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Cooptation or Convergence in Field Level Dynamics: Social Movement Structure, Identity and Image

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**Cooptation or Convergence in Field Level Conflict:
Social Movement Structure, Identity and Image**

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Abstract

This paper adds to the growing area of research linking institutional analysis and social movement theory. Conceiving the environmental movement as a field-level structure in pursuit of change within a broader organizational field, this paper uses social network analysis to deconstruct the movement, like the field of which it is a part, not as a unitary and monolithic actor but as an intertwined constellation of actors and clusters of actors whose membership holds differing frames regarding their individual and collective purpose. This constellation is not bounded by organizational form, such as the traditional notion of the non-governmental organization (NGO), but rather includes non-traditional forms (such as corporations) that are ideologically linked to the goals of some segments of the movement. This is the outcome of protracted institutional engagement which yields a gradual merge of interests among once competing movements. This paper assesses how this merge in constituencies is related to the core identity and image of the movement and closes with a discussion of the implications of this alteration for the movement's ongoing ability to play the role of institutional entrepreneur within field level debates.

“Every Day is Earth Day for Us”
Chemical Week, April 18, 1990

“Corporations Greenwash Us Earth Day and Every Day”
Common Dreams, April 22, 2000

Introduction

On April 22, 1970, nearly 20 million Americans took part in the first Earth Day, a national event on college campuses around the United States. Public activities focusing on the mounting concern for environmental degradation were targeted primarily against corporations as a villain (Gottlieb, 1993). On April 22, 1990, Earth Day was reenacted for its twentieth anniversary. An estimated 200 million people participated in 140 nations. Again, the day of protests focused on "corporate destruction of the environment" (Lorsch, 1990: B5). But in this case, corporations were no longer villains. Through funding of the day's events and staging of special demonstrations of their "green" activities, they were prominent participants and organizing supporters of the largely peaceful event. This led some to lament that "this multi-million dollar orchestration of the event bore little resemblance to the grass roots movement driving the event twenty years before" (Strom, 1990: 26). What happened here? Was the collaborative participation of companies a sign of success or failure for the environmental movement? Who is a legitimate participant in Earth Day activities? Who is a legitimate member of the environmental movement?

To some, the participation of corporations is a sign of *capture* (Laffront and Tirole, 1991) or *cooptation* (Michels, 1959); through their power and resources, corporations had taken over the environmental movement and subverted it from what it formerly was or should be. Through steady interaction with business concerns, these

critics have lamented that environmentalists have begun to align more with those they are trying to influence than the cause to which they were originally attached (Michels, 1962). But to others, this is a story of *convergence* (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995); through active engagement within social debate, the interests of corporations and environmentalists have naturally begun to align through a process of institutionalization (Selznick, 1957; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Scott, 2002).

At the core of these contrasting perspectives lies the focus of this paper. It attends to questions over defining the boundaries of the social movement, both in relation to a core ideology and that of competing counter movements. Employing an institutional lens, this paper will explain that corporations playing a major role at the 1990 Earth Day is a statement about the extent to which this field-level movement had expanded, growing to include constituencies that were formerly in contradiction with its original goals, but now have found themselves more aligned. This is the product of compromise, both cooptation and convergence, not just of the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) traditionally associated with the environmental movement, but of the corporations themselves. The issues around which the environmental movement has been configured change, and so do the constellation of actors within it.

But the integration of corporations into the 1990 Earth Day, and more importantly the response of observers to that integration, exposes another and even more critical aspect to understanding the nature and configuration of a field-level movement. While objective measures of field level constituencies are important, perceptual issues of identity (Albert and Whetten, 1985; Douglas, 1986; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; White, 1992) and image (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Dutton, Dukerich and Harquail, 1994) are

also critical. That some lament the inclusion of corporations in the environmental movement is a sign that their presence is contrary to their perception of what the environmental movement is, or should be.

The empirical importance of these concerns lies on several fronts. First, understanding the membership of a social movement is critical for understanding the sources of influence for change within organizational fields. Social movements form around agendas for change within the regulative, normative and cognitive elements of social structures. Like the field, social movements “can be characterized exclusively as a web-like structure of informal, unorganized relations of cooperation and communication among local cells” (Zald and McCarthy, 1987: 162). The makeup of that web-like structure of actors is a central factor in assessing the form their agenda takes, the resources that are brought to bear and the channels of influence that are utilized. Second, issues of identity are important for how a movement sees itself and its membership. If there is too wide a variance between actual and perceived legitimacy of the membership, frame misalignment may cause tensions that result in multiple agendas, structural schisms or open conflict (Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford, 1986). Finally, if a movement’s image is at great variance from that movement’s internal identity, the result could create cognitive limitations in its ability to affect change. Its legitimacy within field level debates may be compromised as others view the makeup or agenda of the movement as compromised by the inclusion of certain members, voices or perspectives. All of these concerns lead to critical implications for a movement’s accumulated power in affecting field-level change.

This paper’s contribution to theory lies in the growing area of research linking

institutional analysis and social movement theory (Clemens, 1997; Rao, 1998; Strang and Soule, 1998; Lounsbury, Ventresca and Hirsch, 2003; Davis, McAdam, Scott and Zald, 2005). Using social network analysis (Wasserman and Faust, 1994; Borgatti, Everett and Freeman, 2002), this paper deconstructs the social movement as a field-level structure in pursuit of change within a broader organizational field. It conceives the field-level movement, like the field of which it is a part, not as a unitary and monolithic actor but as an intertwined constellation of actors and clusters of actors whose membership holds differing perspectives on their individual and collective purpose (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). While the movement's actions are initially conducted in opposition to others in similar configured movements (Zald and Useem, 1987; Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996), protracted institutional engagement can yield a gradual merge of interests with a concurrent alteration in the structure of the field-level movement itself. This paper assesses how that alteration in structure is related to the core identity (Albert and Whetten, 1985; Douglas, 1986; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; White, 1992) and image (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Dutton et al, 1994) of the movement and closes with a discussion of the implications of this alteration for the movement's ongoing ability to maneuver within field level debates.

Theoretical Motivation: Fields, Institutional Entrepreneurs, Movements and Change

Early neo-institutional theory focused on unified or monolithic institutional forces which were deemed to create "isomorphic" organizational responses (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) within the organizational field. But critics of this line of research (i.e.

Hirsch, 1997; Hirsch and Lounsbury, 1997) argued that the literature placed too much emphasis on stability and inertia as its central defining characteristics (DiMaggio, 1995; Greenwood and Hinings, 1996). Rather than exploring the homogeneity of organizational populations, they argued, attention should focus on the processes that may or may not create this outcome. They called for efforts to “end the family quarrel” resurrecting agency, politics and change from the earlier traditions of macro-organizational literature (i.e. Selznick, 1947) and bringing them “back” into the institutional literature (DiMaggio, 1988; Brint and Karabel, 1991; Hirsch and Lounsbury, 1997). In all, these criticisms were aimed at redressing the over-socialized view (Granovetter, 1985), that depict recipients of field level influence as a homogenous collection of organizational actors, each behaving according to a social script designed by the social environment.

More recently, the organizational field (Scott, 2002) is seen as a center of common channels of dialogue and discussion. Fields bring together various constituents with disparate purposes. As such, rather than locales of isomorphic dialogue (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), fields are highly contested. They embody a “field of struggles” (Bourdieu and Wacquant; 1992) or “arenas of power relations” (Brint and Karabel, 1991: 355) where constituents engage in "a war or, if one prefers, a distribution of the specific capital which, accumulated in the course of previous wars, orients future strategies" (Calhoun, 1993: 86). Not all constituents may realize an impact on the resulting debate, but they are often armed with opposing perspectives rather than a common rhetoric. And with this latest configuration of the field, certain issues and concerns are given greater attention.

Defining the Boundaries of the Field

The reconfiguration of the field from locales of stability to arenas of debate raises important questions of bounding the field. Previous studies have bounded the field largely out of empirical necessity; questions of how a field was measured became a direct reflection of the data methods at hand. Instead, the presence of a field structure should be analytically detected, not through the emergence of a tangible pattern of organizational coalitions, but through an increase in the extent to which certain organizations interact; an increase in the information load which they share, and; the development of a mutual awareness that they are involved in a common debate (DiMaggio, 1983).

The field is not formed around common technologies, industries or organizational forms, but around “issues” which bring together various field constituents with disparate purposes (Hoffman, 1999). Rather than taking predefined categories as evidence of agreement on “issues” and assuming that these actors represent members of an institutional field (such as Fortune 500 firms, firms within the same Standard Industry Classification, or liberal arts colleges), this paper seeks to understand how field level structures have come to include the actors that they do. Issues define what the field is, drawing linkages that may not have been previously present. Further, issues differentiate among various types of field-level actors that are engaged within the field. Organizations may make claims about being or not being part of the field, but their membership is defined through social interaction patterns. This leads to a refocus of attention on the periphery of fields and the movements for change that occupy that space.

Change Agents within Field Level Dynamics

Within this contested terrain, constituents act with organizational self-interest and agency (Covaleski and Dirsmith, 1988; DiMaggio, 1988; Perrow, 1985). Some have argued that individual actors can respond strategically to institutional pressures (Oliver, 1991). But in this configuration, the form of field/constituent interaction is unidirectional; the actor responds to institutional pressures by complying or resisting. To conceptualize a duality of interaction, others have argued that individual actors may strategically influence the process of institutional change. Becoming what might be called “institutional entrepreneurs” (DiMaggio, 1988; Fligstein, 1997; Zucker, 1988; Lawrence, 1999), these social change agents seek to shape the discourse, norms and structures in ways that match their own interests and objectives (Maguire, Hardy and Lawrence, 2004).

But institutional entrepreneurs do not act alone or in isolation. Individual agents form coalitions and movements that are change-oriented (Tilly, 1978). These political networks act as “important motors of institution-building, deinstitutionalization, and reinstitutionalization in organizational fields” (Rao, Monin and Durand, 2003: XX). They become parts of collective movements, using shared and accumulated resources and power to “overcome historical inertia, undermine the entrenched power structures in the field or triumph over alternative projects of change” (Guillen, 2006: 43). These actions are often conducted in opposition to others in similar configured collective counter-movements (Zald and Useem, 1987; Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996).

In both cases, these constellations of actors are defined by the issues and objectives they share as they engage in debates within the organizational field. And “change resulting from social movement activity may alter the terrain upon which and the

form in which social movement activity continues” (Edelman, 2005: 14). Movements and counter-movements form and dissolve as issues emerge, are engaged and then resolved, to be replaced by other issues that bring together new forms of field structures and debate.

This integration of social movement literature into the domain of institutional theory (Davis, McAdam, Scott and Zald, 2005) is a natural result of the progression through which the institutional literature has been evolving, gaining greater insights and greater complexity in understanding the political dynamics of change. “Bringing movements (back) in reintroduces agency and politics into institutional analysis, shifting the explanatory focus from isomorphism and diffusion to contestation and the production of multiple, competing logics within organizations and fields” (Schneiberg, 2005).

