

- 34.** The opening of the advisory committees to representatives of environmental organizations is of pivotal importance. When doing this, it must be ensured that this opening is not only for the Consultative Forum for the Environment, but also that the environmental dimension is established institutionally in the other GD's (Article 130 r, Section 2). Besides environmental protection, other important sectors relevant to the environment are transportation, energy, agriculture, regional funds, and tourism. As was described in Chapter 6, the correct structuring of a committee is usually a question of political will. The EG-Commission can take on environmental experts by decree on one hand, and on the other hand use its initiative right to integrate environmental experts in the respective committees for regulation or directive proposals. The planned committee for environmental issues should be composed and be able to work in such a way so that it is an effective working committee and not just an organ of representation. All in all, the EC Commission should expand its contacts to the numerous environmental organizations concerned with various issues in Brussels.

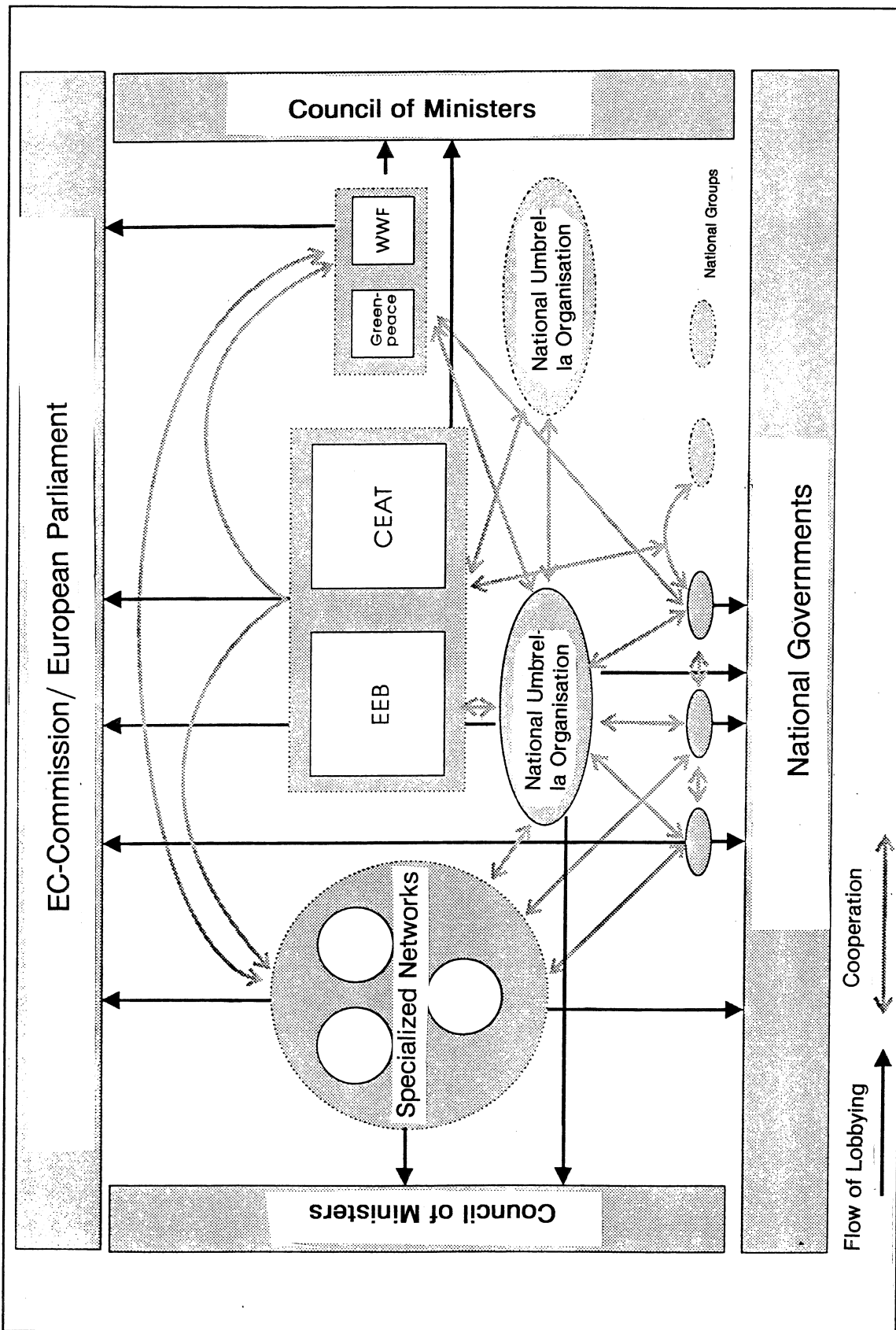


Abb. 1 The Network of Lobbying of European Environmental Organisations (EURES 1992)

Further Research Requirements

This research study was expressly limited to a few countries and a few policy areas. It is intended as an example to help develop a deeper understanding of the situation. This analytical approach proved to be fruitful within the framework of this project, especially with respect to the further development of the concept of the "political opportunity structure". We were able to detect and clarify four typical and very different organizational characters in this four country study.

We were able to demonstrate the predominant outlines of models in four case studies of individual policy areas. In doing this, a contribution was made to the general understanding of the work and role of the environmental organizations in Europe on one hand, and on the other hand it provides an opportunity for individual organizations to reflect on their way of acting in a European context. Recommendations were made from both perspectives. The fruitfulness of the applied approach and the great deal of resonance that the study has found up till now make it appear desirable to consolidate and expand the study.

5.1 Consolidating the Political Science Analysis

Extending the study to other European countries could uncover additional similarities and differences. This could achieve a complete overview. The work of environmental organizations appears as an institutionalizing and modernizing process. This hypothesis could be reinforced by a comparison of twelve countries. Knowledge of different strategies and cooperation models could be increased.

Furthermore, the investigation results achieved up till now could be expanded to cover several more policy areas (especially agriculture, waste disposal and genetic technology) to check whether the research results are representative.

Given the anemic state of empirical research on environmental organizations in Germany, consolidating analyses could prove very valuable not only on the national and European levels but even more so on the lower political levels. Previous evaluations of environmental organizations were often not empirically sound. Given the substantial dynamics for change on both national and European levels, periodic up-dating and continuation of the empirical study is necessary.

5.2 Practical Knowledge to Serve as an Orientation for Environmental Organizations and Public Environmental Agencies

The periodic up-dating of the **manual** should be of great importance to environmental organizations and public environmental agencies. The resonance to the query made it clear that there is a great need for such a manual.

Advising organizations was a focal point of the project. It became clear that this cannot be achieved conclusively through individual events or talks on management levels. Constant consulting, for example in the form of **workshops and seminars**, could contribute to actively pass on the findings of the research project. This is especially important for employees specializing in certain areas who must increasingly include the EC dimension in their work realistically. Few organization activists will take the time to read this research report. For this reason, direct communication is the most effective way to communicate central ideas and proposals. Consequently, we recommend:

Seminars about the decision-making processes in the EC, contact people and cooperation partners, as well as action options. These seminars are mainly intended for specialist on the national level.

Seminars about the background of the various political organizational cultures. These seminars are mainly intended for activists on the European level.

Strategy forums for individual issues (eco-labels, standardization, energy taxes, transportation, etc.) where strategies can be developed in accordance with the organizational background or issue.

Round table talks between public agencies and environmental organizations on specialist levels concerning specific issues.