Social Movements as Fields

A social movement is a group of actors within field level dynamics united in a common purpose to cause change within the organizational field. They are the “expression of a preference for change” (Zald and McCarthy, 1987: 190) that can be characterized “exclusively as a web-like structure of informal, unorganized relations of cooperation and communication among local cells” (Zald and McCarthy, 1987: 162) and as such, can be conceived as fields unto themselves. And, just as with organizational fields, boundaries among movements are contested and hence fluid. Lines are blurry and linkages are constantly in flux. Discernment among them is based on observable in patterns of material and symbolic practice (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 262). There is a pressing need to understand the extent to which “movement activity interacts with other

factors (often so-called ‘rival factors’) to produce a desired outcome” (Soule, Swaminathan and Tihanyi, 2005). These rival factors, or counter-movements, are a critical factor in understanding the outcomes of institutional dynamics. These collectives, like the field of which they are a part, cannot be defined a priori.

Identity and Image in Field-Level Movements

These questions about the form and role that social movements play in the processes by which organizational fields become destabilized and reformed around new sets of arrangements require an appreciation for the reputational and cultural aspects of movement identity. Cognitive maps of those both within and outside the movement are critical in assessing the power and influence of a given actor. Boundaries between field-level movements are socially constructed around a collective cognitive model that summarizes who is in and who is out. Just as in studying rivalry within industry models and markets, the key questions are “who competes with whom” and “who defines whom as a rival?” (Porac, Thomas, Wilson, Paton and Kanfer, 1995: XX). The answers to these questions set the terms and conditions of debate within the field. And thus, they are central to defining the form of contestation over critical issues.

Looking at cognitive maps of those inside the movement directs our attention to sociological (Douglas, 1986; White, 1992) and organizational (Albert and Whetten, 1985; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991) conceptions of *identity*. Each emphasizes the sameness of those who share a common collective identity and the distinctiveness, real or imagined, between the collective identities of different social groupings. Identity within a social movement is the set of common norms, values, and systems of meaning by which

participants establish rules of inclusion, competition, and social comparison among members, create distinctions within and between groups, and delimit movement boundaries (Hoffman and Ocasio, 2001). Social movement identity emerges both from cognitive awareness among movement competitors about the nature of field level rivalry (Porac, Thomas, and Baden-Fuller, 1989) and from collective responses to external threats to the collectivity (White, 1992). Identity embodies meaning and sense-making (Fiol, Hatch and Golden-Biddle, 1998) focused on answering the following questions for its members: Who are we? What are we? What do we do that makes us distinctive as a collective? While social movement identity, like organizational identity (Whetten and Godfrey, 1988) is often subject to contestation and change, it is an important influence upon actors' collective behavior.

Looking at cognitive maps of those outside the movement directs our attention towards conceptions of *image* (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Dutton et al, 1994). Social movement image is defined as the movement's internal perception of how outsiders think about them, their values, and their beliefs (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991). This concept is importantly linked and yet distinct from conceptions of the movement's reputation, defined as the status ascribed to the movement by outsiders (Fombrun and Shanley, 1990). While image results from internal sense making (Gioia and Thomas, 1996), reputation results from external attributions.

Empirical Context: Deconstructing the Environmental Movement

This paper will study the empirical context of the environmental movement, a collective of actors striving for social change related to environmental protection, or

so it has been described. But it is far from monolithic or homogenous and the bounds and identity of this constellation of actors is not clear. Evernden writes:

"The term 'environmentalist' was not chosen by the individuals so described. It was seized upon by members of the popular press as a means of labeling a newly prominent segment of society. . . In fact, the act of labeling a group may constitute an effective means of suppression, even if the label seems neutral or objective. For in giving this particular name, not only have the labelers forced an artificial association on a very diverse group of individuals, but they have also given a terse public statement of what 'those people' are presumed to want. Environmentalists want environment — obviously. But this may be entirely wrong, a possibility that few environmentalists have contemplated even though many have lamented the term itself. For in the very real sense there can only be environment in a society that holds certain assumptions, and there can only be an environmental crisis in a society that believes in environment." (Evernden, 1985: 125).

The composition of field-level constituencies around the environmental issue is less well-defined than that of some other policy issues with strong social movement stakeholders. Membership in the environmental movement is indeterminate (Beck, 1992; Egri and Pinfield, 1994) whereas other public issues have a more clearly-specified constituency. Environmentalism has no single demographic or well-structured political constituency, neither among proponents nor opponents of particular environmental policy initiatives. In fact, opposition to environmentalism on the grounds of threatened material interests or aversion to state intervention would be easier to explain than environmental advocacy (Buttel, 1992). A high quality environment tends to be a public good, which when achieved cannot be denied to others, even to those who resist environmental reforms.

In the end, the term "environmentalist" may serve as a misnomer, lumping many organizations or clusters of organizations with varied interests into one category. In 2005,

6,493 organizations identified themselves as environmental groups (Gale Research, 2005). Some are staffed with lawyers and scientists and work within existing institutions to bring about corporate and social change (i.e. the Natural Resources Defense Council, Environmental Defense). Others prefer to remain outside those institutions, relying on less professionally oriented staffs and working in a more confrontational style (i.e. the Public Interest Research Groups, Greenpeace). Still others prefer to engage in acts of sabotage and deliberate violation of the law, leading the FBI to consider them terrorist groups (i.e. Earth First!, the Earth Liberation Front). Beyond strategy and tactics, environmental groups also differ in the breadth of support they enjoy within society, the goals they strive for and the location of their supporters within the social structure (Zald and McCarthy, 1987).

This indeterminate nature of the environmental policy issues and solutions covered by the environmental movement also means that they attract a wide range of field-level supporters, moving beyond organized environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to include employee groups, labor unions, community groups, consumers, environmental activists, investors, insurers, the government, internal managers, and the target of many environmental protests, corporations (Morrison, 1991; Hoffman, 2000; Brulle, 2000). In fact, beginning around the 1990s, voluntary alliances between non-profit environmental research and advocacy groups and corporations began to take shape (Orti, 1995) bringing corporations into intimate contact with more “traditional” environmental constituents.¹ This indeterminism is what creates provocative confusion over who is “legitimately” within the environmental movement and who is

¹ The most prominent example was the McDonald's/EDF alliance in 1990, but many other companies, including Ashland, Goodyear, Kodak, ATandT, Monsanto, Dow, Ciba-Giegy and others, have also engaged with NGOs, such that it has become very common today (Hoffman et al., 2006).

not? The answer is as much a question of power and influence as it is a question of identity and image.

Methods

This paper uses the perspectives on field-level structures, identity and image outlined above, coupled with empirical measurement of social network ties (Wasserman and Faust, 1994; Borgatti, Everett and Freeman, 2002) among social movement and field level participants (Miles and Huberman, 1994) to examine the form of the environmental movement within the organizational field. Drawing boundaries between and linkages among various actors in the field in terms of network dynamics is important for explaining how the behavior of one set of actors influences the beliefs and actions of another set (Powell, White, Koput and Owen-Smith, 2005). The research is carried out in two steps: empirical and perceptual.

Step One: Empirical Measures of the Field-Level Movement

First, the sample pool of environmental groups to be studied was narrowed from the 6,493 environmental organizations that identified themselves as environmental groups in the *Encyclopedia of Associations* (Gale Research, 2005) to the largest 72 environmental groups, by budget (see appendix I). These groups range in size from 100 members to 1.2 million (average 136,000), in budget from \$1 million to \$245 billion (average \$18.5 million) and in date of formation from 1875 to 1995 (average 1958). Overall, while the sample is biased towards large national and international groups, it is a useful sample for beginning to deconstruct one segment of the environmental movement.

Mapping of this segment was conducted using (a) subject keywords, and (b) business linkages.

Subject keywords. Within the *Encyclopedia of Associations* (Gale Research, 2005), groups chose keywords to identify their areas of particular interests. Within the sample set of this study, 28 keywords were identified by members (with a range of 1 to 5 keywords per NGO). Keywords included: Agriculture, Bird, Conservation, Deer, Education, Energy, Environment, Fish, Forestry, Health, International Development, Law, Marine Biology, Natural Resources, Nuclear Weapons, Paper, Parks and Recreation, Politics, Pollution, Primates, Rain Forests, Rangeland, Tropical Studies, Water, Wetlands, Wildlife, Wood, World Affairs. Using these keywords as network ties among NGOs, the first network map was created to identify the clusters of organizations within this field-level movement.

Business linkages. The second network map was creating using ties between NGOs and companies as the form of network linkage. The web pages for all 72 NGOs were examined for the identification of relationships with companies. These relationships could be in the form of project partnerships, alliances, financial support or other mention of a joint relationship. In all, 45 NGOs were found to have relations with 654 Corporations (with a range of 1 to 102 business ties per NGO). Twenty-seven groups have no business relations.^{2 3} These corporations were coded into eight industry clusters

² NGOs with no Business Ties: America the Beautiful Fund, Center for Ecoliteracy, Center for Health, Environment and Justice, Clean Water Action, Clean Water Fund, Coastal Conservation Association, Community Environmental Council, Conservancy Association, Earth Island Institute, Ecological Society of America, Environmental Action Foundation, Environmental Assessment Association, Forest Guild, Friends of the Earth, Global Warming International Center, Great Lakes Fishery Commission, Greater Yellowstone Coalition, Greenpeace USA, International Water Association, League of Conservation Voters, Marine and Coastal Management, The Land Institute, The Wildlife Society, Water Environment Federation, Waterfowl USA, American Forest and Paper Association, Air and Waste Management Association.

and network ties among NGOs were identified as common industry sector ties. Industry clusters included: Sporting Goods (comprised of firearms, marine suppliers and outfitters); Resource Extraction (comprised of forestry and paper, mining and metals, and oil and gas); Construction (comprised of real estate development and construction materials companies); Chemicals (comprised of chemical and pharmaceuticals firms); Food and Beverage; Beer and Alcohol; Travel and Entertainment, and; Energy.

Step Two: Perceptual Measures of the Field-Level Movement

A survey was conducted of two environmental groups – Environmental Defense and the Nature Conservancy – to identify their perceptions of the identity and image of the environmental movement as they define it. Participants were solicited through an announcement in each organization’s newsletter. Interested participants were asked to go to a web page and answer questions anonymously. Thirty-three responses were received from Environmental Defense and 60 from the Nature Conservancy.

The web based survey (shown in Appendix II) asked participants three primary questions related to a roster of 129 organizations: 72 NGOs of the original sample and 30 of the most partnered companies identified in step 1 above (27 of the most partnered foundations were also surveyed but not used in this study). The first question, related to identity, asked respondents to rank the 129 organizations in terms of their being not part of the movement (score 1), on the periphery (score 2), at the core (score 5) or somewhere in between. The second question, related to image, asked respondents to rank the same list of organizations in terms of being *perceived by outsiders* as being part of the

³ While most of these NGOs did not list business ties on their web page, two NGOs explicitly state that they are not connected to business: Greenpeace USA and the League of Conservation Voters.

movement using the same scoring scale. The third question asked people to consider the implications of their rankings for the movement, both in terms of an organization having a higher identity than image and the converse.

Results

Step One: Empirical Measures of the Field-Level Movement

Using *keywords* as the first measure of network ties yields a network map depiction of the environmental movement shown in figure 1a. The nodes in the figure represent the 72 NGOs in the sample set. The ties represent common keywords between nodes.

Insert Figure 1a here

Within this network map, three dominant clusters (termed “sub-fields”) capture 96 percent of the sample, as shown in figure 1b. Each term reflects a different field frame (Hunt, Benford and Snow, 1994) of the sub-field’s goal and purpose. The term “pollution control” refers to the goal of addressing specific pollution issues. “Environmental protection” is a broader term, related to issues of ecosystem and environmental protection. “Conservation” refers to groups that seek to ecosystem protection.

Insert Figure 1b here

Looking further at the dataset reveals that smaller clusters (termed “sectors”) emerge around specific issues, as shown in figure 1c, and specific species, as shown in figure 1d.

Insert Figures 1c and 1d here

Using *business ties* as the second measure of network ties yields a network map depiction of the environmental movement shown in figures 2a and 2b. Figure 2a represents the two-mode network, showing nodes for both NGOs (in red) and corporations (in blue) with ties representing a direct relationship. Figure 2b represents a one-mode network with the nodes representing the 72 NGOs in the sample set and the ties representing common industry category relationships. Within this network map, two dominant sub-fields emerge: those that have business ties and those that do not.⁴

Insert Figure 2a and 2b here

And, as in the keyword network map, smaller sectors can be identified around specific industries as depicted, for example, in figures 2c and 2d.

Insert Figures 2c and 2d here

Putting the results of this network mapping exercise together, the environmental

⁴ There are also five isolates – NGOs that do not share business ties with other NGOs.

field is an intertwined constellation of sub-fields and sectors listed in table 1. These represent clusters that, when taken as a whole, comprise the whole of the field-level movement being studied.

Insert Table 1 here

Looking at the relationships among the sub-fields shows that 73 percent of “conservation” groups also have business ties, compared to 33 percent of “environment groups” and 18 percent of “pollution” groups. This is logical since the latter two sub-fields are more likely than conservation to be at odds with companies, seeking to change or curb corporate behavior with respect to their impact on the environment. Looking at the relationships among sectors shows that “wildlife” has the most business ties (49 percent) followed by “natural resources” (30 percent). Interestingly, only 29 percent of “forestry” NGOs has ties with “forest and paper” companies suggesting a differing definition the interests in each sector.⁵

Where is the core of this movement? To answer this question, data on budgets and memberships are used as a proxy for institutional power and influence. As shown in table 2, the environmental movement field is predominately a “conservation” movement with “business ties.” Conservation manages 68 percent of the overall budget and 65 percent of the membership in the sample set. NGOs with business ties manage 77 percent of the overall budget and 68 percent of the membership. Further, the dominant sectoral topics are “birds,” “natural resources,” education” and “international development.” The

⁵ On a humorous note, 100 percent of firearms companies have ties with NGOs that also have ties with beer and alcohol companies; suggesting that it may be wise to stay out of the woods in hunting season.

dominant sectoral industries are “travel and entertainment,” “chemicals,” “construction and development” and “sporting goods.”

Insert Table 2 here

Step Two: Perceptual Measures of the Field-Level Movement

With empirical measures of the environmental movement as a starting point, step two seeks to understand how members of the movement see themselves. To begin, it is important to note that the survey samples were drawn from NGOs that occupy different locations within the movement network. Environmental Defense is in the “environmental protection” and “pollution control” sub-fields; Nature Conservancy is in the “conservation” sub-field. Further, Environmental Defense has 17 business ties while the Nature Conservancy has 46.⁶ Yet, while the surveys were taken from different parts of the field, the answers were statistically similar, shown in figure 3.

Insert Figure 3 here

Table 3 shows that the average image score for NGOs is lower than the average identity score while corporations show a slight increase.⁷ In fact, some corporations, such as Patagonia, World Business Council for Sustainable Development and the Global Environmental Management Initiative (two industry trade groups) occupy prominent

⁶ The Nature Conservancy has the largest budget in the sample set (\$245,000,000) while Environmental Defense has the ninth largest budget (\$45,000,000). The Nature Conservancy has 1,000,000 members while Environmental Defense has 400,000.

⁷ While not part of this study, the foundations in the sample were rated at an average of 2.43 in terms of identity and 1.53 in terms of image for the movement.

spaces within the identity and image of the field, more so than some environmental NGOs.

But, looking more specifically at the sub-fields and sectors of the movement allows a clearer assessment of the identity and image of the field. As shown in table 3, the sub-field identity of the movement is more strongly aligned with a “conservation” focus, similar to that detected in membership and budgets. But, conversely, the movement sees a stronger sub-field identity in groups with no business ties than detected by budgets and memberships.

In terms of sectors, the dominant identity topics are “international development,” “natural resources,” “education” and “wildlife” while the dominant identity industries are “chemicals,” “construction and development,” “travel and entertainment” and “energy.” Notably low in identity is the “sporting goods” sector. Table 4 shows that, while overall scores overall drop, the same dominant pattern emerges for the image of the field.

Insert Tables 3 and 4 here

Discussion

White suggests we "think of the institutional field, not as some tidy atom or embracing world, but rather as complex striations, long strings rotating as in a polymer goo, or in a mineral before it hardens" (1992: 127). This is hardly a useful construct for measurement, but it highlights the complexity and amorphous nature of the concept of the field. Organizational fields are robust articulations of network populations (Baker, 1990; Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1985), articulations which invoke story sets across disparate

institutional members. Field-level populations interpenetrate through migration and conquest and other processes, from which control struggles emerge on a new scale. Then as populations overlap and interpenetrate, complexity increases still further (White, 1992). While the metaphor of a “war” highlights the contested nature of field level dynamics, it oversimplifies the complexity of constituent positioning on issues that bring the field together. The results of this study have important implications for how the environmental movement is conceived and how it accomplishes its task.

In this study, it was shown that the environmental movement is not a unitary actor working to protect the environment as some commonly understood notion and goal. Instead, it is an intertwined constellation of sub-fields, sectors and actors that, when taken as a whole, comprise the whole of the field-level movement centered on a broad concept of environmental issues. It is a field like structure with various clusters of actors that possess differing field frames of what the environmental issue is and how it should be acted upon (Hunt, Benford and Snow, 1994). In fact, it might be more accurate to say that there are multiple “environmental movements” that are connected by various forms of social and reputational network ties. The movement analyzed in this study is predominately a “conservation” movement with strong ties to business.

The “war” of contested field level debates creates a process through which various movements in the debate evolve and change, some becoming more aligned in their interests and objectives. But, unlike the standard conception of war, where two clear and opposing forces meet on the battlefield, the war that takes place with the organizational field is engaged with a wide array of actors with disparate purposes, each armed with opposing perspectives that reflect their own interests. The contest is fought

over nuanced conceptions of reality, with clarity between opposing sides difficult to measure or detect.

In this engagement, the notion of the institutional entrepreneur or social change agent becomes more nuanced notion than previously depicted. It is not a role uniquely suited to the social movement. Through engagement and debate, other interests engage on the form and focus of field-level debate in a process that resembles that of a multi-party negotiation. In the process, terms and conditions become established which represent a new reality upon which future action will be based. And with this new reality, identities intertwine and overlap, creating a new landscape of field-level constituencies. Frame bridging occurs which creates linkages between two or more ideologically congruent frames held by different social movements organizations in the same movement industry (Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford, 1986). In the process, what were once competing frames for debate are bridged and what was once considered a social movement organization is transformed.

Implications

The process of frame bridging has central implications for the identity of the movement as a whole. Its identity and image matches the conservation focus represented by empirical measures of budgets and membership, but it perceives itself as more disconnected from business than budgets and memberships reveal. This disconnect in empirical and perceptual measures of the movement create tensions both within and outside the movement. That environmental NGOs engage businesses directly and in a cooperative fashion is a sign of failure for some, the movement has been co-opted, and a

sign of success for others, the movement has successfully convinced business that it is in their interests to protect the environment. Both views were revealed in the last two questions of the survey about the consequences of groups having a differential score in terms of identity or image.

On the one hand, many respondents displayed a very clear sense of what they believed the movement to be. Many referred to “actual environmental organizations,” and a distinction between “true environmental organizations” and groups like “the NRA, Whitetails Unlimited, Ducks Unlimited, etc.” One respondent warned about “the discrepancy between the actual and perceived” environmental movements. Another warned against “conflating business related to ‘nature’ and outdoor activities with environmental action.” Responses in this vein reflected a view that names and branding were more effective at gaining public recognition than actual work. Many focused on the use of names and labels like “environmental” or “green” that serve to “confuse” the public “about which groups are part of the movement.” Respondents warned about the dangers of highly funded “PR campaigns,” “false representation” and “greenwashing” among corporations. Another went so far as to suggest that “a corporation cannot be part of the movement. People and their free associations comprise movements, not corporations.” In this faction, corporate involvement in the environmental movement is a sign of cooptation.

But another set of respondents was more open in their interpretations of the scope of the movement. One wrote that “I err on the side of believing that all organizations are part of the movement/relevant to it, whether in a positive or a negative sense.” And another wrote that “the movement...needs to include a broader range of strategies (not

just activism) and needs to be redefined in a way that provides a new frame for people's thinking." Becoming more specific, one wrote that "corporations are not generally seen as part of the conservation movement, although their actions and decisions play a pivotal role in environmental protection." Another wrote that "businesses are increasingly finding their own self-interest served by focusing on sustainability and environmental sensibilities." In this faction, corporate involvement in environmental the movement is a sign of convergence.

The tension embedded within these comments is the tension that motivated this paper. Clearly, both views of the position of corporations within the environmental movement are present in the answers. But interestingly, the positions play out differentially in terms of whether their presence is a sign of convergence and success of the movement or cooptation and a failure of the movement. More arguments for convergence fell into question three (identity > image) and more arguments for cooptation fell into question four (image > identity). This result suggests an uneasy perspective on corporate environmentalism.

In the former case (identity > image), environmental NGOs see corporations as a category of organizations that must be engaged. For example, "More of an effort should be made to get corporations to think and act green and get full credit for doing so" and "success depends on the involvement of business." Therefore, the actions that corporations may undertake remain in the abstract and less objectionable.

But in the latter case (image > identity), environmental NGOs seem to perceive corporations as receiving more recognition than they deserve. For example, "Organizations that do very little (like BP) do fantastic marketing about the little they do"

and “Companies know that with minimal investment in environment, they can sell themselves as environmental.” In this way, corporate actions (and the rewards they receive) are tangible and more objectionable.

In the end, what is central to these arguments is a recognition that NGOs and corporations are engaged in a contested field-level debate – in the words of one respondent, “Conservation is a war.” For some, this debate is fought between opposing forces, each with diametrically opposed viewpoints on the nature of environmental issues. In this view, opposing sides will remain in opposition; that the interests will always be in conflict. For others, this debate is more nuanced. Various players intermingle and engage over issues that are relevant to both.

Future Research, “Radical Flank Effects”

The difference between views on the role of corporations is one of perception and positioning. Some groups define their identity in opposition to corporations and corporate activities. For them, alliances with corporations are anathema. This makes it easy to mobilize action against a clear and present enemy. Other groups define their identity in conjunction with business and the capitalist system. For them, alliances with corporations are their purpose and role. This makes it difficult to label the villains of environmental degradation (Mangu-Ward, 2006).

But both views lie within the same field-level movement and this creates an awkward tension as the actions of one group are tied to the actions of the other. As part of the same field-level movement, they operate in the same domain with interconnections, both perceived and actual, that are critical for the ability to operate.

Both how they are positioned and how they are viewed is central to their ability effect change.

Field level debate falls along a continuum (as depicted in figure 4) where NGOs can position themselves on the spectrum so as to more clearly match their identity in relation to other field-level members. If an NGO drifts too far to one end of the spectrum, they may find membership and donations impacted.

Insert Figure 4 here

But how do the extreme ends of the spectrum affect the ability of more moderate groups to affect change? The “radical flank effect” (Haines, 1984) describes a mechanism triggered by the bifurcation of a social movement into radical and moderate factions (Gupta, 2002) and can occur on both ends of the political spectrum shown in figure 4, with “radical” being a relative term based on positioning on the issues of debate. Along this spectrum lie differing mental and cultural models of how people conceptualize nature and how they act within it (Atran, Medin and Ross, 2005). Earth First! or the Earth Liberation Front, for example, may find that “culturally illegitimate activities” can bolster their reputation within the very narrow segments of society that endorse such controversial action (Elsbach and Sutton, 1992). While many members of society view these groups as lying along the radical fringe, segments of the population that appreciate their actions may see alliances with corporations as the radical fringe. The affect of this polarization within the same movement can have both negative and positive outcomes (Gupta, 2002).

Negative radical flank effect. In this view, the effects of more radical organizations in the movement can have a negative effect on moderate groups by creating a comparison affect and a backlash among opposing groups. In this negative radical flank effect (Haines, 1984), all members of the environmental movement are viewed in the same way as the more visible radical members. Even if moderates and radicals embrace considerably different goals and tactics, their coexistence and common identification as members of the same movement field reflects badly on the moderates and harms their ability to achieve their objectives” (Gupta, 2002: 6). So, for example, when an environmental extremist group creates headlines for a terrorist act, all environmental groups may be viewed in the same light, thus limiting their ability to operate as legally or psychologically legitimate members of social debates.

For example, two radical environmental groups were included in the NGO survey of this study and found to be considered highly influential in the image of the movement. Earth First! and the Earth Liberation Front received identity scores that were lower than the 3.33 average for all NGOs (2.97 and 2.48 respectively), but higher than the average image score of 3.16 (3.43 and 3.23 respectively). One survey respondent voiced a concern that the “antics” of groups like “the Earth Liberation Front and Greenpeace... garner much more infamous press coverage than the cooperative and moderate” groups, creating an impression in the public that “the environmental movement is full of radical extremists.” Evidence of this effect can be seen in some public opinion polls. For example, the percentage of people who agree with the statement “most people actively involved in environmental groups are extremists, not reasonable people” increased from 32 percent in 1996 to 41 percent in 2000 (Shellenberger and

Nordhaus, 2004).

In a similar way, some may see the actions of some environmental NGOs to work with businesses as having an affect of the movement to engage in more provocative forms of environmental protest. For example, in the mid-1990s, Greenpeace found that their reputation suffered for their efforts to work with corporations in a less confrontational style. They were moving more to the right of figure 4. To correct this repositioning, the group staged an “eco-commando” action on the Brent Spar oil rig in 1995, being sure to have the media alerted and on hand. This action reestablished their more confrontational image and moved them back to the left of figure 4.

Positive radical flank effect. In this view, the effects of more radical organizations in the movement can have a positive effect on moderate groups by creating a contrast effect (Haines, 1984). All members of the environmental movement are viewed in contrast to other members and extreme positions from some members can make other organizations seem more reasonable to movement opponents (McAdam, 1992). For example, militancy by radicals in the civil rights movement in the 1960s increased the level of funding for moderate groups (Haines, 1984).⁸ Or, when the Rainforest Action Network threatens to protest at Staple’s for the company’s limited offerings of recycled paper, the company became more inclined to solicit the assistance of Environmental Defense. While still an environmental group, Environmental Defense was seen as more moderate and therefore more palatable and legitimate for a partnership. In the 1970s, Russell Train, second administrator of the EPA once quipped, “Thank God for the David Brower’s of the world. They make the rest of us seem reasonable” (US

⁸ A more prominent example is one that argues that Martin Luther King was seen as more moderate by the American public in the 1960s because he was viewed in contrast to the more radical Malcolm X.

Environmental Protection Agency, 1993).

Field level flank effects. The radical flank effect, whether positive or negative highlights a key strategic insight for social movements. While a clear understanding of individual positioning on the radical/moderate spectrum is critical for tactics and objectives, the presence of other elements of the spectrum are also critical for that group's ability to act as social change agent. The movement is an intertwined structure with both empirical and perceptual linkages that affect an organization's ability to act. This consideration is important for funding, membership, partnerships (with companies and other NGOs), media attention, and ability to mobilize people – in short power to play the role of institutional entrepreneur.

Conclusion

This paper makes contributions to the institutional literature that is now positioned at a shifting point, moving towards some form that lies beyond the “new-institutionalism” of the early 1990s (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). Moving away from a focus on outcomes of stability, inertia, and convergence as central and defining of institutional dynamics, fields now become centers of contestation, diversity and conflict (Hoffman and Ventresca, 2002). Out of this institutional debate comes the specification of collective rationality, contending logics, and mechanisms (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Washington and Ventresca, 2001; Davis and Marquis, 2005). Field-level processes are the locales in which collective rationality is arbitrated, channeled and formed (Espeland, 1998). The focus on debate, dialogue and conflict among field-level actors is an important direction for this research stream and is refocusing analysts on the dynamics

of field-level collective rationality — its sources, mechanisms by which it changes, and its effects on organizational actors and policy (Proffitt, 2001).

The results of this study point to the importance of understanding the role of change agents, and in particular, social movements within the processes by which collective rationality is formed. Social movements take the structure of fields, an intertwined set of actors, with interests and beliefs that are not necessarily convergent or uniform. Through processes of field-level debate and engagement, institutional processes create a merge of ideas and interest among those that are trying to change the field and those that are the objects of that change effort. This is the product of compromise, both cooptation and convergence, not just of the NGOs traditionally associated with the environmental movement, but of the corporations themselves. The issues around which the environmental movement has been configured change, and so do the constellation of actors within it. As a result, traditional notions of the boundaries of social movements must be reconsidered to consider the intermingling of movements over time. Further, these boundaries must be considered both empirically and perceptually in terms of the effect this institutional merging process has on the movement's continued ability to act as social change agent or institutional entrepreneur.

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Figure 1a
Environmental Network Map based on Keyword Ties

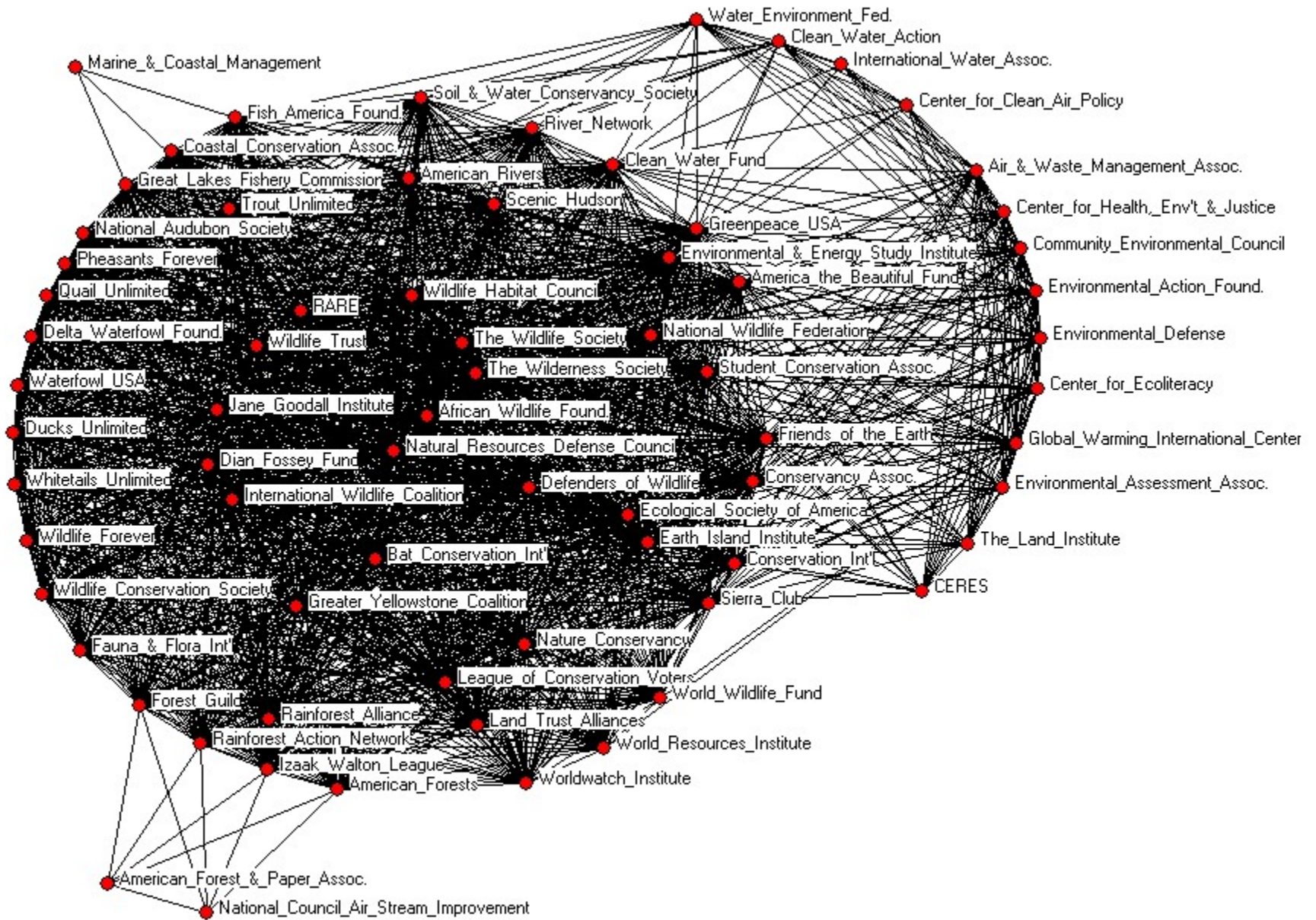


Figure 1b
Environmental Network Map based on Keyword Ties – Dominant Sub-Fields

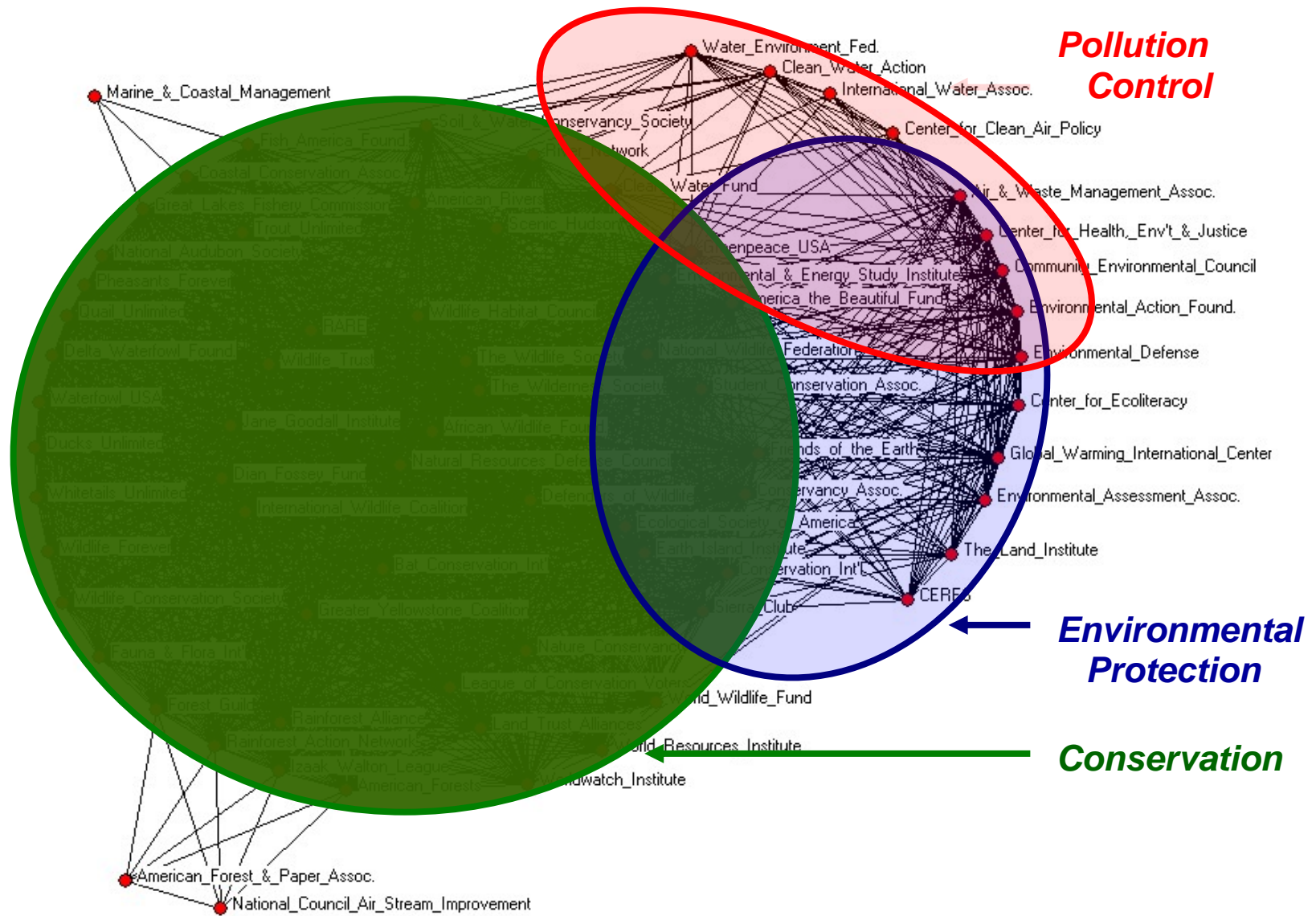


Figure 1c
Environmental Network Map based on Keyword Ties – Issue based Sectors

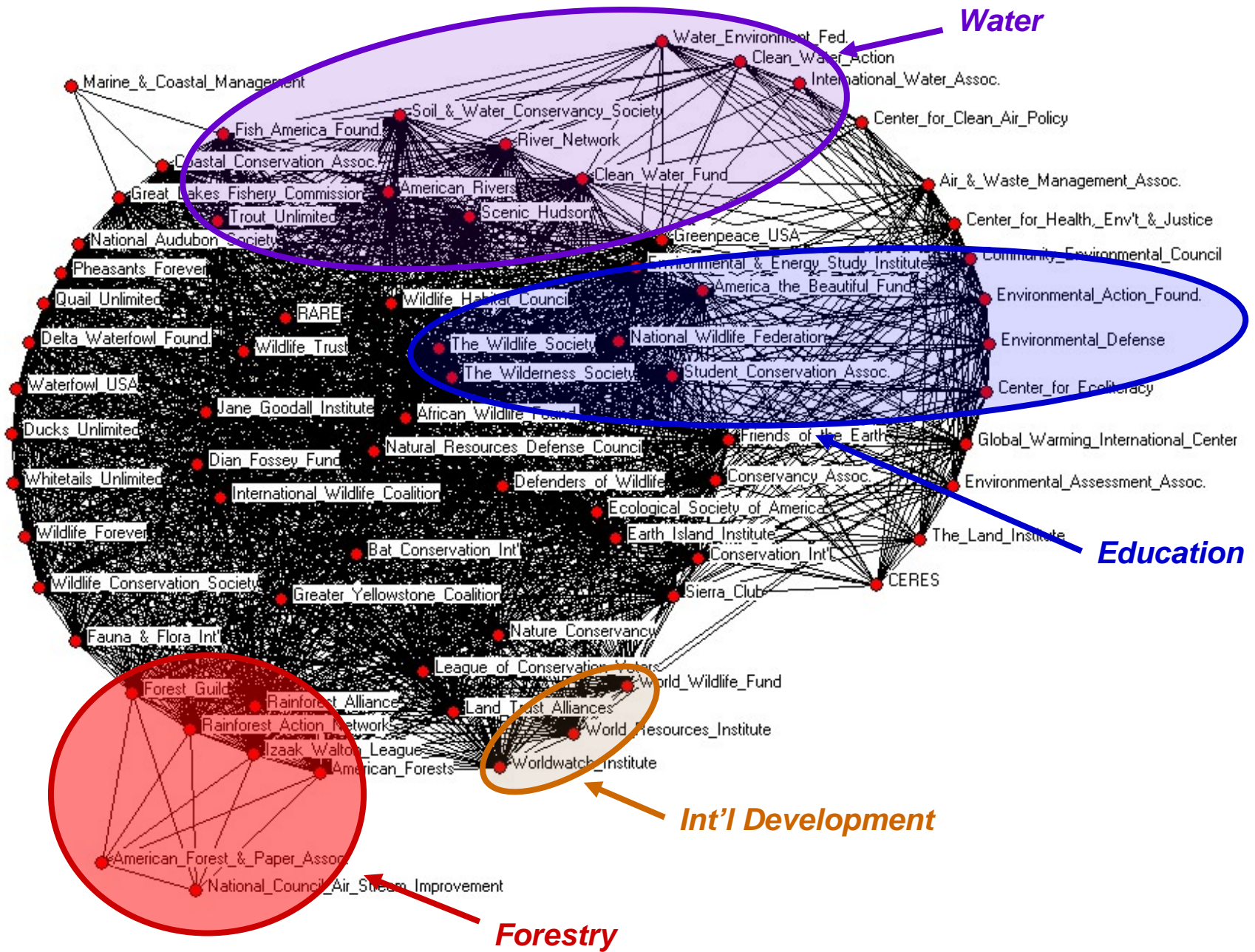


Figure 1d
Environmental Network Map based on Keyword Ties – Species based Sectors

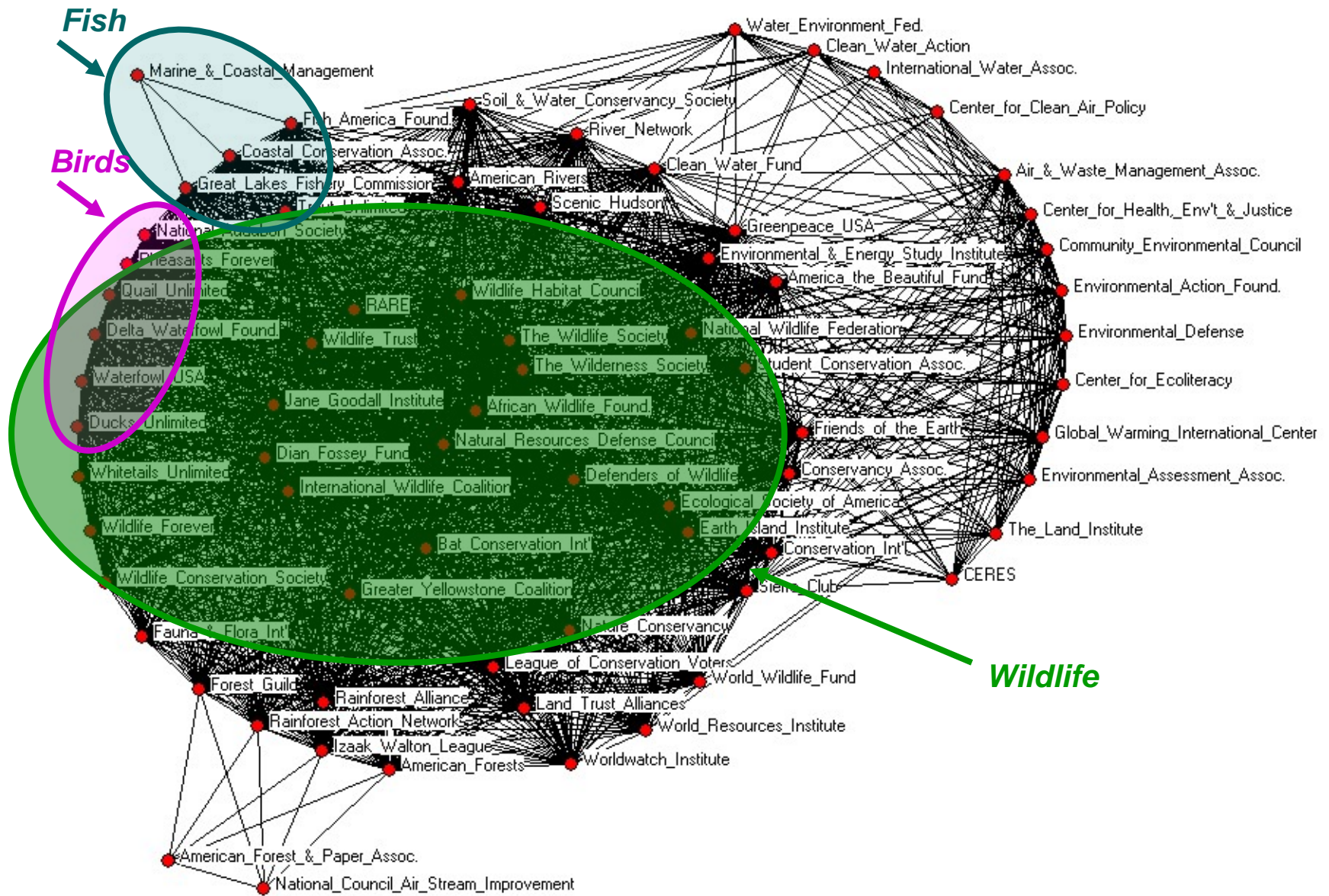


Figure 2a
Two-Mode Environmental Network Map based on Business Ties
(Red nodes represent NGOs, blue nodes represent companies.)

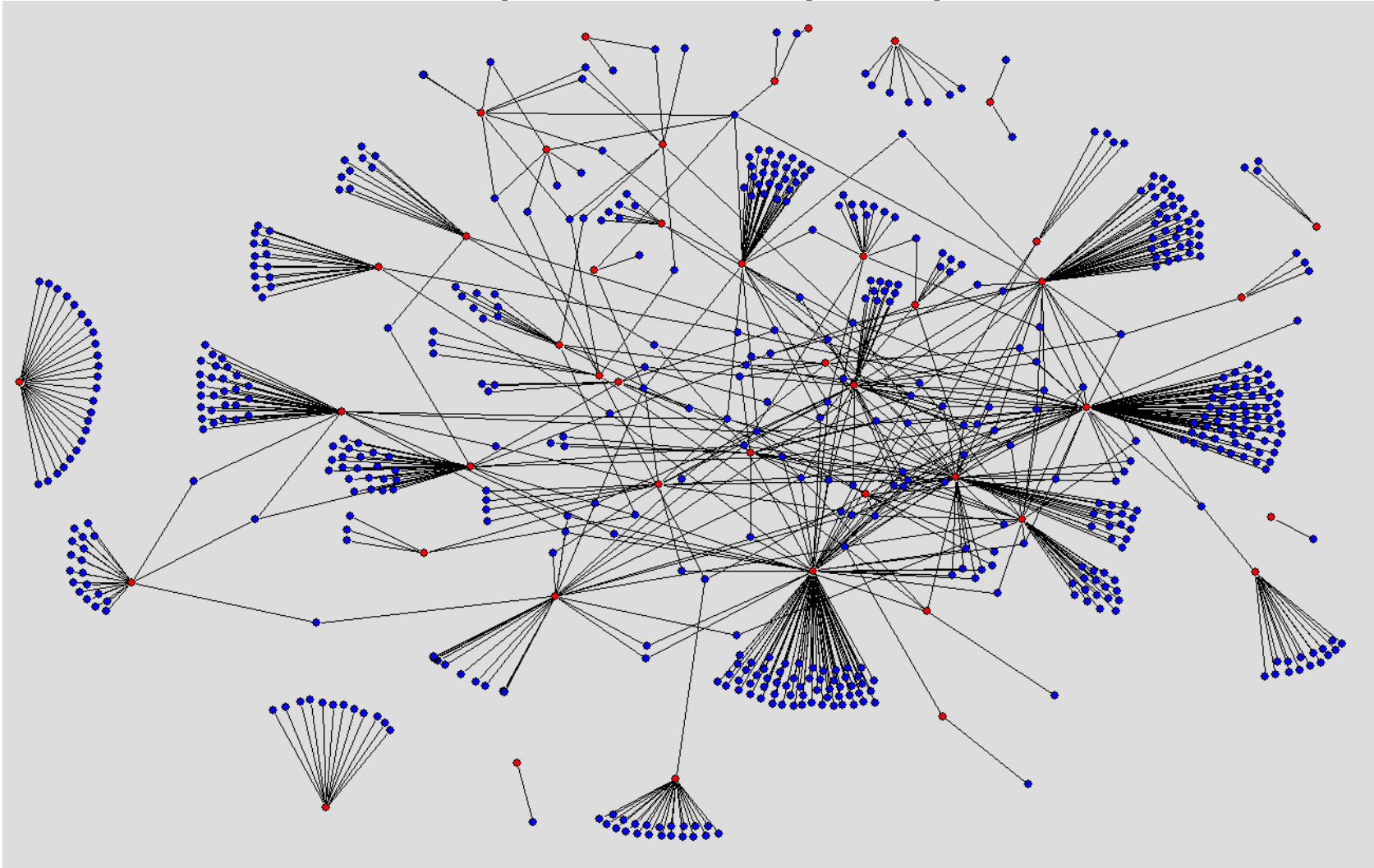


Figure 2b
One-Mode Environmental Network Map based on Business Ties – Dominant Sub-Fields

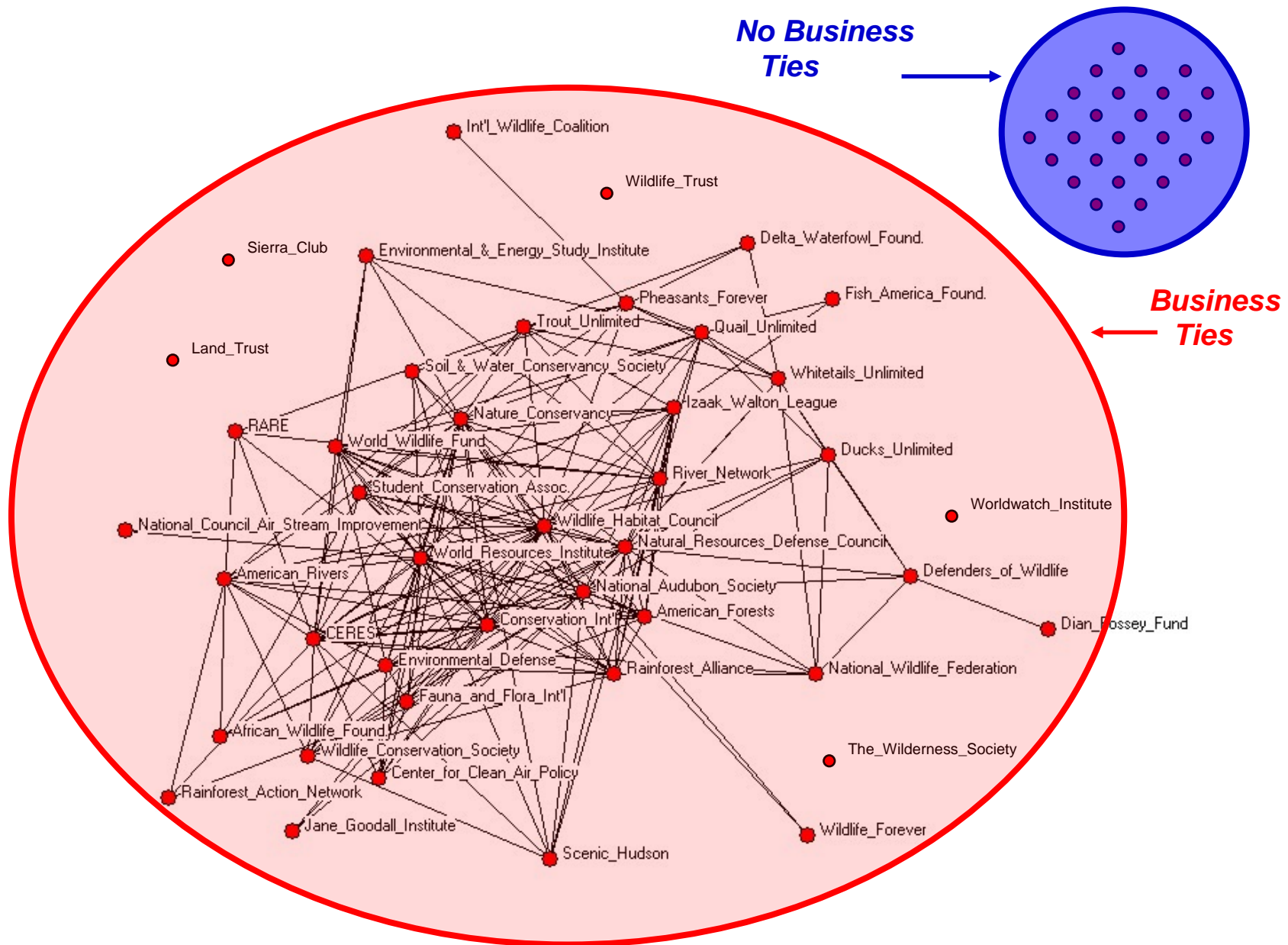


Figure 2c
Environmental Network Map based on Business Ties – Industry based Sectors

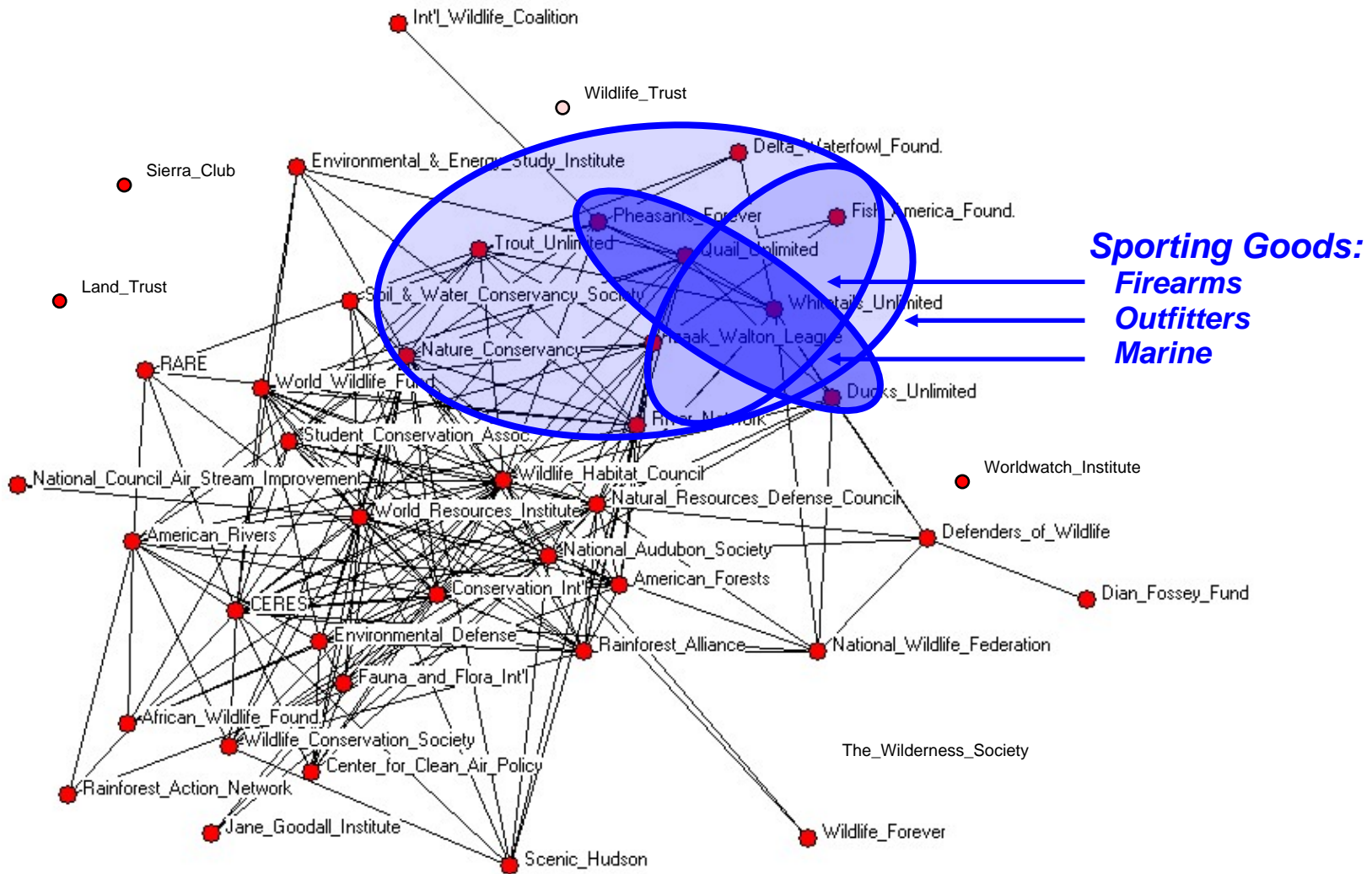


Figure 2d
Environmental Network Map based on Business Ties – Industry based Sectors

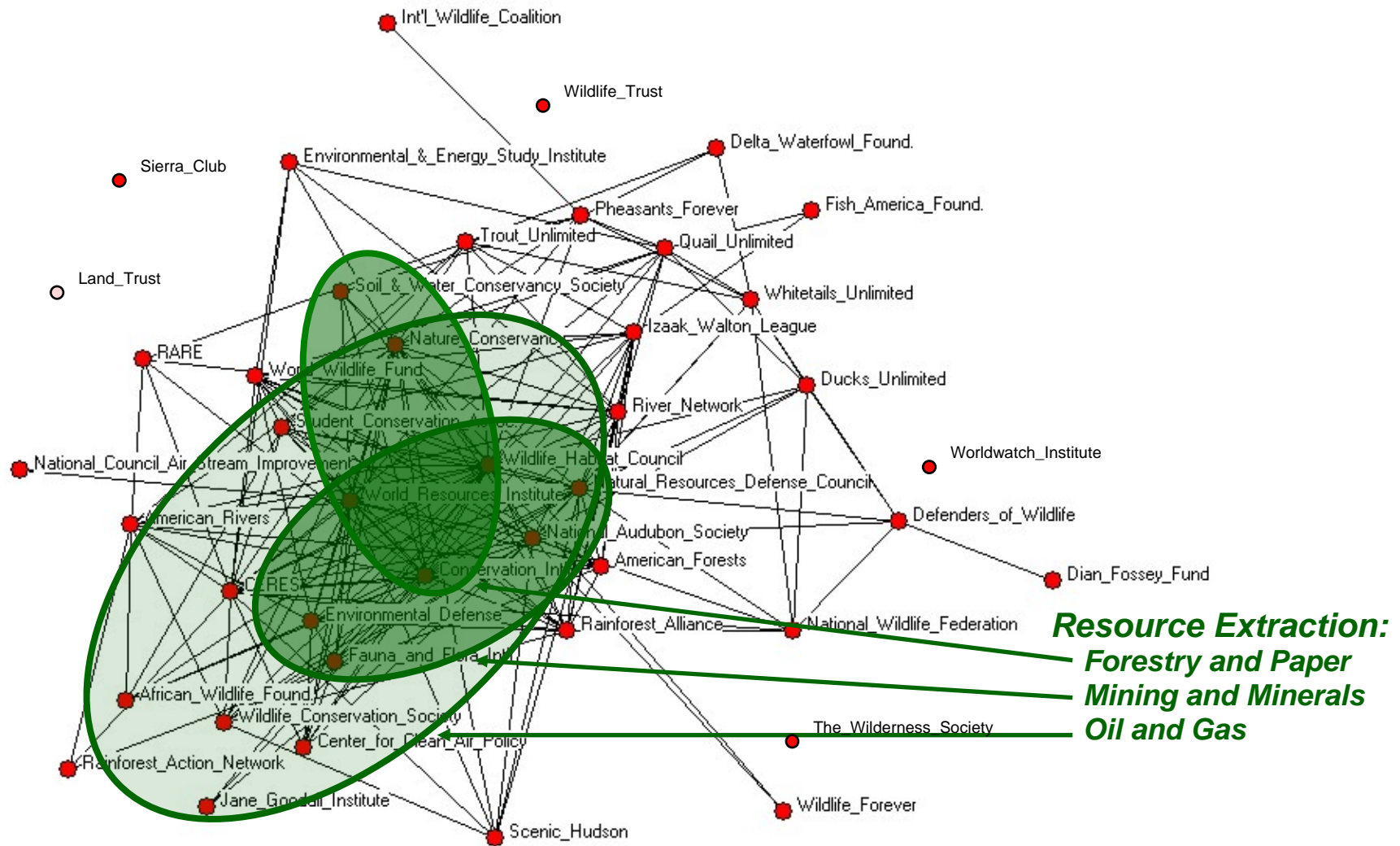


Table 1
The Makeup of the Environmental Movement Field

TOPIC TIES	BUSINESS TIES
Three Sub-Fields:	Two Sub-Fields:
Conservation Environmental Protection Pollution Control	Corporate Ties No Corporate Ties
Eight Sectors:	Eight Sectors:
Birds Education Fish Forestry International Development Natural Resources Water Wildlife	Beer and Alcohol Chemicals Construction Energy Food, Beverage Resource Extraction Sporting Goods Travel and Entertainment

Table 2
The Focus of the Environmental Movement Field

SUB-FIELD BUDGET	Total	Average	SUB-FIELD MEMBERSHIP	Total	Average	SUB-FIELD # of ORGS	
Conservation	\$1,084,870,000	\$20,210,556	Conservation	5,839,533	134,646	Conservation	54
Environmental Protection	\$392,350,000	\$18,730,952	Environmental Protection	1,200,370	108,076	Environmental Protection	21
Pollution Control	\$110,900,000	\$9,990,909	Pollution Control	1,950,098	122,568	Pollution Control	11
Business Ties	\$797,750,000	\$18,153,409	Business Ties	3,283,883	110,600	Business Ties	44
No-Business Ties	\$236,825,000	\$8,734,259	No-Business Ties	1,550,340	44,081	No-Business Ties	27
SECTOR BUDGET	Total	Average	SECTOR MEMBERSHIP	Total	Average	SECTOR # of ORGS	
Birds	\$217,250,000	\$54,312,500	Birds	1,333,075	333,269	Birds	4
Natural Resources	\$366,300,000	\$33,300,000	Natural Resources	2,300,371	209,125	Natural Resources	11
Education	\$280,350,000	\$28,035,000	Education	905,115	90,511	Education	10
International Development	\$74,000,000	\$24,666,667	International Development	1,200,002	400,001	International Development	3
Wildlife	\$529,657,000	\$20,371,423	Wildlife	1,539,018	59,193	Wildlife	26
Forestry	\$66,975,000	\$9,567,857	Forestry	222	32	Forestry	7
Fish	\$36,400,000	\$7,280,000	Fish	205	41	Fish	5
Water	\$49,700,000	\$6,212,500	Water	600,209	75,026	Water	8
Travel and Entertainment	\$582,600,000	\$44,815,385	Travel and Entertainment	3,350,504	257,731	Travel and Entertainment	13
Chemicals	\$634,800,000	\$42,320,000	Chemicals	3,750,351	250,023	Chemicals	15
Construction and Development	\$366,300,000	\$36,630,000	Construction and Development	1,600,235	160,023	Construction and Development	10
Sporting Goods	\$563,957,000	\$35,247,313	Sporting Goods	2,883,649	180,228	Sporting Goods	16
Energy	\$526,888,000	\$35,125,867	Energy	2,550,353	170,024	Energy	15
Food and Beverage	\$806,945,000	\$33,622,708	Food and Beverage	3,750,826	156,284	Food and Beverage	24
Beer and Alcohol	\$531,100,000	\$33,193,750	Beer and Alcohol	3,083,777	192,736	Beer and Alcohol	16
Resource Extraction	\$586,050,000	\$29,302,500	Resource Extraction	2,550,542	127,527	Resource Extraction	20

Figure 3
Identity and Image of the Environmental Movement

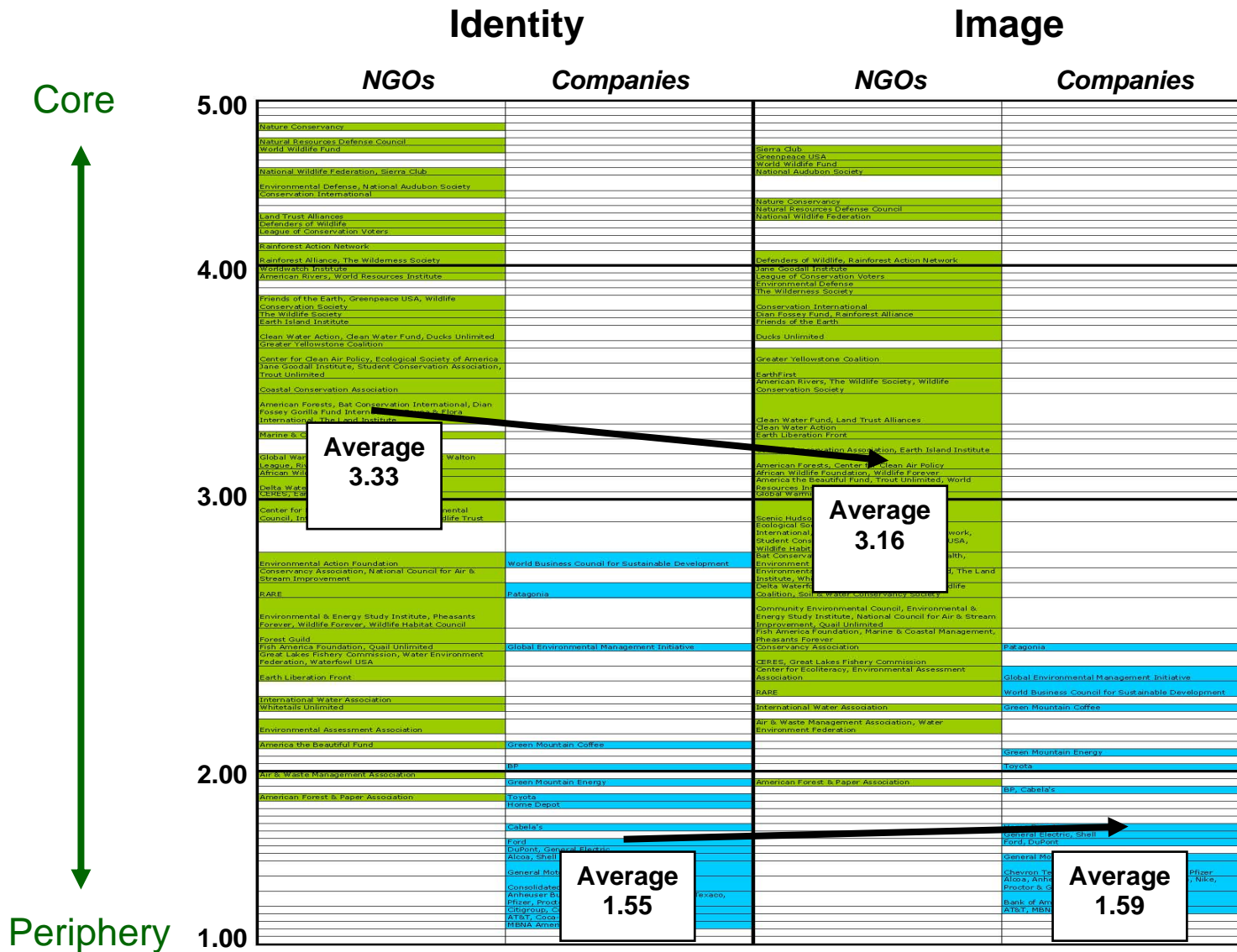


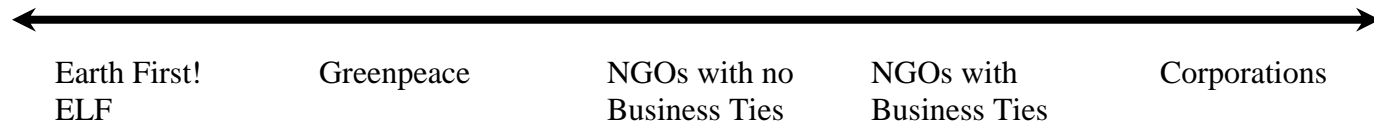
Table 3
Identity Measures of the Environmental Movement Field

SUB-FIELD	Average Score		SUB-FIELD	Average Score
Conservation	3.45		No Business Tie	3.03
Environment	3.32		Business Tie	2.41
Pollution	3.16			
SECTOR	Average Score		SECTOR	Average Score
International Development	4.16		Chemicals	3.86
Natural Resources	3.79		Construction and Development	3.81
Education	3.57		Travel and Entertainment	3.75
Wildlife	3.33		Energy	3.65
Birds	3.29		Resource Extraction	3.60
Water	3.14		Food and Beverage	3.58
Forestry	3.11		Beer and Alcohol	3.50
Fish	3.05		Sporting Goods	3.33

Table 4
Image Measures of the Environmental Movement Field

SUB-FIELD	Average Score		SUB-FIELD	Average Score
Conservation	3.31		No Business Tie	2.93
Environment	3.17		Business Tie	2.26
Pollution	3.03			
SECTOR	Average Score		SECTOR	Average Score
International Development	3.55		Chemicals	3.57
Natural Resources	3.52		Travel and Entertainment	3.49
Birds	3.42		Construction and Development	3.43
Education	3.37		Food and Beverage	3.42
Wildlife	3.22		Beer and Alcohol	3.37
Forestry	3.01		Energy	3.34
Water	2.87		Resource Extraction	3.33
Fish	2.82		Sporting Goods	3.23

Figure 4
The Environmental Movement Field as a Continuum



**Appendix I:
Sample Set (2005 Figures)**

	Membership (1000s)	Budget
Nature Conservancy	1000	\$245,000,000
Ducks Unlimited	733	\$128,000,000
National Wildlife Federation	44	\$96,000,000
Wildlife Conservation Society	105	\$95,000,000
Global Warming International Center	12.4	\$75,000,000
World Wildlife Fund	1200	\$60,000,000
Conservation International	71	\$50,000,000
Natural Resources Defense Council	550	\$46,000,000
Environmental Defense	400	\$45,000,000
National Audubon Society	600	\$44,000,000
Quail Unlimited	55	\$44,000,000
Sierra Club	550	\$43,000,000
American Forest and Paper Association	0.25	\$38,000,000
Pheasants Forever	100	\$20,000,000
Student Conservation Association	38	\$20,000,000
Greenpeace USA	250	\$18,000,000
Water Environment Federation	36	\$18,000,000
The Wilderness Society	255	\$17,000,000
Great Lakes Fishery Commission	0.012	\$12,100,000
National Council for Air and Stream Improvement	0.1	\$10,000,000
Trout Unlimited	130	\$10,000,000
World Resources Institute	na	\$10,000,000
Clean Water Action	600	\$9,000,000
African Wildlife Foundation	65	\$8,000,000
Air and Waste Management Association	17	\$8,000,000
Rainforest Alliance	19	\$8,000,000
Coastal Conservation Association	75	\$7,000,000
Defenders of Wildlife	71	\$7,000,000
Land Trust Alliances	0.9	\$6,800,000
Marine and Coastal Management	na	\$6,000,000
Whitetails Unlimited	65	\$6,000,000
America the Beautiful Fund	20	\$5,000,000
American Rivers	32	\$5,000,000
Community Environmental Council	0.9	\$5,000,000
Conservancy Association	0.3	\$5,000,000
RARE	2.4	\$4,200,000
Environmental Assessment Association	8.2	\$4,000,000
Friends of the Earth	26	\$4,000,000
Izaak Walton League	50	\$4,000,000
Worldwatch Institute	2.3	\$4,000,000
Wildlife Forever	65	\$3,857,000
American Forests	117	\$3,600,000
Scenic Hudson	11.4	\$3,188,000
Bat Conservation International	14	\$3,000,000
International Wildlife Coalition	150	\$3,000,000

River Network	na	\$3,000,000
Ecological Society of America	7.4	\$2,700,000
League of Conservation Voters	40	\$2,600,000
Wildlife Trust	3	\$2,600,000
Clean Water Fund	700	\$2,500,000
Greater Yellowstone Coalition	10.8	\$2,400,000
Rainforest Action Network	35	\$2,100,000
Jane Goodall Institute	13	\$2,000,000
The Wildlife Society	9.2	\$1,850,000
Soil and Water Conservancy Society	11	\$1,800,000
Delta Waterfowl Foundation	35	\$1,700,000
Environmental and Energy Study Institute	na	\$1,600,000
International Water Association	6.85	\$1,600,000
Center for Clean Air Policy	na	\$1,500,000
Center for Ecoliteracy	na	\$1,500,000
CERES	na	\$1,500,000
Earth Island Institute	10	\$1,500,000
Wildlife Habitat Council	na	\$1,500,000
Fauna and Flora International	4	\$1,350,000
Center for Health, Environment and Justice	27.5	\$1,300,000
Fish America Foundation	na	\$1,300,000
Forest Guild	0.178	\$1,275,000
The Land Institute	2.2	\$1,250,000
Waterfowl USA	20	\$1,250,000
Dian Fossey Fund	5	\$1,100,000
Environmental Action Foundation	10	\$1,000,000
TOTAL	8,492	\$1,312,520,000

Appendix II: Web-Based Survey

Page 1:

THANK YOU for taking the time to complete this short survey on the environmental movement. We are gathering data on perceptions both inside and outside the movement to develop models and concepts for better understanding the movement's makeup and ability to operate. This survey should take no longer than fifteen minutes and is made up of four parts. If you have any questions or comments, please contact Prof. Andy Hoffman at 734-763-9455 or ajhoff@umich.edu.

- 1. Before beginning this survey, please identify (a) the department or division you work in.**
- 2. and (b) the city and state you work in.**

Page 2:

PART ONE: Please take a moment and consider how you define the environmental movement as you see it. When you think of the range of groups that makeup up "your" mental model of the movement, what is that unites them and gives them a common purpose and direction. As you think of your answer, consider who is "in" and who is "out" of the movement, again as you see it.

Page 3:

PART TWO: Consider who you believe is actually in the movement you described in part one. Consider also whether they are on the periphery or at the core of this movement, or somewhere in between.

- 3. Below is a list of 129 organizations. Please read through the list and categorize each one as being part (a) not part of the movement (score 1), or (b) if it is part of the movement, please rank it in terms of being on the periphery (score 2) or the core (score 5) or somewhere in between. Please read through the list and score the organizations quickly. If you do not know any of the organizations, please click NA.**

Page 4:

PART THREE: Consider how you think that society conceptualizes or perceives the environmental movement. Society can be the general public, the press, policy-makers, business people – anyone that you think is important for achieving the goals of the environmental movement as you conceive it. Who does society think is part of the movement? Again, as in part two, consider whether they are seen as on the periphery or at the core of this movement, or somewhere in between.

- 4. Again, as in part two, below is a list of the same 129 organizations. Please read through the list and categorize each one as being part (a) perceived as not part of the movement (score 1), or (b) if it is perceived as part of the movement, please rank it in terms of being perceived as being on the periphery (score 2) or the core (score 5) or somewhere in between. Again, please read through the list and score the organizations quickly. If you do not know any of the organizations, please click NA.**

Page 5:

PART FOUR: Finally, there are organizations that you labeled differently between parts two and three.

- 5. For those that you listed as part of the movement in part two but not perceived as part of the movement in part three, please consider your thoughts on the implications that discrepancy has for the goals, tactics and success of the movement.**
- 6. Conversely, for those that you listed as not part of the movement in part two but perceived as part of the movement in part three, please consider your thoughts on the implications that discrepancy has for the goals, tactics and success of the movement.**

Page 6:

Thank you for your participation in this survey.